

Marie the eldest daughter of king Henrie the eight successor to Edward the sixt.



Marie eldest daughter of
k. Henrie the eight, by the
ladie Katharine of Spaine,
his first wife, and sister vn-
to king Edward the sixt, by
the fathers side, began hir
reigne the first daie of Julie,
which daie the king hir bro-
ther died, and she was pro-

claimed at London (as is before remembred in the
end of the historie of king Edward the sixt) the nine-
teenth daie of the same moneth, in the yeare of our
Lord 1553: after the creation of the world 5520,
in the five and thirtieth yeare of Charles the sixt, em-
perour of Almaine, in the seventh yeare of Henrie the
second of that name k. of France, & in the eleuenth
of Marie quene of Scotland. The twentieth of Julie
the duke of Northumberland being come backe to
Cambridge, heard that the proclamation of quene
Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduer-
tised, called for a trumpet and an herald; but none
could be found. Whereupon he riding into the mar-
ket place with the maior, and the lord marques of
Northampton, made the proclamation himselfe,
and threw by his cap in token of ioy. ¶ Within an
houre after he had letters from the counsell (as he
said) that he should forthwith dismisse his armie, and
not come within ten miles of London: for if he
did, they would fight with him, the rumor whereof
was no sooner abroad, but euerie man departed. And
shortlie after, the duke was arrested in the kings
college by one maister Sleg fargeant at arms.

At the last, letters were brought from the coun-
sell at London, that all men should go each his waie.
Whereupon the duke said to them that kept him;
Ye doe me wrong to withdraw my libertie, see you
not the counceils letters without exception, that all
men should go whither they would: At which words
they that kept him and the other noblemen, set them
at libertie, and so continued they for that night: in-
somuch that the earle of Warwicke was readie in
the morning to haue rode awaie. But then came the
erle of Arundell from the quene to the duke into his
chamber, who went out to meet him. Now as soone
as he saw the earle of Arundell, he fell on his knees,
and desired him to be good to him for the loue of God:
Consider (saith he) I haue done nothing but by the
consents of you and all the whole counsell. My lord
(quoth the earle of Arundell) I am sent hither by the
quens maiestie, and in hir name I doe arrest you.
And I obete it my lord (quoth he) I beseech you my
lord of Arundell (quoth the duke) vse mercie towards
me, knowing the case as it is. My lord (quoth the
earle) ye should haue sought for mercie sooner. I must
do according to commandement: herewith he com-

mitted the charge of him and the others to the gard
and gentlemen that stood by. ¶ The lord marques af-
ter this went to quene Marie. On the five & twen-
tith daie of the said moneth, the duke of Northum-
berland, with Francis earle of Huntington, John
earle of Warwicke son and heire to the said duke,
and two other of his yonger sons, the lord Ambrose
and the lord Henrie Dupleie, sir Andrew Dupleie,
sir John Gates capitaine of the gard to king Ed-
ward the sixt, sir Henrie Gates brethren, sir Thomas
Palmer knights, and doctor Sands were brought
to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they
entered within the tower gate, the earle of Arundell
discharged the lord Hastings, taking him out of the
tower with him. On the six & twentieth of Julie, the
lord marques of Northampton, the bishop of Lon-
don, the lord Robert Dupleie, and sir Robert Cox-
bet were brought from the quenes campe vnto the
tower. The eight and twentieth of Julie, the duke
of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the
one and twentieth of the same moneth he was set at
libertie by the diligent sute of the ladie Francis
grace his wife.

After that quene Marie was thus with full con-
sent of the nobles and commons of the realme pro-
claimed quene, she being then in Northfolke, at hir
castell of Framingham, repaired with all speed to
the citie of London: and the third daie of the said
moneth of August she came to the said citie, and so
to the tower, where the ladie Jane of Suffolke (late
afore proclaimed quene) with hir husband the lord
Gilsford, a little before hir coming, were commit-
ted to ward, & there remained almost after five mo-
neths. And by the waie, as the quene thus passed, she
was sofullie saluted of all the people, without anie
mistaking, sauing that it was much feared of manie,
that she would alter the religion set forth by king
Edward hir brother, whereof then were giuen full
occasions: because (notwithstanding diuerse lawes
made to the contrarie) she had dallie masse and La-
tine seruite said before hir in the tower. And it was
doubted in like sort, that she would both aduall and
innouat certaine lawes and decrees established by
the yong prince hir predecessor: which she did in deed,
as one hath left testified in a memoriall of hir succes-
sion (but little vnto hir commendation) sauing:

*At Maria Eduardi regni succedit habentis,
Confirmans iterum regno papalia iura,
Concilioque nouas leges sancire vocato.
Molitur, latus a fratre perosa priores.*

At hir entrie into the tower there were presented
to hir certaine prisoners; namelie, Thomas duke of
Northfolke, who in the last yeare of king Henrie the
eight (as you haue heard) was supposed to be attain-
ted of treason: but in the parlement of this first
yeare

the lord Hastings
was discharged out
of the tower.

The lord Hastings
was discharged out
of the tower.

Duke of
Suffolke
committed to
the tower.

Quene Marie
came commeth
to London.

Prisoners
discharged.

Stephan
Gardiner
made lord
chancelloz.

Edward
Courtneie
created earle
of Deuon-
shire.

Bishops re-
stored, and o-
thers depri-
ued.

why Kildie
was more ri-
gorously
handed than
the rest.
Abr. Fl. ex
15. pag. 1067.

The buriall
of king Ed-
ward.

Doctor
Boyne a
chapleine of
bishop Bon-
ner.

yeare of queene Marie, the said supposed attaindour was by the authoritie and act of parlement, for god and apparant causes alleged in the said act, declared to be utterlie frustrat and void. Also Edward Courtneie son and heire to Henrie marques of Cresset, cousin germane to king Henrie the eight, and Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, with other persons of great calling; but speciallie Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, whom the not onlie released out of imprisonment, but also immediatlie advanced and preferred to be lord chancelloz of England, restoring him also to his former estate and bishopricke, and removed from the same one doctor Poinet, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edward the first.

And touching Edward Courtneie, the not onlie advanced him to the earldome of Deuonshire, but also to so much of his fathers possessions as there remained in his hands; whereby it was then thought of manie, that the bare affection to him by the waie of marriage: but it came not so to passe (for what cause I am not able to giue any reason) but surelie the subjects of England were most desirous thereof. Upon the receiving of this new queene, all the bishops which had bene depriued in the time of king Edward the first his brother, for the cause of religion, were now againe restored to their bishopricks; and such other as were placed in king Edward his time, removed from their sees, and others of contrarie religion placed. Amongest whom, Edmund Bonner doctor of the lawes, late afore depriued from the see of London, and committed prisoner to the Marshalsea by order of king Edwards counsell, was with all fauour restored to his libertie and bishopricke. Maister Nicholas Kildie doctor in diuinitie, late before advanced to the same see by the said king, was hastily displaced, and committed prisoner to the tower of London. The cause why such extremities was used towards the said bishop Kildie, more than to the rest, was for that in the time of ladie Jane, he preached a sermon at Pauls crosse by the commandement of king Edwards counsell, where in he dissuaded the people, for sundrie causes, from receiving the ladie Marie as queene. ¶ On the ninth of August in the afternone, the queene held an obsequie in the tower for king Edward, the dirge being sung in Latine, and on the morrow a masse of Requiem, whereat the queene with hir ladies offered. The same daie the corps of king Edward was buried at Westminster, the lord treasurer, the earle of Penbroke, and the earle of Shrewesburie being chiefe mourners, with diuers other noble men and others. Doctor Daie bishop of Chichester preached at the said buriall, and all the service with a communion was in English. Thus was finished the solemne funerall of that good prince, at whose birth there were not so manie reioicing hearts, but at his death there were by infinit ods manie more weeping eyes, & sad spirits: whose tender bodie, though pined with sicknesse, & consumed with rottennesse, maie perhaps leaue for succeeding ages no relike to gaze vpon; yet the memorie of his name shall be euer greene. For he was, as one trulie saith of him:

*Ille erat Europe Phoenix, quem funere acerbo
(Vt flos vere nouo viridanti carpitur horto)
Sussulit ante diem mors immatura Britannis,
Inuadet hac terris pietatem & iura colentes.*

The thirteenth of August doctor Bonner restored now to his bishopricke againe, appointed one late a chapleine of his called doctor Boyne to preach at Pauls crosse, who was then promoted to the queens service, & not long after was made bishop of Bath. The said doctor taking occasion of the gospel of that daie, spake somewhat largelie in the iustificing of bi-

shop Bonner, being present at the sermon, which bishop (as the said preacher then openlie said) for a sermon made vpon the same text, and in the same place the same daie foure yeeres afore passed, was most vnustlie cast into the vile dungeon of the Marshalsea among theues, and there kept during the time of king Edwards reigne. This matter being set forth with great vehemencie, so much offended the eares of part of the audience, that they brake silence, and began to murmur and thronge together, in such sort as the maior and aldermen with out of the wiser sort then present feared much an uprore. During which muttering, one more feruent than his fellowes threw a dagger at the preacher; but who it was, came not to knowlege. By reason of which outrage the preacher withdrew himselfe from the pulpit, and one maister Bradford at the request of the preachers brother and others standing there, took the place, and spake so mildlie to the people, that with few words he appeased their furie: and after the said maister Bradford and maister Rogers, although men of contrarie religion, conuied the said preacher into Pauls schoule, and there left him safelie.

The next sundefaie following, for feare of a like tumult or worse, order was taken that the queens gard should be present in place to defend the preacher with weapons. Where vpon the wiser men perceiving such a number of weapons, and that great perill was not vnlike to insue, by such appearance of late not accustomed, would not be present at the sermon, by reason whereof there was left a small auditoz. Therefore afterward there was a commandement giuen by the lord maior, that the ancient of the companies should be present at the next sermon in their liveries, and so they were, whereby all became quiet. The eighteenth of August next following, the duke of Northumberland, the lord marquisse of Northampton, and the earle of Warwick, son and heire to the said duke, were brought in to Westminster hall, and there arraigned of high treason before Thomas duke of Norfolk high steward of England.

The duke of Northumberland at his coming to the barre, used great reuerence towards the iudges: and professing his faith and allegiance to the queens maiestie, whome he confessed greivously to haue offended, he said that he meant not to speake any thing in defense of his fact, but would first vnderstand the opinion of the court in two points. First whether a man doing any act by authoritie of the princes counsell, & by warrant of the great scale of England, & doing nothing without the same, maie be charged with treason for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof? Secondlie, whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandements he was directed in all his doings might be his iudges, or passe vpon his trial as his peeres? Wherevnto was answered, that as concerning the first, the great scale which he last for his warrant, was not the scale of the lawfull queene of the realme, nor passed by authoritie: but the scale of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him. And to the second it was alledged, that if any were as despitous to be touched in that case as himselfe, yet so long as no attindoz were of record against them, they were neuertheless persons able in law to passe vpon any trial, and not to be chalenged therefore, but at the princes pleasure. After which answer the duke using few words, declared his earnest repentance in the case (for he saw that to stand vpon vitering any reasonable matter, as might seeme, would little preuaile) and he moued the duke of Norfolk to be a meane vnto the queene for mercie, and without fur-

Dagger
thrust at
the preacher.

The preacher
at Pauls
crosse de-
fended
by the
gard.

The duke of
Northumber-
land arraigned.

The dukes
request to
vnderstand
the opinion of
the court in
two
points.

ther answer confessed the indictment, by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with him, did likewise confesse the indictments produced against them, and thereupon had iudgement.

How then iudgement was giuen, the duke said; I beseech you my lords all to be humble suiters to the queenes maiestie, and to grant me foure requests, which are these: first, that I maie haue that death which noble men haue had in times past, and not the other: secondarily, that hir maiestie will be gracious to my chyldren which maie hereafter do good seruice, considering that they went by my commandement who am their father, and not of their owne free willes: thirdly, that I may haue appointed to me some learned man for the instruction and quieting of my conscience: and fourthly, that the will send two of the counsell to commune with me, to whome I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for hir and the common-weale: and thus I beseech you all to praye for me.

The nineteenth of August, sir Andrew Dudleye, sir John Gates, and sir Henrie Gates brethren, and sir Thomas Palmer knights, were arraigned at Westminster; and confessing their indictments, had iudgement, which was pronounced by the marquisse of Winchester high treasurer of England that sate that daie as chiefe iustice. On the twentieth of August doctor Watton chapleine to the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, by the queenes appointment, & for feare of the like tumult as had bene not long before, certeine lords of the counsell repaired to the sermon, as the lord treasurer, the lord priuie seale, the earle of Bedford, the earle of Denbroke, the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and sir Henrie Geringam capteine of the gard with two hundred of the gard, which stood about the preacher with halberts. Also the maior had warned the compantes of the cite to be present in their liuries, which was well accepted of the queenes counsell: and the sermon was quietly ended.

On the two and twentieth of August John duke of Northumberland was beheaded on the tower hill, whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, by the bodie of Edward late duke of Sumerset. So that there lieth before the high altar two dukes be- twene two queenes, to wit, the duke of Summer- set & the duke of Northumberland betwene queene Anne and queene Katharine, all foure beheaded. At the same time and place also was likewise be- headed sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, which sir John Gates in that place vsed few words, but laid downe his head without anie hercher, and had the same striken off at thre blowes. Sir Thomas Palmer, as soone as he came to the scaffold, toke e- uerie man by the hand, and desired them to praye for him: then putting off his gowne, he leaned vpon the east raille, and said these words in effect.

The effect of such words as sir
Thomas Palmer uttered on the
scaffold at his death.

My maisters (quoth he) God saue you all. It is not vnknowne vnto you wherefore I come hither, which I haue worthilie well de- served at Gods hands: for I know it to be his diuine ordinance, by this meanes to call me to his mercie, and to teach me to know my selfe, what I am, and wherevnto we are all subiect: I thanke his merci- full goodnesse, for he hath caused me to learne more in one little darke corner in

ponder tower, than euer I learned by a- nie trauell in so manie places as I haue bene. For there (I saie) I haue sene God, what he is, & how vnsearchable his won- derous works are, & how infinit his mer- cies be: I haue sene there my selfe throghe- lie, and what I am, nothing but a lump of sin, earth, dust, and of all vilenesse most vi- lest: I haue sene there and know what the world is, how vaine, deceitfull, transitorie, and short it is; how wicked and lothsome the works thereof are in the sight of Gods maiestie; how he neither regardeth the manaces of the proud men and migh- tie ones, neither despiseth the humblenesse of the poore & lowly which are in the same world: finallie, I haue sene there what death is, how nie hanging ouer all mens hedds, and yet how vncerteine the time, and how vnknowne to all men, and how little it is to be feared. And should I feare death or be sad therefore? Haue I not sene two die before mine eyes: Pea and within the hearing of mine eares: No, neither the sprinkling of the blood, nor the shedding thereof, nor the bloudie ax it selfe shall make me afraid. And now taking my leaue of the same, I praye you all to praye for me. Come on good fellows (quoth he) art thou he that must doe the deed? I forgiue thee with all my hart; & then kneeling downe, & laieng his hed on the blocke, he said; I will see how met the blocke is for my necke, I praye thee strike not yet, for I haue a few prayers to saie; and that done, strike on Gods name, god leaue haue thou.

His prayers ended, and desiring ech man to praye for him, he laid downe his head againe, and so the ex- ecutioner forthwith toke it from him at one stroke. On the thre and twentieth of August the queene deli- uered the great seale to doctor Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and made him lord chancelor. The sea- ren and twentieth of August, the seruice began in La- tine to be song in Pauls church in London. The fir and twentieth of August in the euenting the notablest ship in England called the great Harrie was burnt at Woolwich by negligence of the mariners, the was of burthen a thousand tuns. The first of Sep- tember the queene demanded a prest of the cite of London of twentie thousand pounds, to be repaid againe within foureteene daies after Michaelmasse next folowing, which sum was leuied of the aldermen and one hundred & twentie commoners. The fourth of September was proclaimed certeine new coines of gold and siluer, a souereigne of gold of thirtie shillings, the halfe souereigne fiftene shillings; an an- gell at ten shillings, the halfe angell five shillings. Of siluer, the grote, halfe grote and pennie: all base coines to be currant as before. Also the same daie by proclamation was pardoned the subsidie of foure shillings the pound of lands, and two shillings eight pence the pound of monable goods, granted in the last parlement of king Edward the first. Some af- ter this Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, and late before of king Edwards priuie counsell, was committed to the tower of London, being char- ged of treason, not onelie for giuing aduise to the dis- heriting of queene Marie, but also for adding the duke of Northumberland with certeine hoile and men against the queene, in the quarrell of the ladie Jane of Suffolke: wherein (if he were culpable) he lacked

New lord
chancelor.

Latine ser-
uice.

Great Harrie
a ship burnt.

Prest to the
queene.

New coines.

Subsidie pay-
doned.

The archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie com-
mitted to the
tower.

She before
pag. 1030, 1031
Abr. H. ex
1. Stow 1067.

lacked the providence and foresight of after-claps, which doctor Parker in the insurrection of Ket bling failed both his life and estimation.

¶ On the seven and twentieth of September queene Marie came to the towre by water, accompanied with the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and other ladies, before whose arrivall there was shot a great peale of guns. The last of September queene Marie rode through the citie of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue, drawne with six horses all trapped with the like cloth of tissue. She

Coronation of
queene Marie,
hir pompe
and traine.

who rode be-
fore and after
hir.

The ladie
Elizabeth and
the ladie Anne
of Cleve.

A pageant
made by stran-
gers.

The conduit
in Cornhill ran
wine.

The recorder
of London
maketh a
short speech
to the queene
passing by.

A Dutchman
on the wea-
thercocke of
Paules.

sate in a gowne of purple velvet, furred with pol-
dered ermins, having on hir head a hall of cloth of
tinsell, beset with pearle and stone, and above the
same upon hir head a round circlet of gold, beset so
richlie with precious stones, that the value thereof
was inestimable, the same hall and circle being so
masse and ponderous, that she was faine to beare
up hir head with hir hand, and the canopie was borne
over hir chariot. Before hir rode a number of gen-
tlemen & knights, then iudges, then doctors, then bi-
shops, then lords, then the counsell, after whose fol-
lowed the knights of the Bath in their robes, the bi-
shop of Winchester lord chancellor, and the marques
of Winchester lord high treasurer, next came the
duke of Norfolk, and after him the earle of Oxford,
who bare the sword before hir, the mayor of London
in a gown of crimson velvet bare the scepter of gold,
&c. After the queenes chariot sir Edward Hastings
led hir horse in his hand: then came another chariot
having a covering of cloth of siluer all white, and
six horses trapped with the like: therein sate the
ladie Elizabeth, and the ladie Anne of Cleve: these
ladies and gentlewomen riding on horses trapped
with red velvet, and their gownes and kirtles like-
wise of red velvet, after them followed two other cha-
riots covered with red sattin, and the horses butrap-
ped with the same, and certeine gentlewomen be-
twene euerie of the said chariots riding in crimson
sattin, their horses betrapped with the same; the num-
ber of the gentlewomen so riding were six and forty,
besides them in the chariots.

At Stanchurch was a collicke pageant made by the
Genoivais: at Gracechurch corner there was an o-
ther pageant made by the Easterlings. At the upper
end of Gracestreet there was an other pageant
made by the Florentins verie high, on the top where-
of there stood foure pictures, and in the midst of
them and most highest, there stood an angell all in
greene, with a trumpet in his hand: and when the
trumpetter (who stood secretlie in the pageant) did
sound his trumpet, the angell did put his trumpet to
his mouth, as though it had bene the same that had
sounded, to the great maruelling of manie ignorant
persons: this pageant was made with three thorough
fares or gates, &c. The conduit in Cornhill ran
wine, and beneath the conduit a pageant made at
the charges of the citie, and an other at the great con-
duit in Cheape, and a founteine by it running wine.
The standard in Cheape new painted, with the waits
of the citie aloft thereon plaing. The croffe in Cheape
new washed and burnished.

An other pageant at the little conduit in Cheape
next to Paules was made by the citie, where the al-
dermen stood, & when the queene came against them,
the recorder made a short proposition to hir, and then
the chamberleine presented to hir in the name of the
mayor and the citie, a purse of cloth of gold, and a
shonland mark of gold in it: then she rode forth, and
in Paules church-yard against the schole, one master
Heswood sat in a pageant under a vine, and made to
hir an oration in Latine & English. Then was there
one Peter a Dutchman that stood on the weather-
cocke of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his

hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood
sometimes on the one foot, and shoke the other, and
then kneeled on his knees, to the great maruell of all
people. He had made two scaffolds under him, one
above the croffe, having torches and streamers set
on it, and an other ouer the ball of the croffe likewise
set with streamers & torches, which could not burne,
the wind was so great: the said Peter had fiftene
pounds thirtene shillings foure pence given him
by the citie for his costs and paines, and for all his
trusse.

Then was there a pageant made against the deane
of Paules gate, where the queriffers of Paules
plaied on vials and song. Ludgate was newlie re-
pared, painted, and richlie hanged, with minstrels
plaing and singing there. Then was there an other
pageant at the conduit in Fleetstreet, and the temple
barre was newlie painted and hanged. And thus she
passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she took
hir leave of the lord mayor, giving him great thanks
for his pains, and the citie for their cost. On the mor-
row, which was the first daie of October, the queene
went by water to the old palace, and there remained
till about elcuen of the clocke, and then went on foot
upon blew cloth, being railed on either side, unto
saint Peters church, where she was solemnlie crow-
ned and anointed by Stephen Gardiner bishop of
Winchester for the archbishops of Cantuarbie and
Dorke were then prisoners in the towre which coro-
nation and other ceremonies and solemnities then
used according to the old custome, was not fullie en-
ded till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night that
she returned from the church, before whom was then
borne three swords sheathed, & one naked. The great
seruite that daie done in Westminster hall at din-
ner by diuerse noblemen, would aske long time to
write. The lord mayor of London & twelue citizens
kept the high cupboard of plate as butlers: and the
queene gaue to the mayor for his fee a cupboard of gold
with a couer weing seuentene ounces.]

At the time of this queenes coronation, there was
published a generall pardon in hir name, being in-
terlaced with so manie exceptions, as they that nee-
ded the same most, took smallest benefit thereby. In
which were excepted by name no small number, not
onely of bishops and other of the cleargie, namely
the archbishops of Cantuarbie and Dorke, the bi-
shop of London, but also manie lords, knights, and
gentlemen of the laitie, besides the two chiefe iustices
of England called sir Edward Montacute, and sir
Roger Holmeleie, with some other learned men in
the law, for counselling, or at the least consenting to
the deprivation of queene Marie, and aiding of the
foresaid duke of Northumberland, in the pretended
right of the before named ladie Jane, the names of
which persons so being excepted, I haue omitted for
shortnesse sake.

As sone as this pardon was published, and the so-
lemnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there
were certeine commissioners assigned to take order
with all such persons as were excepted out of the par-
don, and others, to compound with the queene for
their severall offenses. Which commissioners sat at
the deane of Paules his house, at the west end of
Paules church, and there called before them the said
persons apart, and from some they took their fees
and offices granted before by king Edward the first,
and yet neuertheless putting them to their fines:
and some they committed to ward, depriving them
of their states and livings: so that for the time, to
those that talked thereof, it seemed verie grieuous.
God deliuer vs from incurring the like danger of
law againe. The first daie of October next following,
the queene held hir hie court of parliament at West-
minster.

A pageant
wherein
the queene
of Paules
plaied
on vials.

Queene Ma-
rie crown-
ed by
Stephen
Gardiner.

A pardon
with ex-
ceptions.

Commis-
sioners.

A parliam-
ent.

minister, which continued untill the one and twentieth daie of the said moneth.

In the first session of which parliament, there passed no more acts but one, and that was, to declare queene Marie lawfull heire in descent to the crowne of England by the common lawes, next after hir brother king Edward; and to repeale certaine causes of treason, felonie, and premunire, contained in diuers former statutes: the which act of repeale was, for that cardinall Pole was especiallie looked for (as after ye shall heare) for the reducing of the church of England to the popes obedience: and to the end that the said cardinall now called into England from Rome, might hold his courts legantine without the danger of the statutes of the premunire, made in that case, whereinto cardinall Wolseie (when he was legat) had incurred to his no small losse, and to the charge of all the clergie of England, for exercising the like power: the which act being once passed, forthwith the queene repaired to the parliament house, and gaue thereunto hir rofall assent, and then proroged the parliament vnto the foure and twentieth daie of the said moneth. In which second session were confirmed and made diuerse and sundrie statutes concerning religion, wherof some were ressozed, and other repealed.

¶ Sir Thomas White for this yere maior and merchant tailor, a worthy patrone and protector of poore scholars & learning, renewed or rather erected a college in Wrenthorpe, now called saint Johns college, before Bernard college. He also erected scholes at Wistow and Reading. Moreover, this worthy citizen in his life time gaue to the citie of Wistow two thousand pounds of readie monie to purchase lands, to the pearlie value of one hundred & twentie pounds, for the which it is decreed, that the maior, burgesses and communalitie of Wistow, in the yere of our Lord 1567, and so yerele during the tearme of ten yeres then next ensuing, should cause to be paid at Wistow, one hundred pounds of lawfull monie. The first eight hundred pounds to be lent to sixtene poore yongmen clothiers, & sixemen of the same towne, for the space of ten yeres, fiftie pounds the pece of them, putting sufficient surties for the same, and at the end of ten yeres, to be lent to other sixtene, at the discretion of the maior, aldermen, and foure of the common counsell of the said citie.

The other two hundred pounds to be imployed in the premission of coine, for the relese of the poore of the same citie, for their readie monie, without gaine to be taken. And after the end of ten yeres on the feast daie of saint Bartholomew, which shall be in the yere of our Lord 1577, at the merchant tailors hall in London, vnto the maior and communalitie of the citie of Poike, or to their attornie authorised, an hundred & foure pounds, to be lent vnto foure yongmen of the said citie of Poike, sixemen and inhabitants (clothiers alwaie to be preferred) that is, to euerie of them five and twentie pounds, to haue and occupie the same for the tearme of ten yeres, without paing anie thing for the loane, the foure pounds ouerplus of the hundred and foure pounds, at the pleasure of the maior and communalitie for their paines to be taken about the receipts and payments of the said hundred pounds.

The like order in all points is taken for the deuertie of an hundred and foure pounds in the yere 1578, to the citie of Canturburie. In the yere 1579 to Reading, 1580 to the companie of the merchant tailors, 1581 to Gloucester, 1582 to Worcester, 1583 to Gloucester, 1584 to Salisburie, 1585 to Westchester, 1586 to Ipswich, 1587 to Southampton, 1588 to Lincoln, 1589 to Winchester, 1590 to Wrenthorpe, 1591 to Hereford, 1592 to

Cambridge, 1593 to Shrewsburie, 1594 to Lin, 1595 to Bath, 1596 to Derby, 1597 to Ipswich, 1598 to Colchester, 1599 to Newcastle. And then to begin againe at Wistow an hundred and foure pounds, the next yere to the citie of Poike, and so forth to euerie of the said citie and townes, in the like order as before: and thus to continue for euer, as in the indentures tripartite moze plainelie made appeare.]

At this time manie were in trouble for religion, and among others, sir James Hales knight, one of the iustices of the common pless, which iustice being called among other by the counsell of king Edward to subscribe to a deuise made for the disheriting of queene Marie, and the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, would in no wise assent to the same, though most of the other did: yet that notwithstanding, for that he at a quarter sessions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the statutes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, in derogation of the primasie of the church of Rome, abolished by king Henrie the eight, he was first committed prisoner to the kings bench, then to the Counter, & last to the Fleet, where, whether it were thorough extreme feare, or else by reason of such talke as the warden of the Fleet vsed vnto him, of moze trouble like to insue, if he persisted in his opinion (or for what other cause, God knoweth) he was so moued, troubled, and bered, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the Fleet, by wounding himselfe with a penknife, well nere to death. Heuerthelesse afterward being recovered of that hurt, he seemed to be verie conformable to all the queenes proceedings, and was thereupon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the queenes presence, who gaue him words of great comfort: neuerthelesse his mind was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) for in the end he drowned himselfe in a riuer not halfe a mile from his dwelling house in Kent, the riuer being so shalow, that he was faine to lie groweling before he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For beside that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gat him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

During the aforesaid parliament, about the eighth daie of October, there was kept at Paules church in London a publike disputation, appointed by the queenes commandement, about the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, which disputation continued six daies, doctor Weston then being prolocutor of the conuocation, who vsed manie brauemie checks & taunts against the one part, to the preiudice of their cause. By reason whereof the disputers neuer resloved vpon the article proponed, but grew dallie moze and moze into contention, without anie fruit of their long conference, and so ended this disputation, with these words spoken by doctor Weston prolocutor: It is not the queens pleasure that we should herein spend anie longer time, and ye are well enough, for you haue the word, and we haue the sword. But of this matter ye maie read moze in the booke of the monuments of the church. At this time was cardinall Pole sent for to Rome by the queene, who was verie desirous of his coming, as well for the causes before declared, as also for the great affection that she had to him, being hir neere kinsman, and consenting with hir in religion.

This message was most thankesfullie receiued at Rome, and order taken to send the said cardinall hither with great expedition: but before his coming, queene Marie had married Philip prince of Spaine,

Sir James Hales in trouble for religion.

See before pag. 1083.

Moze temptations in afflictions, against which we are to praye for patience.

He drowned himselfe.

A publike disputation about the real presence in the sacrament.

John Fox.

Cardinall Pole sent for home.

The council
divided about
the receiving
of the cardinall.

as after shall appeare. But here to touch somewhat the coming of the said cardinall. When he was arrived at Calis, there was conference had amongst the counsellors of the queene for the maner of his receiving: some would have had him verie honourably met and interteined, as he was in all places where he had before passed, not onelie for that he was a cardinall, and a legat from the pope; but also for that he was the queenes nere kinsman, of the house of Clarence. Fewertheless, after much debating, it was thought meetest, first, for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he stood attainted by parlement, and also for that it was doubtful how he being sent from Rome, should be accepted of the people, who in five and twentie yeares before, had not bene much acquainted with the pope or his cardinals, that therefore (untill all things might be put in order for that purpose) he should come without anie great solemnitie unto Lambeth, where (in the archbishops house) his lodging was prepared.

Cranmer
archbishop of
Cantuarburie
arrested of
treason.

The third of November next following, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarburie (notwithstanding that he had once refused plainelie to subscribe to king Edwards will, in the disheriting of his sister Marie, and alledging manie reasons and arguments for the legitimatation of both the kings sisters) was in the Guildhall in London arraigned and attainted of treason, namelie for aiding the duke of Northumberland with horse and men against the queene, as aforesaid. At the same time also, the lady Jane of Suffolke (who for a while was called queene Jane) and the lord Gilsford her husband, the lord Ambrose and lord Henrie Dobleie sonnes to the duke of Northumberland, were likewise arraigned and attainted, and therbyon led backe againe to the tower. In the beginning of Januarie next following, Charles the sixt emperor sent into England an honorable ambassage, amongst whom was the Conte de Aiguemont admerall of the low countries, with Charles Conte de la Laing, John de Montmorencie lord of Curriers, and the chancelloz of France, with full commission to conclude a mariage betwene Philip prince of Spaine his sonne & heire, and queene Marie (as you have heard) which ambassage took such place, that shortly after all things were finished accordingly.

Ambassadors
from the em-
perour.

Ab. Fl. ex I. S.
pag. 1077.
Stephan
Cardiner mar-
ket an oration
to the lords
of the counsell
concerning
the queenes
marriage.

On the fourteenth of Januarie, doctor Stephan Cardiner bishop of Winchester lord chancelloz of England, in the chamber of presence at Westminster, made to the lords, nobilitie, and gentlemen, an oration verie eloquent, wherein he declared that the queenes maiestie, partlie for amitie, and other weightie considerations had, after much sute on the emperours and prince of Spaines behalfe made, determined by the consent of the counsell and nobilitie, to match hir selfe with the said prince in most goodlie and lawfull matrimonie; and declared further, that she should have for hir jointer thirtie thousand ducats by the yeare, with all the low countrie of Flanders, and that the issue (if there happened anie) betwene them two lawfullie begotten, should be heire as well to the kingdome of Spaine, as also to the said low countrie. He said therefore that they were all bound to thanke God, that so noble, worthy, and famous a prince would vouchsafe so to humble himselfe, as in this marriage to take vpon him rather as a subject, than otherwise. For the queene & hir counsell should rule all things as she did before, and that there should be of the counsell no stranger, neither to have custodie of any forts or castles, &c: nor to beare anie rule or office in the queenes house, or else where in all England, with diuerse other articles there by him rehearsed. Wherefore he said the queenes plea-

Cardiner co-
menseeth the
king of
Spaine.

sure and request was, that like god subiects for his sake, they would most lovinglie receive him with reverence, love, and honour. On the next daie, the lord maior of London with his brethren the aldermen, were sent for to the court, and to bring with them forty of the head commoners of the citie, unto whom before the counsell, the lord chancelloz made the like oration, desiring them to behaue themselves like good subiects with all humblenesse and reioysing.

But this marriage was not well thought of by the commons, nor much better liked of manie of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cause of religion, conspired to raise war, rather than to see such change of the state. Of the which conspiracie though there were manie confederats, yet the first that shewed force therein, was one sir Thomas What a knight in Kent, who in verie deed was driven to prevent the time of the purposed enterpryse by this hap. Diverse of the partakers in this conspiracie, being withdratone from London (where they had denised their drift) home into their countries (amongst whom the said sir Thomas What was one) it fell out, that whildest he was returned into Kent, where his lands and livings chiefe lie, a gentleman of that shire, one to the said sir Thomas What most deere, was by the counsell for other matters committed to the Fleet. Whereupon he verelie suspecting his secrets were betrayed, had no other shift (as he took it) but to put on armour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices. And hereupon giving intelligence of his determination to his associates, as well at London, as else where, on the Thursday next following, being the five and twentieth of Januarie at Maidstone, being accompanied with master Thomas Jele and others, published a proclamation against the queenes marriage, desiring all his neighbours, friends, and Englishmen to ioine with him and others, to defend the realme in danger to be brought in thalldome unto strangers: and herewith he gat him to Rochester, and met with sir George Harper by the waie, that was one appointed afore to ioine with him in that quarrell. They brake up the bridge at Rochester, and fortified the east part of the towne, & staid there abiding the coming of more strength, and in the meane while suffered all passengers to passe quietlie thorough the towne to London, or to the sea, taking nothing from them, but onelie their weapons.

In the meane while, sir Henrie Jele, Anthoine Knevet esquier, and his brother William Knevet were busie in west Kent to raise the people there; and likewise in east Kent there were other that were of the same confederacie, which set forth the like proclamations at Miltun, Ashford, and other towne there in that part of the shire: and thus in each part of Kent in a maner was great stir. But yet such was the diligence and waite circumspection of John Twine at that present maior of Cantuarburie, for that he misliked their disordered attempts, that there was not any of that citie knowne to stir, or go forth to ioine themselves with the said sir Thomas What, or with anie other of his confederats: and yet verelie the more part of the people in all other parts of that shire were marvellouslie affected to the said sir Thomas Whats quarrell, doubting that which might follow of the queenes matching hir selfe thus with a stranger. At Miltun went a gentleman of those parts named Christopher Koper, went about to resist them that set forth this proclamation, he was taken and conveyed to Rochester unto master What. Likewise master Lucke and master Dorell justices of peace, were fetched out of their owne houses, & likewise brought to Rochester, where they with the said Koper were kept as prisoners.

What publi-
sheth a procla-
mation at
Maidstone.

The cometh
to Rochester.

Sir George
Harper.

Christopher
Koper.

Master Lucke
& master
Dorell.

Sir

Sir Thomas Southwell

The Duke of Northumberland

Bartholomew

Edward

Bartholomew

Sir Thomas What had writtten vnto sir Robert Southwell shiriffe of Kent, to moue him in respect of the preferuacion of the common-wealth now in danger to be ouerrun of strangers, through the pretended marriage, if it should go forward to ioint with him and others, in so necessarie a cause for the disappointing of the same marriage, and so worke so with the lord of Aburgauennie, with whom he might do much, that it might please him also to ioint with them. But as well the said sir Robert Southwell, as the said lord of Aburgauennie, and one George Clerke assembled themselves with such power as they might make against the said sir Thomas What and his adherents; and coming to Walling on the saturdaye, being the market daie & feuen and twentieth of Januarie, the said sir Robert Southwell having penned an exhortation to dissuade the people, and to bring them from having anie liking to What's enterprise, did read the same openlie vnto all the people there assembled, in confuting, reproving, and refelling the proclamations set forth by sir Thomas What and his adherents.

On the other part, sir Henrie Ilesie, Anthonye Kneuet, and his brother William Kneuet being at Lambidge, proclaimed the shiriffe, the lord of Aburgauennie, & George Clerke gentleman, traitors to God, the crowne, and the common-wealth, for raising the quenes subiects, to defend the most wicked & diuellish enterprise of certeine of the wicked & peruerse counsellors. And this they pronounced in their owne names & in the names of sir Thomas What, sir George Harper, and of all the faithfull gentlemen of Kent, & trustie commoners of the same. This done, they marched to Seuennocke, meaning from thence to passe to Rochester. But in the meane time the foresaid 27 of Januarie, there came from the quene an herald & a trumpetter to sir Thomas What, but he was not suffered to passe the bidge, and so did his message at the bidge end, in the hearing of sir Thomas What and diuerse others. The effect of his message was, to offer pardon to so manie as within foure and twentieth houres would depart to their houses, and become quiet subiects.

Sir Thomas Cheineie lord warden sent also vnto What, with wordes of contempt and defiance, desirous in deed to haue bene doing with him, if he had not mistrusted his owne people, which he should haue brought against him, as those that fauoured so greatly What's cause, that they would haue bene loth to haue seene him take anie foile. And that sir Thomas What knew well enough, and therefore desired nothing more than to haue him come forth, vnderstanding that he wanted no friends, as well about him, as all other that would take in hand to repress him with force gathered in that shire. The lord of Aburgauennie, the shiriffe Warram Sentleger, and diuerse other gentlemen that were assembled at Walling, laie there within foure miles of Rochester on saturdaye at night, & having aduertisement that sir Henrie Ilesie, the two Kneuetes, and certeine other, with five hundred Welshmen, being at Seuennocke, meant earlie in the morning to march towards Rochester for the aid of What against the duke of Norfolkke, that was come to Grauesend with five hundred white cotes Londoners, and certeine of the gard: and further that the said sir Henrie Ilesie and the Kneuetes meant in their waie to burne and spoile the house of George Clerke gentleman: they departing with five hundred gentlemen & likewise peomen, verie earlie that fundaie in the morning, marched out in order till they came to Wrotham heath, where they might easilie heare the sound of their aduersaries drums, and thereupon followed after them with all speed, till they came to a

place called Barrow greene, through which laie the right readie waie from Seuennocke towards master Clerks house. Here the lord of Aburgauennie staied for the coming of his entines, and vnderstanding they were at hand, placed his men in order, thinking to giue or take the ouerthrow. But they upon their approach, misliking (as it should seme) the match, shanke aside as secretlie as they could, by a bywaie, and were so farre gone before the lord of Aburgauennie vnderstood thereof by his espials, as for doubt of ouertaking them afore their coming to Rochester, he was driuen to make such hast for the ouertaking of them, as diuerse of his footmen were farre behind at the onset giuing.

The first fight that the lord of Aburgauennie could haue of them, after they forsooke their purposed waie, was as they ascended Wrotham hill, direalie vnder Pallam master Berchams house, where they thinking to haue great advantage by the winning of the hill, displayed their ensignes, thinking they had bene out of danger. But the Lord of Aburgauennie made such hast after them, that ouertaking them at a field in the parish of Wrotham, a mile distant from the verie top of the hill, called Blacke toll field, after some resistance with shot and arrowes, and profer of onset made by their horsemen, they were put to flight, and chased for the space of foure miles, euen to Hartleie wood. Thescore of them were taken prisoners, and some on both sides were wounded, as commonlie cometh to passe in an ordinarie and priuat fraie: how then is it possible, that a skirmish should be vnseasoned with slaughter and bloodshed, speciallie in a sedition or insurrection, which is the plague of all common-wealths, as the poet saith:

regnum pessima pestis seditio.

Sir Henrie Ilesie fled into Hampshire, Anthonye Kneuet made such shift, that he got that night vnto Rochester; and the same time sir George Harper departing from sir Thomas What, and coming to the duke of Norfolkke, submitted himselfe vnto his grace, & the duke receiued him. Which duke (as before ye haue partlie heard) being sent with five hundred Londoners, and certeine of the gard for his better defense, to go against the Kentishmen thus assembled with sir Thomas What, was come downe to Grauesend, set forth from thence on mondaie the nine and twentieth daie of Januarie, about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, marching towards Stroud on this side of Rochester, & about foure of the clecke in the after none of the same daie, he arriued at Stroud neare vnto Rochester, hauing with him sir Henrie Jerningham capteine of the gard, sir Edward Baie, sir John Fog, knights, John Conert, Roger Appleton, esquiers, Maurice Crissh the bishop of Rochester, Thomas Swan gentleman, with certeine of the gard, and others, to the number of two hundred or thereabout, besides Bzet and other five capteins, who with their bands taried behind at Spittle hill neare vnto Stroud, whilst the duke went to Stroud to see the placing of the ordinance, which being readie charged & bent vnto the towne of Rochester, and perceiuing by sir Thomas What and his men by hanging out their ensignes, little to regard him, the duke commanded one of the peeces to be fired and shot off into Rochester, and as the gunner was firing the peece, sir Edward Baies eldest son came in all hast to the duke, and told him how the Londoners would betraie him.

Herewith turning backe, he might haue told how Bzet, and the other capteins of the white cotes with their bands being vpon the hill, and at his backe, made great and loud shouts sundrie times, crying: We are all Englishmen, we are all Englishmen: fashioning themselves in araic, readie bent with

Barrow greene

Wrotham hill, yallam.

Blacke toll field.

The skirmish.

The duke of Norfolkke arriued at Stroud.

The recruiting of the Londoners.

The duke
with the cap-
taine of the
gard, &c. put to
their shifts.

The shiriffe of
Kent rideth to
the counsell.

The duke of
Suffolke goeth
downe into
Leicester-
shire.

The citie of
Conentrie.

The duke of
Suffolke kept
out of Co-
nentrie.

their weapons to set upon the duke, if he had made
any resistance: whereupon the duke willed the peo-
ples that were bent against Rochester, to be turned
upon Blet and his fellows. But upon further con-
sideration the shot was spared, and the dukes grace,
with the capitaine of the gard, considering with wo-
full hearts their chiefe strength thus turned against
them; and being thus introned both behind and be-
fore with enemies, shifted themselves awoate, as did
also their companie. Sir Thomas What accompa-
ned with two or three, and not manie mo, came forth
halfe a mile from Rochester, to meet Blet and the o-
ther capitaine, amongst whom was sir George Har-
per, notwithstanding his former submission to the
duke. Their meeting verelie seemed right sofull
both in gesture and countenance, & therewith having
saluted each other, they entered all togither into Ro-
chester. The lord of Aburgawennie & the shiriffe were
greatlie abashed when they understood of this mis-
hap, for they doubted that such as were euill disposed
before, would not be greatlie amended thereby. The
shiriffe being then at Maidstone, hasted to come to
Spalling, where the lord of Aburgawennie laie, and
upon his coming thither, he took aduise to ride in
post to the counsell, to know their minds how they
would direct them. Sir Thomas What and his asso-
ciats were greatlie recomforted with this new sup-
plie added to their strength, by the recolling thus of
the Londoners: and verelie it bred no small hope in
all their hearts, that withed well to his enterpryse,
that he should the better attaine vnto the hoped end
of his purpose. But it pleased God otherwisse, who ne-
uer prospereth anye that attempt such exploits with-
out publike and lawfull authoritie.

In this meane while, the duke of Suffolke being
persuaded to ioin with other in this quarrell, as he
that doubted (as no small number of true English-
men then did) least the pretended marriage with the
Spanish king should bring the whole nobilitie and
people of this realme into bondage and thraldome
of strangers, after he was once aduertised that sir
Thomas What had prevented the time of their pur-
posed enterpryse, he secretlie one euening departed
from Shene, and rode with all speed into Leice-
stershire, where in the towne of Leicester and o-
ther places, he caused proclamation to be made
in semblable wise, as sir Thomas What had done,
against the quenes match which he meant to make
with the said king of Spaine: but few there were
that would willinglie hearken thereto. But now ye
must understand, that before his coming downe,
he was persuaded that the citie of Conentrie would
be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens be-
ing thoroughlie bent in his fauour, in so necessarie a
quarrell, for defense of the realme against strangers,
as they were then persuaded.

But howsoever it chanced, this proued not alto-
gether true: for whether through the mistaking which
the citizens had of the matter, or through negligence
of some that were sent to sollicit them in the cause,
or chieflie (as should seeme to be most true) for that
God would haue it so, when the duke came with sir
or seven score horsemen well appointed for the pur-
pose, presenting himselfe before the citie in hope
to bee receiued, he was kept out. For the citi-
zens through comfort of the erle of Huntington that
was then come downe, sent by the quene to staie the
countreies from falling to the duke, and to raise a
powder to apprehend him, had put themselves in ar-
mor, and made all the prouision they could to defend
the citie against the said duke. Whereupon percei-
uing himselfe destitute of all such aid as he looked
for among his friends in the two shires of Leicester
and Warwick, he got him to his manour of Aisle,

distant from Conentrie five miles, where appoin-
ting his companie to disperse themselves, and to
make the best shift each one for his owne safegard
that he might, and distributing to euery of them a
portion of monie, according to their qualitties, and
his store at that present, he and the lord John Creie
his brother bestowed themselves in secret places
there within Aisle parke; but through the untrus-
tiness of them, to whose trust they did commit them-
selves (as hath bene credible reported) they were
betrayed to the earle of Huntington, that then was
come to Conentrie, and so apprehended they were
by the said earle, and afterwards brought bp to
London.

The duke had meant at first to haue rid awoate (as
I haue credible heard) if promise had bene kept by
one of his seruants, appointed to come to him to be
his guide; but when he either feining himselfe sicke,
or being sicke in deed, came not, the duke was con-
strained to remaine in the parke there at Aisle, ho-
ping yet to get awoate after that the search had bene
passed oner, and the countreie once in quiet. How-
euer it was, there he was taken, as is said, togither
with his brother the lord John Creie; but his bro-
ther the lord Thomas got awoate in deed at that time,
meaning to haue fled into Wales, & there to haue
got to the sea side, so to transport himselfe oner into
France, or into some other foreign part. But in the
borders of Wales he was likewise apprehended
through his great mishap, and folie of his man that
had forgot his capcase with monie behind him in his
chamber one morning at his inne; and coming
for it againe, upon examination that he should be,
it was mistrusted that his master should be some
such man, as he was in deed, and so was staied, fa-
ken, and brought bp to London, where he suffered,
as after shall appeare.

But now to returne vnto sir Thomas What. Af-
ter that the Londoners were resolued to him, as be-
fore ye haue heard; the next daie being tuesday the
thirtieth of Januarie, he marched forth with his
bands, and six peeces of ordnance (which they had
gotten of the quenes) besides their owne. And first
they came to Cowling castell, an hold of the lord
Cobhams, foure miles distant from Rochester, and
not much out of the waie towards London, whither
they were now fullie determined to go, in hope of
friends which they trusted to find within and about
the citie. At their coming to Cowling, knowing
that the lord Cobham was within the castell, they
bent their ordnance against the gate, breaking it
with sundrie shots, and burning it bp with fier, made
a waie through it. The said lord Cobham defended
the place as stoutlie as he might, hating but a few
against so great a number, and so little store of mu-
nition for his defense: he himselfe yet discharged his
gun at such as approached the gate right hardlie, and
in that assault two of his men were slaine. After
this assault, and talke had with the lord Cobham,
sir Thomas What marched to Grauesend, where he
rested that night.

The next daie he came to Dartford with his bands,
and laie there that night, whither came to him sir
Edward Hastings master of the quenes horse, and
sir Thomas Cornwallis knights, both being of the
quenes priuie counsell, and now sent from him
to sir Thomas What, to understand the cause of his
commotion. When he understood they were come, he
toke with him certeine of his band to the west end
of the towne, where he had lodged his ordnance.
And at the lighting downe of sir Edward Hastings
and his associat, sir Thomas What hating a parti-
san in his hand, aduancing himselfe some what afoor
such gentlemen as were with him, traced nere them:

The duke of
Suffolke ap-
prehended.

The lord
John Creie
taken.

The lord
Thomas
taken.

Cowling
castell.

The lord
Cobham.

to whome the maister of the hofte spake in substance as followeth. The queenes maiestie requirith to vnderstand the verie cause wherefore you haue thus gathered together in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traitor, and yet in your proclamations and persuasions, you call your selfe a true subiect, which can not stand together. I am no traitor quoth William at, and the cause wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme from danger of being ouerun with strangers, which must follow, this marriage taking place.

Why, quoth the queenes agents, there be no strangers yet come, who either for power or number ye need to suspect. But if this be your onelie quarrell, because ye mislike the marriage, will ye come to communication touching that case, and the queene of hir gracious goodnesse is content ye shall be heard. I yield thereto, quoth sir Thomas Wyatt: but for my suertie I will rather be trusted than trust, and therefore demanded, as some haue written, the custodie of the towler, and hir grace within it; also the displacing of some counsellors about hir, and to haue other placed in their romes. There was long & stout conference betwene them, in so much that the maister of the hofte said: What, before thou shalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou shalt die, and twentie thousand with thee. And so the said maister of the hofte, and sir Thomas Cornuallis, perceiving they could not bring him to that point they wished, returned to the court, aduertising the queene what they had heard of him. The same daie being the first of february, proclamation was made in London by an herald, to signifie that the duke of Suffolkes companie of horsemen were scattered, and that he himselfe and his brethren were fled. Also that sir Peter Carew, and sir Saluen Carew knights, and William Gibes esquire, which being parties to the conspiracie of the said duke, with sir Thomas Wyatt & others, were likewise fled. True it was that sir Peter Carew, perceiving himselfe in danger to be apprehended, about the thre and twentieth of Januarie last past fled out of the realme, and escaped into France: but the other taried behind and were taken.

Moreover, on this first daie of februarye being Candlemas euen, the emperors ambassadors, of whome ye haue heard before, hearing of Wyatts harrie appoaching thus towards London, sped themselves awaie by water, and that with all hast. The queene then lieng at hir palace of White hall beside Westminster, and hearing of hir enemies so nere, was counselled for hir safegard to take the towler of London, whereunto the would by no means be persuaded. Neuerthelesse, to make hir selfe more stronger of friends in the citie, so soone as the said ambassadors were departed, she came to the Guildhall in London: against which time, order was taken by the lord maior, that the chiefe citizens in their lueries should be there present. After that the queene had taken hir place in the said hall, and silence made, she with verie good countenance uttered in effect this oration following.

Queene Mariess oration in Guildhall in a solemne assemblie.

I Am (quoth she) come vnto you in mine owne person, to tell you that which alreadie you doe see and know, that is, how traitorously & seditiously a number of wickedly rebels haue assembled themselves together against both vs and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was onelie to resist a marriage de-

termined betwene vs and the prince of Spaine. To the which pretended quarrell, and to all the rest of their euill contriued articles ye haue bene made priuie. Since which time, we haue caused diuerse of our priuie counsell to resort euen to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterprise. By whose answers made againe to our said counsell, it appeared that the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrell. For they now swaruing from their former articles, haue betwailed the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantly demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our towler, and not onelie the placing & displacing of our counsellors; but also to vse them & vs at their pleasures.

Now louing subiects, what I am, you right well know. I am your queene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme, and to the lawes of the same (the spousall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your allegiance and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of England; I not onelie take all chaffendome to witnesse, but also your acts of parlement confirming the same. My father (as ye all know) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right descended vnto me. And to him alwaies ye shewed your selues most faithfull and louing subiects, and him obeyed and serued as your liege lord & king: and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter. Which if you doe, then maie you not suffer anie rebell to surpe the gouernance of our person, or to occupie our estate, especiallie being so presumptuous a traitor: as this Wyatt hath shewed himselfe to be; who must certeinlie, as he hath abused my ignorant subiects to be adherents to his traitorous quarrell: so doth he intend by colour of the same, to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue scope to the rascall and forlorne persons, to make generall hauocke and spoile of your goods. And this further I say vnto you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturalie a mother loueth hir children, for I was neuer the mother of anie; but certeinlie a prince and gouernor may as naturalie and as earnestlie loue subiects, as the mother doth hir child. When assure your selues, that I being your soueraine ladie & queene, doe as earnestlie and as tenderlie loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that ye as hartlie and faithfullie loue me againe: and so louing together in this knot of loue and concord, I doubt not, but we together shall be able to giue these rebels a short and speedie overthrow.

And as concerning the case of my intended marriage, against which they pretend their quarrell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduise of all our priuie counsell; yea, and by assent of those to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so considered & weighed the great commodities that might insue thereof, that they not onlie thought it very honorable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all our louing subiects. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neither so precise or wedded to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chuse where I lust, or else so amorous as needs I must haue one. For God I thanke him (to whome be the praise thereof) I haue hitherto liued a virgin, and doubting nothing but with Gods grace shall as well be able so to liue still. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my body behind me to be your gouernour, I trust you

Demands are pretended to be sent from Wyat and his companie to queene Marie.

How he pretended the spoile of their goods it appeared in that he coming to Southwiche, did hurt neither man, nor child, neither in house nor in a pennie of their goods.

Queene Mariess oration touching hir marriage.

The promise
of queene
Marie touch-
ing hir mar-
riage.

would not onelic reioice thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certeinlie if I either did know or thinke, that this marriage should either turne to the danger or losse of anie of you my louing subiects, or to the detrimēt or impairing of anie part or parcell of the roiall estate of this realme of England, I would neuer consent thereto, neither would I euer marrie while I liued. And in the word of a queene I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probable appere before the nobilitie and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commoditie of all the whole realme; that then I will absteine, not onelic from this marriage, but also from anie other, whereof perill maie insue to this most noble realme. Wherefore now as god & faithfull subiects plucke by your harts, and like trus men stand fast with your lawfull prince against these rebelles, both our enemies and yours, and feare them not: for assure you that I feare them nothing at all, & I will leaue with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasurer to be your assistants, with my lord maior, for the defense and safeguard of this citie from spoile and sarrage, which is onelic the scope of this rebellious companie.

After this oration ended, the citizens saming well satisfied therewith, the queene with the lords of the counsell returned to White hall from whence she came: and forthwith the lord William Howard was associate with the lord maior of London, whose name was sir Thomas White for the protection and defense of the citie. And for more surtie, as well of hir owne person, as also of hir counsellors and other subiects, she prepared a great armie to meet with the said rebelles in the field, of which armie William Herbert earle of Denbroke was made generall, which earle with all speed requisite in such a case, prepared all things necessarie to such a seruice belonging. The same daie sir Thomas Wyatt having with him foureteene ensignes, containing about foure thousand men, although they were accounted to be a farre greater number, marched to Delford strand, eight miles from Delford, and within foure miles of London: where vpon such aduertisement as he received by spiall, of the queens being in the Guildhall, & the order of the people to hir wards, he remained that night & the next whole daie; diuerse of his owne companie doubting by his longer tarrieng there than in other places, and vpon other presumptions which they gathered, that he would haue passed the water into Essex.

Wyat mar-
ched to Delford
strand.

His prisoners Christopher Koper, George Dorell, and John Lucke esquires, who were kept some what strict, for that they seemed sicklie, and finding within the towne no conuenient harborough or attendance, were licenced by sir Thomas Wyatt, vpon promise of their two ships to be true prisoners, to provide for themselves out from the towne, where they best might. But they breaking promise with him, sought waies to escape and come no more at him. On saturday following berie earlie Wyatt marched to Southwoke, where approaching the gate at London bridge foot, he called to them within to haue it opened: which he found not so readie as he looked for. After he had bene a litle while in Southwoke, and began to trench at the bridge foot, and set two peeres of ordinance against the gate, diuerse of his soldiors went to Winchester place, where one of them (being a gentleman) began to fall to rising of things found in the house. Wherewith sir Thomas Wyatt seemed so much offended, that he threatened fore to hang him euen presentlie there vpon the wharfe, and so as he made others to beleue he meant to haue

Wyat suffereth
his prisoners
to go abrode
vpon their
word.
Wyat cometh
into South-
woke.

done, if captaine Birt and others had not intreated for him.

The lord William Howard lord admirall of England, being appointed by the queens commission captaine generall, with the lord maior sir Thomas White, watched at the bridge that night with three hundred men, caused the draw bridge to be helven downe into the Thames, made rampiers and fortifications there, sending the same with great ordinance. Wyatt yet aduentured the breaking downe of a wall out of an house ioining to the gate at the bridge foot, whereby he might enter into the leade ouer the gate, & came downe into the lodge about eleven of the clocke in the night, where he found the porter in a lumber, and his wife with other waking, and watching ouer a cole; but beholding Wyatt, they began suddenlie to start as greatlie amazed. Wyatt quoth Wyatt, as you loue your liues sit still, you shall haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrant, and so were quiet, and made no noise. Wyatt and a few with him went forth as farre as the draw bridge: on the other side whereof he saw the lord admirall, the lord maior, sir Andrew Jud, and one or two others in consultation for ordering of the bridge, whereunto he gaue diligent heed and care a good while, and was not sene.

Wyat
and his
company
enter
the
city.

Wyat
and his
company
enter
the
city.

This done, he returned and said to some of his companie; This place first is too hot for vs. And here vpon falling in counsell what was best to do: some gaue aduise that it should be good to returne to Grænelwich, and so to passe the water into Essex, whereby their companie (as they thought) should increase, and then assaie to enter into London by Aldgate: and some were of opinion, that it were better to go to Kingston vpon Thames, and so further west. Other there were, among which sir Thomas Wyatt himselfe was chiefe, would haue returned into Kent to meet with the lord of Aburgauenie, the lord Warden, the shiriffe, sir Thomas Poile, sir Thomas Kempe, sir Thomas Finch, and others that were at Rochester, comming on Wyatts backe, with a great companie well appointed, perswading himselfe (whether truelie or not I know not) that he should find among them more friends than enemies. But whether his desire to returne into Kent grew vpon hope he had to find aid there, or rather to shift himselfe alwaie, it was doubted of his owne companie; and some of them that knew him well (except they were much deceived) repoyred not long before their execution, that his desire to returne into Kent, was onelic to shift himselfe ouer the sea.

The lord Warden being at Rochester (as ye haue heard) well furnished both with horse and men, perfectlie appointed to no small number, was willing to haue followed after Wyatt, and to haue shewed his good will against him in the queens quarrell: but yet vpon deliberation had, & aduise taken with others that were there with him, he thought good first to vnderstand the queens pleasure how to proceed in his dealings; and here vpon he rode post to the queene himselfe, leaving the lord of Aburgauenie and the rest of the gentlemen with him and their hands behind till his returne. On sunday the fourth of February, the lord admirall caused a strong ward of three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight of the clocke at night, and then (for their release) entered the watch of other three hundred: so that the bridge was thus garded both daie and night with three hundred men in armes. It troubled Wyatt and all his companie berie sore, to see that London did so stiffelie stand and hold out against them: for in the assistance which they looked to haue had of that citie, all their hope of prosperous speed consisted. But now that they saw themselves greatlie disappointed

Sir Thomas
White being
at the
bridge.

Wyat and his
company
enter
the
city.

The lord
Warden of
the cinque
ports
berie
willing
to follow
Wyat.

Wyat at
the
bridge.

wherein, they meant yet to set all on a hazard. and so the first of Februarie being Shyoutaefdaie, afore six of the clocke in the morning, they departed out of Southwiche, marching directlie towards Kinge's stone ten miles distant from London, standing upon the Thames, where they arrived about foure of the clocke in the after none: and finding thirtie foot or thereabout of the brydge taken awaie, saving the posts that were left standing; What practised with two mariners to swim over, and to conueie a barge to him, which the mariners through great promises of preferment accordingle did, wherein What and certeine with him were conueied over: who in the meane time that the number of soldiors baited in the towne, caused the brydge to be repaired with ladders, planks and beames, the same being tied together with ropes and bonds, so as by ten of the clocke in the night it was in such plight, that both his ordinance and companies of men might passe over without perill. And so about eleven of the clocke in the same night, What with his armie passing over the brydge without either resistance or perill, & before it could be once knowne at the court, marched toward London, meaning (as some haue written) to haue bin at the court gate before daie that morning. Nevertheless, before he came within six miles of the citie staling for a peece of his great artillerie which was dismounted by the waie, his comming was discovered before daie: wherby the erle of Penbroke general of the queenes armie was with his men in good order of battell in St. James field beside Westminister, two or thre houres before What could reach thither.

The earle having vnderstanding by his espials, what waie What would march, placed his armie in this order. First, in a fielde on the west side of Saint James were all his men of armes, and demillances; over against whome in the lane next to the parke, were placed all the light horsemen. All which bands of horsemen were vnder the charge of the lord Clinton, being marshall of the field. The great artillerie was planted in the middlest and highest place of the causeie next to the house of Saint James, with certeine fielde peeces lying on the flanke of ech battell. After that both the armies were in sight, and that the great artillerie began to thunder from either side without harme (as it happened to either of both) What perceiving that he could not come by the fore right waie without great disadvantage, when he was come to the parke corner, he leauing the causeie, swarued, and toke the nether waie towards Saint James. Which being perceived by the queenes horsemen, who late on either side of him, they gaue a sudden charge, and diuided his battell asunder hard behind What's ensignes, whereby so manie as were not passed before with What, were forced to flee backe towards Wainford: and certeine of his company which escaped the charge, passed by the backe side of Saint James towards Westminister, and from thence to the court: and finding the gates shut against them, staid there a while, and shot off manie arrowes into the windows, and ouer into the garden, neuertheless without anie hurt there that was knowne. Whereupon the said rebels, over whom one Kinnet was capteine, perceiving themselves to be to few to do anie great feat there, departed from thence to follow What, who was gone before toward London: and being on their waie at Charingcrosse, were there encountered by sir Henrie Jerningham capteine of the queenes garb, sir Edward Blae master of the ordinance, and sir Philip Paris knights, which were sent by the order of the earle of Penbroke with a band of archers, and certeine fielde peeces for the rescue of the court, who encountered the said rebels at Charingcrosse as aforesaid, after they had

discharged their fielde peeces vpon them, joined with those rebels, halfe armed, and halfe unarmed, at the push of the pike, & verie sone dispersed their power; whereof some fled into the lane toward Saint Giles, & some on the other side by a backhouse towards the Thames. In this conflict, which was the chiefe trial of that daie, there was not found haine to the number of twentie of those rebels, which happened by reason that vpon their joining with the queenes soldiors, the one part could not be discerned from the other; but onelie by the mire and dirt taken by the waie; which stucke vpon their garments comming in the night: wherefore the cry on the queenes part that daie was; *Wotone with the daggle taitles.*

But now to returne to What, of whom ye heard before, who being come to the parke corner, and perceiving the perill apparent, if he should haue marched straight vpon the earls battels, which were ranged on either side of the causeie, did therefore possiblie turne from the great causeie, marching along the wall of the house of Saint James towards London: which could not haue bene without his no little losse of manie of his traine, if those that had the charge on that side the field, had bene as forward in seruice as the earle with his battell, and the horsemen before shewed themselves to be. Neuertheless What following his purposed enterpryse, which was to haue entered into London, where he hoped of great aid, marched on with the small company that was left him, as far as a common inne called the Bell sauage, nere to Ludgate, beleauing to haue found some readie there to haue receiued him; wherin his hope was much deceived, finding the said gate fast shut, and strongly garded with a number as well of most honest citizens, as also of other bands of the queenes assured friends. Whereupon What, who comming towards the citie, made himselfe sure of his enterpryse, now desperat of the same, was faine to turne his face, retiring backe againe to Temple-barre, where he with the rest of his retinue determined (as it seemed) to trie their last fortune.

The earle of Penbroke (who all this while kept his force together in the fielde) hearing of What's approach to London, sent to him an herald called Clarenceur, with great communication to desist from his rebellious enterpryse. Which herald did his message accordingle, albeit that some said he promised the said What his pardon: which should not seeme to be true, as well for that the herald had no such commission, as also that it was not like, that the said What being then disarmed of all his forces, would haue refused mercie in such a case. For true it is, that he with a verie few of his folowne fellowship, not manie about the number of one hundred persons, stood still as men amazed at the gate of the Temple-barre, till such time as sir Maurice Barkleie knight, by chance riding towards London vpon his horse, with footcloth, without anie armour, finding the said What there, perswaded him to repaire to the court, and to yield himselfe to the queene. Whose aduise he followed, and incontinent mounted vp on the said sir Maurice horse behind him, and so road to the court voluntarilie to yield himselfe prisoner.

This comming of What to the court being so little looked for, was great cause of reioicing to such as of late before stood in great feare of him. But more than maruell it was to see that daie, the invincible heart and constancie of the queene hir selfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonlie more fearefull than men be, shewed hir selfe in that case more stout than is credible. For she, notwithstanding all the fearefull netes that were brought to hir that daie, neuer abashed. Inasmuch that when one or two noblemen being hir captains,

What marched along the wall of Saint James towards London.

An herald sent to what willing him to desist from his enterpryse.

Sir Thomas was submitted himselfe to the queene.

The stout
courage of
queene Ma-
rie.

came in all hast to tell hir (though vntreliche) that hir
battels were yelded to What. She nothing moued
thereat, said it was their fond opinion that durst not
come nere to see the trill, saying further, that she
hir selfe would enter the field to trie the truth of hir
quarrell, and to die with them that would serue hir,
rather than to yeld one tot vnto such a traitor as
What was, and prepared hir selfe accordinglye.

Proclamati-
on that none
should keepe
in his house
any of What's
faction.

But by the apprehension of What that doctage
toke noie effect; for after his comming to the court
he was immediatlie committed to the Tower. As
sone as the taking of What was knowne, the ar-
mie (whereof mention is made before that late in
saint James field) was discharged, and euerie man
licensed to depart to his home. And forthwith pro-
clamation was made, as well in the citie of London
as in the suburbs of the same, that none vpon paine
of death should keepe in his or their houses any of
What's faction; but should bring them forth imme-
diatlie before the lord maior, and other the quenes
iustices. By reason of which proclamation a great
multitude of their said poore castles were brought
forth, being so manie in number, that all the prisons
in London sufficed not to receiue them: so that for
lacke of place they were faine to bestow them in di-
uerse churches of the said citie. And shortly after
were set vp in London for a terrour to the common
foie (because the white cotes being sent out of the ci-
tie, as before ye haue heard, reuolted from the quens
part to the aid of What) twentie paire of gallows,
on the which were hanged in seuerall places to the
number of fiftie persons, which gallows remained
standing there a great part of the summer following
to the great griefe of good citizens, and for example
to the commotioners.

Abt. Pl. ex. I.S.
pag. 1087, 1088
1089.
What sent to
the tower.

As for the principals of this faction, namelie Tho-
mas What, William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham,
two brethren named Pantels, and Alexander Bret
were brought by sir Henrie Feringham by water to
the tower prisoners, where sir Philip Denie receiued
them at the bulwourke, & as What passed by he said;
O traitor, there was neuer such a traitor in Eng-
land. To whom sir Thomas What turned, and said, I
am no traitor, I would thou shouldst well know thou
art more traitor than I, it is not the point of an ho-
nest man to call me so, and so went forth. When he
came to the tower gate, sir Thomas Bridges lieute-
nant toke in through the wicket, first Pantell, and
said: Ah thou traitor, what hast thou and thy compa-
nie wrought? But he holding downe his head said
nothing. Then came Thomas Kneuet, whom master
chamberleine gentleman porter of the tower toke
in. Then came Alexander Bret, whom sir Thomas
Pope toke by the bosome, saying: Oh traitor, how
couldst thou find in thy heart to worke such a villa-
nie, as to take wages, and being trusted ouer a band
of men, to fall to hir enemies, returning againe hir
in battell. Bret answered Pea; I haue offended in
that case. Then came Thomas Cobham, whom sir
Thomas Doines toke in, and said, Alas maister
Cobham, what wind headed you to worke such trea-
son? And he answered, Oh sir I was seduced. Then
came in sir Thomas What, whom sir John Bridges
toke by the collar and said, Oh thou villen & unhap-
pie traitor, how couldst thou find in thy hart to
worke such detestable treason to the quenes maie-
stie, who gaue thee thy life and lining once alreadye,
although thou diddest before this time beare armes
in the field against hir, and now to yeld hir battell,
etc. If it were not (saith he) but that the law must passe
vpon thee, I would sticke thee through with my dag-
ger. To the which What holding his arms vnder his
side, and looking grienoulie with a grim loke vpon
the lieutenant, said; It is no maisterie now; and so

Sir Thomas
Bridges lieut-
enant of the
tower.

The zeale of
the lieutenant
therewith self
by his hotian-
guage.

passed on. Thomas What had on a shirt of maile,
with sleeves verie faire, theron a beluet cassicke, and
a yollow lace, with the windlace of his dag hanging
thereon, and a paire of boots on his legs, and on his
head a faire hat of beluet, with a broad bone-worke
lace about it. William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham,
and Bret, were the like appareled.

On the morrow and the next daie following were
brought into the tower prisoners, George Cobham,
10 sir William Cobham, Anthonie Kneuet, Hugh
Booth, Thomas Lane, Robert Kustone, sir George
Harper, Edward What, Edward Fog, George
Dore, and Cutbert Gaughan. The tenth of Fe-
buarie, the earle of Huntington and other genti-
men, and to the number of three hundred besmen,
brought to the tower as prisoners the duke of Sul-
folke, and the lord John Creie his brother from Co-
uentrie, where the duke had remained three daies af-
ter his taking in the house and custodie of Christo-
pher Warren alderman there. The eleventh daie
20 sir Henrie Meie who had fled, was brought into the
tower in an old freese cote, an old paire of hosen, all
his apparell not worth foure shillings. The same daie
came in two of the Culpepers, one Cromar, & Tho-
mas Rampton the duke of Suffolks secretarie.

The twelue of Februarie being mondaie, about
ten of the clocke, there went out of the tower to the
scaffold on the tower hill, the lord Gilsford Wudleie,
sonne to the duke of Northumberland, husband to the
30 ladie Jane Creie daughter to the duke of Suffolke;
and without the bulwourke gate, maister Thomas
Dulleie one of the shiriffes of London receiued him
and brought him to the scaffold, where after a small
declaration he kneeled downe and said his prayers.
Then holding vp his eyes & hands to heauen with
teares, at the last he desired the people to praise for
him, & after he was beheaded. His bodie being laid
in a cart, and his head in a cloth, was brought into
the chapell within the tower, where the ladie Jane,
40 whose lodging was in maister Patriddges house, did
see his dead carcasie taken out of the cart, as well as
she did see him before alius going to his death: a sight
(as might be supposed) to hir worse than death. By
this time was there a scaffold made vpon the greene
ouer against the white tower, for the ladie Jane to
die vpon, who being nothing at all abashed neither
with feare of hir owne death, which then approached,
neither with the sight of the dead carcasie of hir hus-
band when he was brought into the chapell, came
50 forth, the lieutenant leading hir, with countenance
nothing abashed, neither hir eyes anie thing moiste-
ned with teares, with a booke in hir hand, wherein she
prayed untill she came to the said scaffold. Whereon
when she was mounted, this noble yong ladie as
she was indued with singular gifts both of learning
and knoledge, so was she as patient and mild as a
nie lambe at hir execution: and a little before hir
death vttered these words.]

60 The words of the ladie Jane at hir
death, on a scaffold vpon the greene
ouer against the white tower.



God people I am come hither to
die, and by a law I am condem-
ned to the same. My offense a-
gainst the quenes highnes was
onelie in consent to the deuice of other,
which now is deemed treason; but it was
neuer of my seeking, but by counsell of those
who should seme to haue further vnder-
standing of things than I, which knew lit-
tle of the law, and much lesse of the titles
to

The duke of
Suffolke and
the lord Creie
brought to
the tower.

Sir Henrie
Meie.

The lord Gils-
ford Wudleie
executed on
the tower.

The behead-
ing of the ladie
Jane led to
execution.

to the crowne. But touching the procure-
ment and desire therof by me, or on my be-
halfe, I do wash my hands in innocencie
thereof before God, and the face of all you
(good christian people) this daie. And ther-
with the wrong hir hands wherin she had
hir booke. Then (said she) I praise you all
good christian people, to beare me witnesse
that I die a true christian woman, & that
I looke to be saued by none other meanes;
but onelie by the mercie of God, in the
bloud of his onelie sonne Iesus Christ; & I
confesse that when I did knowe the word of
God, I neglected the same, & loued my selfe
and the world, and therefore this plague
and punishment is iustlie & worthilie hap-
pened vnto me for my sins, & yet I thanke
God of his goodnesse, that he hath giuen
me a time and respite to repent. And now
good people while I am alieue, I praise you
assist me with your praiers.

Then kneeling downe, she said the plaine of *Mi-
serere mei Deus*, in English, and then stood vp and gaue
hir maid (called mistresse Ellen) hir gloves and
handkercher, and hir booke she also gaue to maister
Bridges then lieutenant of the tower, and so bntied
hir gowne; and the executioner pressed to helpe hir
off with it, but she desired him to let hir alone, and
turned hir toward hir two gentlewomen, who hel-
ped hir off therewith, and with hir other attires, and
they gaue hir a faire handkercher t^out about hir
eyes. Then the executioner knelted downe and asked
hir forgiveness, whom she forgave most willinglie.
Then he willed hir to stand vpon the straw, which
done, she saw the blocke, & then she said; I praise you
dispatch me quicklie. When she knelted downe, say-
ing: Will you take it off before I laie me downe
Wherunto the executioner answered, No madam.
Then tied she the handkercher about hir eyes, and see-
ling for the blocke, she said; Where is it, where is it?
One of the standers by guided hir therevnto, and she
laide downe hir head vpon the blocke, and then stre-
ched forth hir bodie, and said; Lord into thy hands I
commend my spirit, and so finished hir life. ¶ This
was the end of the lord Gilsford and the ladie Jane,
whose deaths were the more hastened for feare of
further troubles and sturs for hir title, like as hir fa-
ther had attempted.]

Thus (as saith maister Fox) were beheaded two
innocents, in comparison of them that sat vpon
them: for they did but ignorantlie accept that which
the others had willinglie deusted, and by open pro-
clamation consented to take from others, and giue
to them. And verelie how unwilling she was to take
it vpon hir, there are yet living that can testifie.
Judge Morgan now that gaue the sentence against
hir, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving cried
continualle to haue the ladie Jane taken auaie
from him, and so ended his life. ¶ Touching this ladie
Jane in the high commendation of hir goodlie mind,
I find this report in maister Foxes appendix to his
Acts and Monuments, namelie that being on a time
when she was verie young at Newhall in Essex at
the ladie Maries, was by one ladie Anne Wharton
desired to walke, and they passing by the chapell, the
ladie Wharton made low curtise to the popish sacra-
ment hanging on the altar. Which when the ladie
Jane saw marvelled why she did so, and asked hir
whether the ladie Marie were there or not? Vnto
whome the ladie Wharton answered no, but she said
that she made hir curtise to him that made vs all.
Wherewith the ladie Jane, how can he be there that

made vs all, and the baker made him? This hir an-
swer comming to the ladie Maries care, she did ne-
uer loue hir after, as is crediblie reported, but este-
med hir as the rest of that christian profession. In
further witnesse of which good ladies disposition (both
to God and the world) besides the verses of certeine
learned men vrtant to hir praise, these following
were found written by hir owne hand with a pin:

*Non aliena putes homini, quæ obstringere possunt,
Sors hæterna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.*

Jane Dudley.

Deo iuvante, nil nocet liquor malus.

Et non iuvante, nil inus labor gravis.

Post tenebras spero videre lucem.

¶ Upon saturday being the seventeenth of Februa-
rie the duke of Suffolke was arreigned at West-
minster, and there condemned to die by his peers,
the earle of Arundell being that daie chiefe iudge.
Where some haue written that he should at his last
going downe into the countrie make proclamation
in his daughters name, that is not so: for whereas
he stood by in Leicester, when at his commandment
the proclamation was there made against the
queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, &c: ma-
ster Dampourt then maior of that towne said to him;
My lord I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to the
queenes maiestie. So saith he maister maior (laieng
his hand on his sword) he that would hir anie hurt, I
would this sword were through his hart, for she is the
mercifullest prince, as I haue trulie found hir, that
ever reigned, in whose defense I am & will be readie
to die at hir foot. ¶ On mondaie the nineteenth of Fe-
buarie, the lord Cobhams thre sonnes, and foure o-
ther men were brought to Westminster, the yong-
est of the Cobhams, to wit maister Thomas Cob-
ham was condemned with the other foure men, but
the other two Cobhams came not to the barre. ¶ On
the wednesdaie the one and twentieth of Februarie
the lord Thomas Greie that had bene taken (as be-
fore ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought together
with sir James Croft through London to the tower,
by a number of horsemen.

¶ Upon the fridaie the thre and twentieth of Fe-
buarie, about nine of the clocke, the duke of Suf-
folke was brought forth of the tower vnto the scaf-
fold on the tower hill. And in his comming thither,
there accompanied him doctor Welton, as his ghost-
lie father: notwithstanding (as it should seme) a-
gainst the will of the said duke. For when the duke
went by the scaffold, the said Welton being on his
left hand, pressed to go by with him. The duke with
his hand put him downe againe off the staires, and
Welton taking hold of the duke forced him downe
likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the
duke againe put him downe. Then Welton said,
that it was the queenes pleasure he should so do;
wherewith the duke casting his hands abrode, ascen-
ded by the scaffold, and paused a pretty while after,
and then he said.

60 The duke of Suffolks words to the
people at the time of his death.

Masters, I haue offended the
queene and hir lawes, and there-
by am iustlie condemned to die,
and am willing to die, desiring all
men to be obedient; and I praise God that
this my death maie be an example to all
men: beseeching you all to beare mee wit-
nesse that I die in the faith of Christ, tru-
sting to be saued by his bloud onelie (and by
none other trumperie) the which died for
me,

The duke of
Suffolke.

John Fox.

The duke of
Suffolke be-
headed.

Doctor
Welton.

me, and for all them that do trulie repent, & steadfastlie trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me, that when ye see my breath depart from me, you will praise to God that he maie receiue my soule. And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying that the queene had forgiven him.

Then maister Wileston declared with a loud voice that the queenes maiestie had forgiven him. Then officers of the standers by said with audible voice: Such forgiveness God send thee, meaning doctor Wileston. Then the duke kneled upon his knees, and said the psalme *Deus in excelsis deus*, unto the end, holding by his hands, and looking up to heauen. And when he had ended the psalme, he said: *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and scarfe to the executioner, and therewith the executioner kneled downe: and asked the dukes forgiveness, and the duke said, God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine office, I praise thee do it quickly, and God haue mercie to thee. Then stood there a man and said, My lord, how shall I do for the monie that you owe me? And the duke said, Alas god fellow, I praise thee trouble me not now, but go thy waie to my officers. Then he knitt a kercher about his face, and kneled downe and said, Our father which art in heauen, &c. unto the end: and when he said, Christ haue mercie vpon me, and laid downe his head on the blocke: and the executioner took the axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it vp to the people, according to the common custome of execution.

Such was the end of this duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous, more easie in deed to be led than was thought expedient, of stomach neuer the lesse stout and hardie, haile and some kindled, but pacified streight againe, and soie if in his heat ought had passed him otherwise than reason might seme to beare, upright and plaine in his privat dealings, no dissembler, nor well able to beare injuries, but yet forgetting the same, if the partie would seme but to acknowledge his fault, and seeke reconciliation. Bountifull he was and verie liberall, somewhat learned himselfe, and a great fauourer of those that were learned, so that to manie he shewed himselfe a verie *Alecanas*: as free from couetousnesse, as void of pride and disdainfull haughtinesse of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than clauy backe flatterers. And this vertue he had, he could patientlie heare his faults told him, by those whome he had in credit for their wisdom and faithfull meaning toward him, although sometime he had the hap to reforme himselfe thereafter. Concerning his last offense for the which he died, it is to be supposed, he rather took in hand that vnlawfull enterprise through others persuasions, than of his owne motion for any malicious ambition in himselfe.

But now to let this duke rest with God, we will proceed with the storie. The same daie (or as some haue noted the day before) a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the citie with their halters about their necks. They were in number above two hundred. Upon the saturday, the eight and twentieth of february, sir William Scentlow was committed as prisoner to the maister of the horse to be kept. This sir William was at this time one of the ladie Elizabeths gentlemen. Upon the saturday being the nine and twentieth of february, sir John Rogers was committed to the tower: Upon the tuesday in the same weeke being the seuen & twentieth of february, certeine gentlemen of Kent were

sent into Kent to be executed there. Their names were these: the two Mantels, two Kincetts, and Bzer: with these maister Rudson also, and certeine other hereticks condemned, and should haue bene executed, but they had their pardon.

Sir Henrie Kinc knight, Thomas Kinc his brother, and Maister Mantel, suffered at Maidston, where Maister first displayed his banner. Antheus Kinc and his brother William Kinc, with another of the Mantels, were executed at Denegate: But at Rochester was hanged in chains. On the daie the third of March, sir Gauden Carew, and Maister Gibs were brought through London to the tower, with a companye of horsemen. The fifteenth daie of March next following, the ladie Elizabeth the queenes sister, and next heire to the crowne, was apprehended at her manour of Ashbridge, for suspicion of Maisters conspircie. And from thence (being that time verie sick) with great rigour brought prisoner to London. On the Sunday after being the seventeenth of March, she was committed to the tower, where also the lord Courtneie earle of Denonshire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like suspicion committed prisoner.

Touching the imprisonment of the fore said ladie Elizabeth, & the lord Courtneie, thou shalt note here for thy learning (good reader) a politike point of practice in Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being alwaies a capitall enimie to ladie Elizabeth, & thinking now by the occasion of maister Maister to pick out some matter against the lord Courtneie, and so in the end to intangle the ladie Elizabeth, deuised a pestilent practice of conuicience, as in the storie here following maie appere. The storie is this. The same daie that sir Thomas died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtneie, who there before the lieutenant and the shiriffes, kneling downe vpon his knees, besought the lord Courtneie to forgive him, for that he had falselie accused both the ladie Elizabeth and him: and so being brought from thence vnto the scaffold to suffer, there openlie in the hearing of all the people cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession, doctor Wileston there standing by, cried to the people, saying: Beloeue him not (good people) for he confessed otherwise before vnto the councill.

After the execution done of sir Thomas Maister, which was the eleventh daie of Aprill, word was brought immediatlie to the lord maior sir Thomas White a little before dinner, how maister Maister had cleared the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie, and the words also which doctor Wileston spake vnto the people. Wherevnto the lord maior answering; Is this true quoth he: Said Wileston so: In sooth I neuer took him otherwise but for a knaue. Upon this the lord maior sitting downe to dinner (who dined the same daie at the Bridgchouse) commeth in sir Martine Bolves with the recorder, newlie come from the parlement house, who hearing of the maiors and shiriffes this report of Maisters confession, both vpon the scaffold and also in the tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrarie to this, told the same daie in the parlement house, which was, that sir Thomas Maister should desire the lord Courtneie to confesse the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certeine prentise dwelling in saint Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plaisterer being one of queene Maries seruants, among other talke, made mention how sir Thomas

* The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Gentlemen sent into Kent to be executed.

Execution.

Ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie prisoners in the tower.

Abt. Pl. ex. loli. Jo. m. p. 1552.

A point of practice of Stephen Gardiner against the ladie Elizabeth.

Doctors words against the ladie Elizabeth.

The lord maiors answer to D. Wileston.

the Lord
Courtneie
the Lord
Courtneie

the Lord
Courtneie
the Lord
Courtneie

The Lord
Courtneie
the Lord
Courtneie

that cleared the ladie Elizabeth; and the lord Courtneie, to be no contenters to his rising. Which words being brought to Cardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent upon the same, sir Ambroise And was sent by the said bishop to the lord maior, commanding him to bring the said pretense to the Starchamber, which was accused of these words, that he should saie that What was constrained by the counsell to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, & the lord Courtneie. Which fellow when he was come to the Starchamber, the aforesaid Cardiner letting passe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude; how miraculously almightie God had brought the queens maiestie to the crowne, the whole realme in a manner being against hir, and that he had brought this to passe for this singular intent & purpose, that this realme being overwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce the same againe to the true catholike faith. And where she took the ladie Elizabeth into hir fauour, and loued hir so tenderlie, and also the lord Courtneie, who of long time had bene detained in prison, and by hir was set at libertie, and receiued great benefits at hir hands; and notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most vnnaturallie and traitorously against hir with that heinous traitor What, as by the confession of What (said he) and the letters sent to and fro maie plainlie appeare: yet there was some in the citie of London, which reported that What was constrained by the counsell to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, & yet you my lord maior (quoth he) haue not sene the same punishment.

The partie is here, said the lord maior. Take him with you (said Cardiner) and punish him according to his desert, and said further: My lord, take heed to your charge, the citie of London is a whirlepole and a sink of all euill rumors, where they be bred; and from thence spread into all parts of this realme. There stood by the same time the lord Shandois, who being then lieutenant of the tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speake, to saue his tale, came in with these words as followeth: My lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I shall tell you, I being lieutenant of the tower when What suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtneie; which when I had done, he fell downe upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confesse the truth of himselfe, as he had done before, and to submit himselfe vnto the queens mercie. And thus much of this matter I thought to declare, to the intent that the reader perceiuing the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, & comparing the same with the true testimonie of What himselfe, and with the testimonie of the sheriffes, the which were present the same time when sir Thomas What asked the lord Courtneie forgiuenesse, maie the better iudge of the whole case and matter for the which the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were so long in trouble.]

On saturday next following being Easter euen, and the foure and twentieth of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham his sonne and heire, were deliuered out of the tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither upon some suspicion about Whats rebellion: as diuerse others were, whereof manie were put to death, as C.O. reporteth:

*Nunc istos laqueos illos questio torquet
At uisus, habet multos custodia clausos
Firma: viros, atro pars plurima deditur Orci.*

Not long after, queene Marie partly offended with the Londoners, as fauourers of Whats conspiracy, and partly perceiuing the more part of them nothing inclined towards hir proceedings in religion, which turned manie of them to losse, summoned

a parlement to be holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that citie, which with the vniuersitie, towne, and countrie, had shewed themselves verie forward in hir seruice; but speciallie in restoring of the religion called catholike: for which appointed parlement there to be holden, great provision was made, as well by the queens officers, as by the townsmen & inhabitants of the countrie round about. But the queens mind in short space changed, and the same parlement was holden at Westminster in April next following, wherein the queene proponed three speciall matters, the one for the marriage to be had betweene hir and the prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the restoring againe of the popes power and iurisdiction in England. As touching hir marriage, it was with no great difficultie agreed vpon; but the other request could not be easilie obtained.

Howbeit, it was to be wished, euen to the disappointing of that marriage (if God in counsell had so provided) that the whole bodie of the parlement had bene semblable affected, as it is said, that all the nations of the world were, when the sunne would needs be married. Against which purpose of the sun the people of all regions assembling, humbly besought Jupiter to cast in a blocke and impediment against that wedding. But Jupiter demanding of them why they would not haue the sun married; one stepping vp made answer for the rest, and said: Thou knowest well enough Jupiter that there is but one sun, and yet he burneth vs all: who, if he be married & haue children, as the number of suns must needs increase; so must their heat and feruentnesse be multiplied, whereby a generall destruction of all things in their kind will insue. Whereupon that match was ouerthrowne. But God aboue ruling by prouidence all things here beneath, had purposed this confusion; so that it was not in the power of man to withstand or interrupt it: howbeit it was his pleasure (to what end himselfe best knoweth) to curse it with barrennesse, as he did the queene hir selfe with a short and vnpeaceable reigne (full of sedition and bloodshed) as our English poet noteth:

*Quaepost Eduardi mortem conuersio reuertit,
Transiit in varias alieno pectore partes
Brutigenas, fauet hic externis, ille perusis
Mysterium rabiem, tantis obstacula querit
Opportuna malis: cum iam prob dedecus ingens,
Seditio exoritur, regnorum pessima pestis.*

On the eight of April, then being sunday, a cat with hir head thorne, and the likenesse of a vestment cast ouer hir, with hir fore feet tied together, and a round peece of paper like a singing cake betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, nere to the crosse, in the parish of saint Mattheu: which cat being taken downe, was caried to the bishop of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Pauls crosse by the preacher doctor Wendleton.]

On the tenth daie of April following, Thomas Crammer archbishop of Cantuarburie, Nicholas Kidley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer once bishop of Worcester, who had bene long prisoners in the tower, were now conueied from thence, and caried to Windsor, and afterward to the vniuersitie of Oxford, there to dispute with the diuines and learned men of the contrarie opinion. Two daies after their coming to Oxford, which was the twelue daie of the said moneth, diuerse learned men of both the vniuersities were sent in commission from the conuocation (which during this parlement was kept in Pauls church in London) to dispute with those prisoners in certaine articles of religion. The names of them that were in commission were these following. Of Oxford, doctor Weston prolocutor, Cole, Chassey, Pic, Haryesfield, Smith. Of Cambridge,

A parlement
summoned at
Oxford but
not holden.

All nations
in the world
against the
marriage of
the sun, and
why.

John Stow.
A cat hanged
in Cheape.

The bishops
Crammer,
Latimer, and
Kidley sent
to Oxford.

Commissioners.

10. Fox in acts
and monu-
ments;

Sir Thomas
What arreig-
ned.

The effect of
What's induc-
ment.

What answer
reth not dis-
crete to the
question guilt-
ie or buguil-
tie.

Rebels res-
port touching
rebellion.

What's ex-
hortation to
fornice by his
owne exam-
ple.

What altereth
his mind con-

Cambidge, Dong, Seton, Watton, Atkinson, Becknam, Sedgewike. The thirtieth daie of April these disputers assembled themselves in saint Maries church, to conuent the thre persons aboue named vpon certaine articles of religion, who being brought out of prison before them, were seuerallie one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye maie read in the booke of monuments of the church more at large, and there find the whole proceeding in that matter.

Sir Thomas What (of whome mention is made before) was about this time brought from the tower to Westminster, and there arreigned of high treason: the earle of Sussex, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Comwallis, with others being his iudges. The effect of whose indictment among other things speciallie was; that he the fourteenth daie of Februarie last before, with force of armed multitude and ensignes displayed, had at Wainford raised open warres against our soueraigne ladie the queene, traitorously pretending and practising to depriue hir of hir crowne and dignitie; and the question was demanded of him, whether he was guiltie or no: Whereat he staied, and besought the iudges that he might first aske a question, before he answered discrete to the point, and he was licenced so to do. The question was, that if he should confesse himselfe guiltie, whether the same should not be prejudiciall vnto him, so as he by that confession should be barred from uttering such things as he had moze to say: Wherevnto it was answered by the court; Maister What (said they) ye shall haue both leaue and leasure to saie what you can.

Then my lordes (quoth he) I must confesse my selfe guiltie, and in the end the truth of my case must inforce me. I must acknowledge this to be a iust plague for my sins, which most greivouslie I therefore haue committed against God, who suffered me thus brutishlie & beastlie to fall into this horrible offense of the late. Wherefore all you lordes & gentlemen, with other here present, note well my words, lo here & see in me the same end which all other commonlie had, which haue attempted the like enterprise from the beginning. For peruse the chronicles thorough, & you shall see that neuer rebellion attempted by subjects against their prince and countrie, from the beginning did euer prosper, or had euer better successe, except the case of king Henrie the fourth: who although he became a prince, yet in his act was but a rebell, for so must I call him: & though he prevailed for a time, yet was it not long but that his heires were deposed, and those that had right againe restored to the kingdome and crowne, and the usurpation so sharplie reuenged afterward in his blood, as it well appeared, that the long delate of Gods vengeance was supplied with moze greivous plagues in the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examples past, as also by this my present infelicitie and most wretched case. Oh most miserable, mischievous, brutish & beastlie furious imaginations of mine! I was persuaded that by the marriage of the prince of Spaine, the second person of this realme, and next heire to the crowne, should haue bene in danger; and that I being a free borne man, should with my countrie haue bene brought into the bondage and seruitude of aliens and strangers. Which brutish beastlie opinion then seemed to me reason, and wrought in me such effects, that it led me headlong into the practice of this detestable crime of treason.

But now being better persuaded, and vnderstanding the great commoditie & honor which the realme

should receiue by this marriage: I stand firme and fast in this opinion, that if it should please the queene, to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subject in this land that should moze trulie and faithfullie serue hir highnes than I shall; nor no sooner die at hir graces feet in defense of hir quarrell. I serued hir highnes against the duke of Northumberland, as my lord of Arundell can witnesse. My grandfather serued most truelie hir graces grandfather, and for his sake was set vpon the racke in the tower. My father also serued king Henrie the eight to his good contentation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his son. And in witnesse of my blood spent in his seruice, I carrie a name. I alledge not all this to set forth my seruice by waie of merit, which I confesse but dutie: but to declare to the whole world, that by abusing my wits, in pursuing my misadvised opinion, I haue not onelie ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well doings of me and my ancestors (if euer there were anie) but also haue bene the cause of mine owne death and destruction. Neither do I alledge this to iustifie my selfe in anie point, neither for an excuse of mine offense: but most humble submit my selfe to the queenes maiesties mercie and pietie, desiring you my lord of Sussex, and you maister Hastings, with all the rest of this honorable bench, to be meanes to the queenes highnes for hir mercie, which is the greatest treasure that maie be given to anie prince from God, such a vertue as God hath appropriated to himselfe. Which if hir highnesse would sake to extend vnto me, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truelie, and not refuse to die in hir quarrell. For I protest before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer meant hurt against hir highnesse person.

Then said the queenes attorneie; Maister What you haue great cause to be sorie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onelie vndone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other gentlemen, who being true men might haue serued their prince and countrie: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue bene borne withall the better. But being not so contented to staie your selfe, you haue so procured the duke of Suffolke (a man some traied to your purpose) and his two brethren also: by meanes whereof without the queenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble house. And yet not so staied, your attempt hath reached as far as in you laie to the second person of the realme, in whom next to the queenes highnesse resteth all our hope and comfort, whereby hir honor is brought in question, and what danger will follow, and to what end it will come God knoweth: of all this you are the author. What answered; As I will not in anie thing iustifie my selfe, so I beseech you, I being in this wretched estate, not to ouercharge me, nor to make me seeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch anie person by name; but that I haue written I haue written. Then said the iudge; Maister What, maister attorneie hath well moued you to repent your offenses, and we for our parts with you the same.

Then said sir Edward Hastings maister of the queens house; Maister What, doe ye remember when I and maister Comwallis were sent vnto you from the queenes highnesse to demand the cause of your enterprise, and what you required? Were not these your demands, that the queenes grace should go to the tower, and there remaine; and you to haue the rule of the tower and hir person, with the treasure in keeping, and such of hir counsell as you would require to be deliuered into your hands, saing that you would be trusted and not truft: Which words when What had confessed, then said the queenes solicitor; Your presumption was ouer great, & your attempt

The fruits of
rebellion by
What's confes-
sion.

The queenes
attorneye spee-
ch to what.

What's an-
swer to the queenes
attorneye.

The iudge
speech.

Sir Edward
Hastings
speech to
what.

the Cor-
pore late mu-
tine of the
late speak-
ing

Thomas
Cromwell
was mur-
dered by
the queene
himselfe

was conse-
nted

was conse-
nted

the com-
missioners

tempt in this case hath purchased you perpetuall in-
fame, and shall be called *Whits* rebellion, as *Whit*
Tilers was called *Whit* Tilers rebellion. Then
said the attorneie; *Whit* Tilers, were you not pri-
ue to a deuise whereby the queene should haue bene
murdered in a place where she should walke? I do
not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I
must saie on your behalfe, that you misliked that de-
uise: That deuise (said *Whit*) was the deuise of
William Thomas, whome euer after I abhorred for
that cause.

Then was a letter shewed, which *Whit* being
in Southwarke had written to the duke of Suff-
olke, that he should meet him at Kingstone byrge,
and from thence to accompanie him to London, al-
though he came with the fewer number. *Whit* at
the first did not seeme to remember anie such letter;
but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hand.
Then was it demanded of him among other things,
whie he refused the queenes pardon when it was offer-
red him. *Whit* says (quoth he) I confesse my fault and
offense to be most vile and heinous, for the which first
I aske God mercie, without the which I cannot chal-
lenge anie thing, such is my offense alreadie com-
mitted. And therefore I beseech you to trouble me
with no more questions, for I haue deliuered all
things vnto his grace in writing. And finally here
I must confesse, that of all the voyages wherein I
haue serued, this was the most desperat and painfull
iourney that euer I made. And where you asked whie
I receiued not the queenes pardon when it was offer-
red vnto me; Oh unhappie man! What shall I saie?
When I was entred into this diuellish & desperat ad-
uenture, there was no waie but waie through with
that I had taken in hand: for I had thought that o-
ther had bene as farre forward as my selfe, which I
found farre otherwise. So that being bent to keepe
promise with all my confederats, none kept promise
with me; for I like a moule went through thicke and
thin with this determination, that if I should come
to anie treatie, I should seeme to belyate all my
friends.

But whereto should I spend anie more words?
I paid my selfe wholie vnto the queenes mercie,
knowing well that it is onelie in his power to make
me (as I haue deserued) an open example to the
world with *Whit* Tiler; or else to make me partici-
pant of that pittie which she hath extended in as great
crimes as mine; most humble beseeching you all to
be means for me to his highnesse for mercie, which is
my last and onelie refuge. The will of God be done
on me. Upon this confession without further triall,
he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of
treason, which was to be hanged, drawne and quarter-
red. And the eleuenth of Aprill next folowing he was
brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned
of his drawing and hanging, but had his head stric-
ken off, and his bodie cut in foure quarters, and set
vp in diuerse places about the citie, but his head was
set vpon the gallows at *White* hill beside *White*
parke.

Now here by the waie is to be noted, that he being
on the scaffold ready to suffer, declared that the la-
die Elizabeth and sir Edward Courtenie earle of
Deuonshire, whome he had accused before (as it se-
med) were neuer priue to his doings, as farre as he
knew, or was able to charge them. And when doctor
Weston, being then his confessor, told him that he
had confessed the contrarie vnto the counsell, he an-
swered thus; That I said then, I said, but that which
I saie now is true. This was the end of *Whit* and
his conspiracie; as also the like hath bene of others
attempting anie rebellion. For as their enterprise
being, according to the proper qualitie thereof, con-

sidered, is flat against Gods ordinance, who hath or-
deined magistracie to be reuerenced of inferiours: so
it is vnlikelie to bring other than infortunatnesse,
and shamefull ouerthrowes vnto the attempters; in
whome although will want not to compass anie
worke; yet force failing, they misse the marke, & all
because rashnesse giueth them a false aime. Where-
fore to conclude this tragicall discourse of *Whit*, it
were to be wished that the sage and safe counsell of
Cato were put in common practise of all men, which
is, to vndertake & do nothing aboute their strength:

*Quod potes, id rentes, operis ne pondere pressus,
succumbat labor, & frustra tentata relinquas.*

The seuenth daie of Aprill next folowing, sir
Nicholas Throckmorton knight was brought from the
tower to Guildhall in London, and there arreigned
of high treason, as adherent and principall counsell-
lor to the said *Whit* and the duke of Suffolke, and
the rest in the fore remembred conspiracie against
the queene. But he so stoutlie, and therewithall so cum-
ninglie answered for himselfe, as well in clearing of
his cause, as also in defending & auoiding such points
of the lawes of the realme, as were there alleaged a-
gainst him, that the quest which passed vpon his life
& death found him not guiltie. With which verdict the
iudges and counsellors there present were so much
offended, that they bound the iurie in the summe of
five hundred pounds a pece, to appeare before the
counsell in the Starchamber, at a daie appointed.
And according to their bond, they appeared there be-
fore the said counsell vpon Wednesdaye, being the
one and twentieth of Aprill, and saint Marks daie;
from whence after certeine questioning, they were
committed to prison, Emanuel Lucar and master
Whetston to the tower, and the other to the Fleet.

But now forsomuch as a copie of the order of sir
Nicholas Throckmortons arreignment hath come
to my hands, and that the same maie giue some light
to the historie of that dangerous rebellion, I haue
thought it not impertinent to insert the same: not
wishing that it should be offensive to anie, sith it is
in enerie mans libertie to weie his words bittered
in his owne defense, and likewise the doings of the
quest in acquitting him, as maie leaue god to their
discretions, sith I haue deliuered the same as I haue
found it, without preiudicing anie mans opinion, to
thinke thereof otherwise than as the cause maie
moue him.

The order of the arreignment of sir
Nicholas Throckmorton knight, in the Guildhall
of London the seuenteenth daie of Aprill 1554,
expressed in a dialog for the better understand-
ing of euerie mans part.

Sir Thomas White knight lord maior of
London, the earle of Shrewesburie, the
earle of Derby, sir Thomas Bromleie
knight lord chiefe iustice of England, sir
Nicholas Hare knight master of the rolles, sir
Francis Englefield knight master of the court of
wards and liberties, sir Richard Southwell knight
one of the priue counsell, sir Edward Walgraue
knight one of the priue counsell, sir Roger Cholme-
leie knight, sir William Portman knight one of
the iustices of the Kings bench, sir Edward San-
ders knight one of the iustices of the common pleas;
master Stanford & master Dier sergeants, master
Edward Griffin attourne generall, master Sen-
dall and Peter Tichborne clerks of the crowne.
First, after proclamation made, and the commission
read, the lieutenant of the tower, master Thomas
Bridges, brought the prisoner to the barre: then si-
lence was commanded, and Sendall said to the pris-
oner

Sir Nicholas
Throck-
morton ar-
reigned of
high treason
clearly him-
selfe.

The names
of the com-
missioners.

The queenes
learned coun-
sell giue con-
science against
the prisoner.

Sendall.

ner as followeth.

Nicholas Throckmorton knight hold up thy hand, thou art before this time indicted of high treason, &c: that thou then and there didst falslie and traitorously, &c: conspire and imagine the death of the quenes maistie, &c: and falslie and traitorously diddest leuie warre against the quene within hir realme, &c: and also thou wast adherent to the quenes enemies within hir realme, giuing to them aid and comfort, &c: and also falslie and traitorously diddest conspire and intend to depose and depriue the quene of hir roiall estate, and so finally destroye hir, &c: and also thou diddest falslie and traitorously deuse and conclude to take violentlie the towne of London, &c. Shall which treasons and eueries of them in maner & forme, &c: art thou gilty or not gilty?

Throckmorton.

State it please you my lords and maisters, which be authorised by the quenes commission to be iudges this daie, to giue me leaue to speake a few words, which doth both concerne you and me, before I answer to the indictment, and not altogether impertinent to the matter, and then plead to the indictment.

Holmele.

No, the order is not so, you must first plead whether you be gilty or no.

Throckmorton.

If that be your order and law, iudge accordingly to it.

Hare.

You must first answer to the matter wherewith you are charged, and then you maie talke at your pleasure.

Throckmorton.

But things spoken out of place, were as good not spoken.

Holmele.

These be but delates to spend time, therefore answer as the law willethe you.

Throckmorton.

My lords I praie you make not too much hast with me, neither thinke not long for your dinner, for my case requireth leasure, and you haue well dined when you haue done iustice trulie. Christ said, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousnesse.

Holmele.

I can forbear my dinner as well as you, and care as little as you peradventure.

Shrewsbury.

Come you hither to cheeke vs Throckmorton: We will not be so vied, no no, I for mine owne part haue forborne my breakfast, dinner, and supper to serue the quene.

Throckmorton.

Hea my good lord I know it right well, I meant not to touch your lordship, for your seruice and pains is euidentlie knowne to all men.

Southwell.

Passer Throckmorton, this talke needeth not, we know what we haue to do, and you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your matter: go to, go to.

Throckmorton.

Passer Southwell, you mistake me, I meant not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I trust you all be well instructed in; and so I satisfie my selfe, sith I shall not speake, thinking you all know what you haue to do, or ought to know: so I will answer to the indictment, and doe plead not gilty to the whole, and to euerie part thereof.

Sendall.

Throckmorton.

How wilt thou be tried?

Holmele.

Shall I be tried as I would, or as I should?

Throckmorton.

You shall be tried as the law will, and therefore you must saie by God and by the countrie.

Throckmorton.

Is that your law for me? It is not as I would, but sith you will haue it so, I am pleased with it, and doe desire to be tried by faithfull iust men, which moze feare God than the world.

The names of the iurors.

Lucar.	How.
Wong.	Whetston.
Martin.	Wainter.
Westwicke.	Wanks.
Baviscarfeld.	Calthop.
Highleie.	Cater.

What time the attornie went forth to master Cholmeleie, and shewed him the shriffes returne, who being acquainted with the citizens, knowing the corruptions and dexterities of them in such cases, noted certeine to be challenged for the quene (a rare case) and the same men being knowne to be sufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be taken to them, but onlie for their byright honesties: notwithstanding, the attornie prompting sergeant Dier, the said sergeant challenged one Bacon, and an other citizen peremptorie for the quene. When the prisoner demanded the cause of the chalenge: The sergeant answered; We need not to shew you the cause of the chalenge for the quene. Then the inquest was furnished with other honest men, that is to saie, Whetston & Lucar, so the prisoner used these words.

I trust you haue not provided for me this daie, as in times past I knew an other gentleman occupie, eng this wooll place was provided for. It chanced one of the iustices vpon gelousie of the prisoners acquittall, for the goodnesse of his cause, said to an other of his companions a iustice, when the iurie did appeare: I like not this iurie for our purpose, they seeme to be too pitifull and too charitable to condemn the prisoner. So no, said the other iudge (to wit Cholmeleie) I warrant you, they be picked fellows for the nonce, he shall drinke of the same cup his fellows haue done. I was then a looker on of the pageant as others be now here: but now I am I, I am a player in that wooll tragedie. Well, for these and such other like the blacke ore hath of late troden on some of their feet: but my trust is, I shall not be so vied. Whilste this talke was, Cholmeleie consulted with the attornie about the storie, which the prisoner espied, and then said as here insueh; Ah my master Cholmeleie, will this soule packing neuer be less?

Whie that doe I, I praie you Mr. Throckmorton: I did nothing I am sure, you doe picke quarrels to me.

Tell master Cholmeleie if you doe well, it is better for you, God helpe you.

[The iurie then was sworn, and proclamation made, that whosoever would giue euidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, should come in and be heard, for the prisoner stood vpon his delerance, where vpon sergeant Stanford presented himselfe to speake.]

And it may please you master sergeant and the others my masters of the quenes learned counsell, like as I was minded to haue said a few words to the commissioners, if I might haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their duties in this place of iustice, and concerning direct indifferencie to be vied towarde me this daie: so by your patience I doe thinke good to saie some what to you, and to the rest of the quenes learned counsell, appointed to giue euidence against me. And albeit you and the rest by order be appointed to giue euidence against me, and interteined to set forth the depositions and matter against me; yet I praie you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am your christian brother; neither you so charged, but you ought to consider equitie; nor yet so privileged, but that you haue a dutie of God appointed you how you shall doe your office; which if you exceed, will be grieuouslie required at your hands. It is lawfull for you to vse your gifts which I know God hath largelie giuen you, as your learning, art, and eloquence, so as thereby you doe not seduce the minds of the simple and vnlearned iurie, to credit matters other wise than they be. For master sergeant, I know how by persuasions, inforcements, presumptions, applieng, implieng, inferring, conteaduring, deducing of arguments, twisting and exceeding

When the iurie was called.

exceeding the law, the circumstances, the depositions and confessions that unlearned men may be inclined to thinke and iudge those that be things indifferent, as at the worst but oversights to be great treasons; such power operators haue, & such ignorance the unlearned haue. Almighty God by the mouth of his prophet doth conclude such aduocates be cursed, speaking these wordes: Cursed be he that doth his office craftilie, corruptilie, and maliciouilie. And consider also, that my blood shall be required at your hands, and punished in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithstanding, you and the iudices excuse alwaies such erroneous doings, when they be after called in question by the verbid of the twelue men: but I assure you, the purgation serue you as it did Pilat, and you wash your hands of the bloodshed, as Pilat did of Christs. And now to your matter.

And it please you my lordes, I doubt not to proue euidentlie and manifestlie, that Throckmorton is worthilie and rightlie indicted and arraigned of these treasons, and that he was a principall deuiler, procurer, and contriuer of the late rebellion; and that *Wiat* at was but his minister. How saie you Throckmorton, did not you send *Wiat* to *Wiat* into Kent, and did deuise that the tower of London should be taken, with other instructions concerning *Wiat*s surre and rebellion?

Saie it please you that I shall answer particularly to the matters objected against me, in as much as my memorie is not good, and the same much decayed since my gracious imprisonment, with want of sleepe, and other disquietnesse: I confesse I did saie to *Wiat* that *Wiat* was desirous to speake with him, as I vnderstand.

Pea sir, and you deuised together of the taking of the tower of London, and of the other great treasons.

No, I did not so, proue it.

Yes sir, you met with *Wiat* sundrie times as shall appeare, and in sundrie places.

That granted, proueth no such matter as is supposed in the indictment.

Stanford read *Wiat*s confession, which was of this effect, that Throckmorton met with *Wiat* one daie in tower street, and told him, that sir Thomas *Wiat* was desirous to speake with him, and *Wiat* demanded where *Wiat* was, Throckmorton answered at his house in Kent, not farre from Cillingham, as I heard saie, where the ships lie. When they parted at that time, and shortly after, Throckmorton met with *Wiat*, vnto whome *Wiat* said; Master *Wiat* doth much mislike the coming of the Spaniards into this realme, and feareth their short abidall here, in as much as daile he heareth thereof, doth see daile diuerse of them arrive here, scattered like fouldioys; and therefore he thinketh good the tower of London should be taken by a sleight, before the prince came, least that pece be deliuered to the Spaniards. How saie you Throckmorton to it? Throckmorton answered; I mislike it for diuerse respects. When so do I said *Wiat*. At another time Throckmorton met me the said *Wiat* in Paules, when he had sent one to my house, to seeke me before, and he said to me; You are admerall of the fleet that now geeth into Spaine. I answered Pea. Throckmorton said, When will your ships be redie? I said within ten daies. Throckmorton said, I vnderstand you are appointed to conduct and carrie the lord priue seale into Spaine, and considering the danger of the Frenchmen, which you saie atme them to the sea apace, we thinke it well done, you put my said lord and his traine on land in the west countrie to auoid all dangers. Throckmorton said also, that

Wiat changed his purpose for taking the tower of London. I said I was glad of it, & as for the Frenchmen, I care not much for them, I will so handle the matter, that the quenes ships shall be (I warrant you) in safegard. Another time I met with master Throckmorton, when I came from the emperours ambassadoys, vnto whome I declared, that the emperor had sent me a faire chaine, and shewed it vnto Throckmorton, who said; For this chaine you haue sold your countrie. I said it is neither French king nor emperor that can make me sell my countrie, but I will be a true Englishman. When they parted, This is the somme of the talke betwixt Throckmorton and *Wiat*.

How my masters of the surie, you haue heard my sayings confirmed with *Wiat*s confession. How saie you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you shall haue *Wiat* iustifie it to your face.

My lordes, shall it please you that I shall answer. Pea, saie your mind.

I may trulie denie some part of this confession, but because there is nothing materiall greatlie, I suppose the whole be true, and what is herein depofed, sufficient to bring me within the compasse of the indictment.

It appeareth that you were of counsell with *Wiat*, at, in as much as you sent *Wiat* downe to him, who offered vnto him diuerse traitorous deuises.

This is but conteaturall, yet sith you will construe it so maliciouilie, I will recompt how I sent *Wiat* to *Wiat*, and then I prae you of the iudges better than master sergeant doth. I met by chance a seruant of master *Wiat*s, who demanded of me for *Wiat*, and shewed me, that his master would gladlie speake with him: and so without aie further declaration, desired me if I met *Wiat* to tell him master *Wiat*s mind, and where he was. Thus much for the sending downe of *Wiat*.

Pea sir, but how saie you to the taking of the tower of London, which is treason?

I answer, though *Wiat* thought met to attempt so dangerous an enterpryse, and that *Wiat* informed me of it, you cannot extend *Wiat*s deuises to be mine, and to bring me within the compasse of treason. For what manner of reasoning or proue is this, *Wiat* would haue taken the tower, Ergo Throckmorton is a traitor? *Wiat* doth make my purgation in his owne confession, even now red as it was by master sergeant, though I saie nothing: for *Wiat* doth auow there, that I did much mislike it. And because you shall the better vnderstand that I did alwaies not alow these master *Wiat*s deuises, I had these wordes to *Wiat*, when he informed me of it; I thinke master *Wiat* would no Englishman hurt and this enterpryse cannot be done without the hurt and slaughter of both parties. For I know him that hath the charge of the pece, & his brother, both men of good seruice, the one had in charge a pece of great importance, Bullongne I meane, which was stoutlie assailed, & notwithstanding he made a good accompt of it for his time: the like I am sure he will do by this his charge. Moreover, to accompt the taking of the tower, is verie dangerous by the law. These were my wordes to *Wiat*. And besides, it is verie vnlike that I of all men would confederate in such a matter against the lieutenant of the tower, whose daughter my brother hath married, and his house and mine alied together by marriage sundrie times within these few yeares.

But how saie you to this, that *Wiat* and you had conference together sundrie times at *Wiat*s house, and in other places?

This is a verie generall charge to haue conference, but whie was it not as lawfull for me to confer with

Wiat

What as with you, or anie other man? I then knew no more by What, than by anie other. And to proue to talke with What was lawfull and indifferent, the last daie that I did talke with What, I saw my lord of Arundell, with other noble men and gentlemen, talke with him familiarlie in the chamber of presence.

Hers. But they did not conspire nor talke of anie sturre against the Spaniards as you did pretend, & meant it against the queene, for you, Crofts, Rogers, and Warner did oftentimes deuise in Warners house about your traitorous purposes, or else what did you so often there?

Throckmorton. I confesse I did mislike the queenes marriage with Spaine, and also the comming of the Spaniards hither, and then me thought I had reason to do so: for I did learne the reasons of my misliking of you master Hare, master Southwell, and others in the parliament house, there I did see the whole consent of the realme against it; and I a hearer, but no speaker, did learne my misliking of those matters, confirmed by manie sundrie reasons amongst you: but as concerning anie sturre or bypore against the Spaniards, I neuer made anie, neither procured anie to be made; and for my much resort to master Warners house, it was not to conferre with master What, but to shew my friendship to my berie god lord the marquisse of Northampton, who was lodged there when he was enlarged.

Stanford. Did not you Throckmorton tell Winter that What had changed his mind for the taking of the towre, whereby it appeared euidentlie that you knew of his doings?

Throckmorton. Cruellie I did not tell him so, but I care not greatly to giue you that weapon to plaie you withall, now let vs see what you can make of it.

Stanford. Yea sir, that proueth that you were priuie to Whats mind in all his deuises and treasons, & that there was sending betwixt you and What from time to time.

Throckmorton. What master sergeant? Dosth this proue against me, that I knew What did repent him of an euill deuised enterpryse? Is it to know Whats repentance sinne? No, it is but a veniall sinne, if it be anie it is not deadlie. But where is the messenger or message that What sent to me touching his alteration, and yet it was lawfull enough for me to heare from What at that time, as from anie other man, for anie act that I knew he had done.

Dier. And it may please you my lords, and you my masters of the iurie, to proue that Throckmorton is a principall doer in this rebellion, there is yet manie other things to be declared: among other, there is Crofts confession, who saith, that he and you, and your complices, did manie times deuise about the whole matters, and he made you priuie to all his determinations, and you shewed him that you would go into the west countrie with the earle of Deuon, to sir Peter Caroe, accompanied with others.

Throckmorton. Master Crofts is yet liuing, and is here this daie, how happeneth it he is not brought face to face to iustifie this matter, neither hath bene of all this time? Will you know the truth? Either he said not so, or he will not abide by it, but honestlie hath reformed himselfe. And as for knowing his deuises, I was so well acquainted with them, that I can name none of them, nor you neither as matter knowne to me.

Retourneie. What shie did you aduise Winter to land my lord priuie scale in the west countrie?

Throckmorton. He that told you that my mind was to land him there, doth parlie tell you a reason whie I said so, if you would remember as well the one as the other: but because you are so forgetfull, I will rectie where

fore. In communication betwixt Winter and me, as he declared to me that the Spaniards prouided to bring their prince hither, so the Frenchmen prepared to interrupt his arrivall: for they began to arme to the sea, and had already certeine ships on the west coast (as he heard.) Unto whom I said, that peradventure not onelie the queenes ships vnder his charge might be in ieopardie, but also my lord priuie scale, and all his traine; the Frenchmen being well prepared to meet with them, and therefore for all cientes it were good you should put my said lord in the west countrie in case you espie anie ieopardie. But what doth this proue to the treasons, if I were not able to giue conuenient reasons to my talke?

Marie sit now cometh the proofes of your treasons, you shall heare what Cutbert Claughan saith against you.

Then sergeant Stanford did read Claughans confession, tending to this effect. That Claughan comming out of Kent, met with Throckmorton at master Warners house, who after he had done commendations from What to him, desired to know where Crofts was. Throckmorton answered, either at Arundell house where he lodgeth, or in Pauls. Then Claughan desired to know how things went at London, saleng; Master What & we of Kent do much mislike the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards for diuerse respects: howbeit, if other countries mislike them as Kent doth, they shall be but hardie welcome, and so they parted. Shortly after Throckmorton met with Claughan in Pauls, unto whom Throckmorton declared with sundrie circumstances, that the Westerne men were in a readinesse to come forwarde, and that sir Peter Caroe had sent unto him euen now, and that he had in order a good band of horsemen, and an other of footmen. Then Claughan demanded what the earle of Denonshire would doe. Throckmorton answered he will mar all, for he will not go hence, and yet sir Peter Caroe would meet him with a band, both of horsemen and footmen, by the waie at Andeuer for his safegard, and also he should haue bene well accompanied from hence with other gentlemen, yet all this will not moue him to depart hence. Whereouer, the said erle hath (as is said) discovered all the whole matter to the chancelor, or else it is come out by his talloz, about the trimming of a shirt of male, and the making of a cloke. At another time, Claughan saith, Throckmorton shewed him that he had sent a post to sir Peter Caroe, to come forwarde with as much speed as might be, and to bring his force with him. And also Throckmorton aduised Claughan to will master What to come forwarde with his power: for now was the time, in as much as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were presented to them. Claughan said also, that Throckmorton & Warner should haue ridden with the said earle westward. Whereouer the said Claughan depose, that Throckmorton shewed him in talke of the earle of Denbroke, that the said earle would not fight against them, though he would not take their parts. Also Claughan said, that Throckmorton shewed him that he would ride downe into Barkeshire to sir Francis Englefields house, there to meet his eldest brother, to moue him to take his part. And this was the sum of Cutbert Claughans confession.

How saie you? Dosth not here appeare euident matter to proue you a principall, who not onelie gaue order to sir Peter Caroe and his adherents, for their rebellious acts in the west countrie, but also procured What to make his rebellion, appointing him and the others also, when they should attempt their enterpryse, and how they should order their doings

ings from thine to time. Besides all this evident matter, you were speciallie appointed to go abwaie with the earle of Devon as one that would direct all things, and give order to all men. And therefore Throckmorton sith this matter is so manifest, and the evidence so apparant, I would advise you to confesse your fault, & submit your selfe to the queenes mercie.

How saie you, will you confesse the matter, and it will be best for you?

No, I will never accuse my selfe untrulie, but in as much as I am come hither to be tried, I praie ye let me have the law favourable.

It is apparant that you late at London as a factor, to give intelligence as well to them in the west, as to what in Kent.

How proue you that, or who doth accuse me but this condemned man?

This will you denie this matter? You shall have Claughan indiffe his whole confession here before your face.

It shall not need, I know his unthamfastnesse, he hath aduowed some of this untrue talke before this time to my face, and it is not otherwile like, considering the price, but he will do the same againe.

My lord and masters, you shall have Claughan to indiffe this here before you all, and confirme it with a booke of.

He that hath said and lied, will not bring in this case sicke to sweare and lie.

Then was Cutbert Claughan brought into the open court.]

How saie you Cutbert Claughan, is this your owne confession, and will you abide by all that is here written?

Let me see it and I will tell you.

Then his confession was shewed him.]

Because you of the iurie the better may credit him, I praie you my lords let Claughan be sworn.

Then was Claughan sworn on a booke to saie nothing but the truth.]

It may please you my lords and masters, I could haue bene well content to haue chose seauen yeares imprisonment, though I had bene a free man in the law, rather than I would this daie haue giuen evidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton; against whome I beare no displeasure: but sith I must needs confesse my knowledge, I must confesse all that is there written is true. How saie you master Throckmorton, was there anie displeasure betwene you and me, to moue me to saie aught against you?

Some that I know. How saie you Claughan, what acquaintance was there betwene you and me, and what letters of credit or token did you bring me from what, or anie other, to moue me to trust you?

As for acquaintance, I knew you as I did other gentlemen: and as for letters, I brought you none other but commendations from master what, as I did to diuerse other of his acquaintance at London.

You might as well forgoe the commendations as the rest: but if you haue done with Claughan my lords, I praie you giue me leaue to answer.

Speake and be short.

I speake generally to all that be here present, but speciallie to you of my iurie, touching the credit of Claughans depositions against me, a condemned man, and after to the matter: and note I praie you the circumstances, as somewhat materiall to induce the better. First I praie you remember the small familiarity betwixt Claughan and me, as he hath aduowed before you, and moreover, to procure credit at my hand, brought neither letter nor token from what, nor from anie other to me, which he also hath confessed here: and I will suppose Claughan to be in as good condition as anie other man here, that is to

saie, an uncondemned man: yet I referre it to your good iudgement, whether it were like that I, knowing onelie Claughans person from an other man, and having none other acquaintance with him, would so frankelie discover my mind to him in so dangerous a matter. How like (I saie) is this, when diuerse of these gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my verie familiars, could not depose anie such matter against me, and neuertheless vpon their examinations haue said what they could: And though I be no wise man, I am not so rash as to vtter to an unknowne man (so I may call him in comparison) a matter so dangerous for me to speake, and him to heare. But because my truth and his falshood shall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconsistency in vttering this his evidence. And for my better credit, it may please you master Southwell, I take you to witnesse, when Claughan first testified this his untrue accusation against me before the lord Paget, the lord Chamberleine, you master Southwell, and others, he referred the confirmation of this his surmised matter, to a letter sent from him to sir Thomas what, which letter doth neither appeare, nor anie testimonie of the said master what against me touching the matter: for I doubt not sir Thomas what hath ben examined of me, and hath said what he could directly or indirectly. Also Claughan saith, that yong Edward what could confirme this matter, as one that knew this pretended discourse betwixt Claughan and me, and there vpon I made sute that Edward what might either be brought face to face to me, or otherwise be examined.

Passer Throckmorton you mislike your matter, Southwell for Claughan said, that Edward what did know some part of the matter, and also was partie of the letter that Claughan sent sir Thomas what.

Pea sir, that was Claughans last shift, when I charged him before the master of the hollie and you, with his former allegations touching his witnesse,

whome when he espied would not do so lewde as he thought, then he bled this alteration. But where be Edward whats depositions of anie thing against me? How it appeareth neither his first nor his last tale to be true. For you know master Bridges, and so doth my lord your brother, that I desired twice or thrice Edward what should be examined, and I am sure, and most assured he hath bene willed to saie what he could, and here is nothing deposed by him against me, either touching anie letter or other conference. Where is Claughans letter sent by sir Thomas what concerning my talke?

But now I will speake of Claughans present estate in that he is a condemned man, whose testimonie is nothing worth by anie law. And because false witnesse is mentioned in the gospell, treating of accusation, hearken I praie you what S. Jerome saith, expounding that place. It is demanded whie Christs accusers be called false witnesses, which did report Christs words not as he spake them. They be false witnesses saith S. Jerome, which do ad, alter, w, c, double, or do speake for hope to avoid death, or for malice to procure another mans death: for all men make easilie gather he cannot speake trulie of me, or in the case of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accusation. Thus much speaketh S. Jerome of false witnesse. By the ciuill law there be manie exceptions to be taken against such testimonies: but because we be not governed by that law, neither haue I my triall by it, it shall be superfluous to trouble you therewith, & therefore you shall heare what your owne law doth saie. There was a statute made in my late soueraigne lord & master his time, touching accusation, and these be the words.

Be it enacted, that no person nor persons, re: shalbe
indicted,

indicted, arraigned, condemned, or convicted for any offense of treason, petit treason, misprision of treason, for which the same offender shall suffer any pains of death, imprisonment, loss, or forfeiture of his goods, lands, &c: unless the same offender be accused by two sufficient & lawfull witnesses, or shall willingly without violence confesse the same. And also in the first yeare of his reigne, it is thus ratified as in sueth.

That no person nor persons shall be indicted, arraigned, condemned, convicted or attainted of the treasons or offenses aforesaid, or for any other treasons that now be, or hereafter shall be; unless the same offender or offenders be thereof accused by two lawfull and sufficient accusers, which at the time of the arraignment of the parties so accused (if they be then living) shall be brought in person before the said parties accused, and avow and mainteine that they haue to saie against the said parties, to proue him guilty of the treasons or offense contained in the bill of indictment laid against the parties arraigned, unless the said parties arraigned shall be willing without violence to confesse the same. Here note (I praye you) that our law doth require two lawfull and sufficient accusers to be brought face to face, and Taughan is but one, and the same most unlawfull and insufficient. For who can be more unlawfull and insufficient, than a condemned man, and such one as knoweth to accuse me is the meane to save his owne life? Remember (I praye you) how long & how many times Taughan execution hath bene respited, and how often he hath bene constrained to accuse (which by Gods grace he withstood untill the last houre) what time perceiving there was no waie to live, but to speake against me or some other (his former grace being taken away) did redeme his life most brutallie and shamefullie, as you see.

Harc.

Why should we accuse you more than any other, seeing there was no displeasure betwixt you, if the matter had not bene true?

Throckmorton.

Because he must either speake of some man, or suffer death, and then he did rather chuse to hurt him whom he least knew, & so loved least, than any other well known to him, whom he loved most. But to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, and therefore I praye you note what I saie. In a matter of lesse weight than triall of life and land, a man maie by the law take exceptions to such as be impaneled, to trie the controuersies betwixt the parties: as for example. A man maie challenge that the shiriffe is his enemy, and therefore hath made a parciall returne; or because one of the iurie is the shiriffe my aduersaries seruant: and also in case my aduersaries villen or bondman be impaneled, I may lawfullie challenge him, because the aduersaries part hath power ouer his villens lands and goods, and hath the vse of his bodie for seruile office: much more I may of right take exception to Taughan's testimonie, my life and all that I haue depending thereupon, and the same Taughan being more bound to the queenes highnesse my aduersaries (that two is me therefore) but so the law doth here so terme him maieistie, than any villen is to his lord: for his highnesse hath not onlie power ouer his bodie, lands, and goods, but ouer his life also.

Stanford.

Yea, the exception are to be taken against the iurie in that case, but not against the witness or accuser, & therefore your argument serueth litle for you.

Throckmorton.

That is not so, for the vse of the iurie, and the witness and the effect of their doings doth serue me to my purpose, as the law shall discusse. And thus I make my comparison. By the ciuill law the iudge doth giue sentence vpon the depositions of the witness, & by your law the iudge doth giue iudgement vpon the verdict of the iurie; so as the effect is both one to finish the matter, triall in law, as well by the

depositions of the witness, as by the iuries verdict, though they varie in forme and circumstance: and so Taughan's testimonie being credited, may be the materall cause of my condemnation, as the iurie to be induced by his depositions to speake their verdict, and so finally thereupon the iudge to giue sentence. Therefore I may vse the same exceptions against the iurie, or any of them, as the principall meane that shall occasion my condemnation.

Why do you denie, that euery part of Taughan's tale is vnttrue?

You may see he will denie all, and saie there was no such communication betwixt them.

I confesse some part of Taughan's confession to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and some part of the matter.

So you of the iurie may perceiue the prisoner doth confesse some thing to be true.

As touching my sending to sir Peter Caroe, or his sending to me, or concerning my abuse to master What to stir or to repaire hither, or touching the earle of Denonshire parting hence, and my going with him, and also concerning the matter of the erle of Penbroke, I do aduow and saie that Taughan hath said vnttrue.

As for my lord of Penbroke, you need not excuse the matter, for he hath shewed himselfe cleere in these matters like a noble man, and that we all know.

Why what was the talke betwixt Taughan and you so long in Paules, if these were not so, and what meant your oft meetings?

As for our often meetings, they were of no set purpose, but by chance, & yet no offender than twice. But sithence you would know what communication passed betwixt vs in Paules church, I will declare. We talked of the incommodities of the marriage of the queene with the prince of Spaine, and how grienous the Spaniards would be to vs here. Taughan said, that it should be verie dangerous for any man, that trulie professed the gospell to line here, such was the Spaniards crueltie, and especiallie against christian men. Whereunto I answered it was the plague of God iustlie come vpon vs; and now almighty God dealt with vs as he did with the Israelites, taking from them for their vnhankfulness their godlie kings, & did send tyrants to reigne ouer them. Euen so he handled vs Englishmen, which had a most godlie & vertuous prince to reigne ouer vs, my late soueraigne lord and master king Edward, vnder whom we might both safelie and lawfullie professe Gods word, which with our lewd doings, demeanors, and living, we handled so irreuerentlie, that to wisp vs for our faults he would send vs strangers, yea such verie tyrants to exercise great tyrannie ouer vs, and did take away the vertuous and faithfull king from amongst vs: for euery man of euery estate did colour his naughty affections with a pretense of religion, and made the gospell a stalking horse to bring their euill desires to effect. This was the summe of our talke in Paules somewhat more dilated.

That it may appere yet more euidentlie how Throckmorton was a principall doer and counsellor in this matter, you shall heare his owne confession of his owne hand writing. The cleark began to read, Throckmorton desired master Stanford to read it, and the iurie well to marke it. When master Stanford did read the prisoners owne confession to this effect: that Throckmorton had conference with What, Caroe, Croftes, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, as also of religion, and did particularlie confer with euery the forenamed, of the matters aforesaid. Moreover, with sir Thomas, What the prisoner

ner talked of the hyle that the Westerne men shuld much mislike the comming of the Spaniards into this realme, being reported also that they intended to interrupt their arrivall here. And also that it was said, that they were in consultation about the same at Cretefer. What also he saide, that sir Peter Caroe could not bring the same matter to good effect, nor that there was any man so meet to bring it to good effect, as the erle of Devonshire, & speciallie in the west parts, inasmuch as they drew not all by one line.

Then Throckmorton asked how the Kentishmen were affected to the Spaniards: What said; The people like them euill enough, and that appeared now at the comming of the countie of Egmont, for they were ready to stir against him and his traine, supposing it had bin the prince. But said What, sir Robert Southwell, maister Baker, and maister Poile, and their affinitie, which be in good credit in some places of the shire, will for other malicious respects hinder the libertie of their countie. Then Throckmorton should saie; Though I know there hath bene an unkindnesse betwixt maister Southwell and you for a monie matter, wherein I travelled to make you friends, I doubt not, but in so honest a matter as this is, he will for the safeguard of his countie soine with you, and so you may be sure of the lord Burgavennie & his force. Then What said, It is for another matter than for monie that we disagree, wherein he hath handled me and others verie double & unneighbourlie; howbeit, he can do no other, neither to me, nor to anie other man, & therefore I forgive him. Item, with sir Peter Caroe, Throckmorton had conference touching the impeachment of the landing of the said prince, and touching provision of armour and munition as in such, that is to saie, that sir Peter Caroe told Throckmorton that he trusted his countreimen would be true Englishmen, and would not agree to let the Spaniards to governe them. Item, the said sir Peter Caroe said, the matter importing the French king, as it was, he thought the French king would worke to hinder the Spaniards comming hither, with whom the said sir Peter did thinke good to practise for armour, munition, and monie.

Then Throckmorton did aduise him to beware that he brought anie Frenchmen into the realme forceable, inasmuch as he could as euill abide the Frenchmen after that sort as the Spaniards. And also Throckmorton thought the French king unable to give aid to vs, by meanes of the great consumption in their owne warres. Maister Caroe said; As touching the bringing in of the Frenchmen, he meant it not, for he loved neither partie, but to serue his owne countie, and to helpe his countie from bondage: declaring further to Throckmorton, that he had a small barke of his owne to worke his practise by, & so he said, that shortly he intended to depart to his owne countie, to understand the deuotion of his countreimen. Item Throckmorton did saie, he would for his part hinder the coming in of the Spaniards as much as he could by persuasion. Item to sir Edward Warner, he had and did becomore his owne estate, and the tyrannie of the time extended vpon diuerse honest persons for religion, and wished it were lawfull for all of eche religion to liue safely according to their conscience; for the law (*Ex officio*) will be intolerable, & the clergies discipline now maie rather be resembled to the Turkes tyrannie, than to the teaching of christian religion. This was the summe of the matter which was read in the forsaide confession, as matters most grievous against the prisoner. Then Throckmorton said; Sithence maister sergeant you haue read and gathered the place (as you thinke) that maketh most against me, I praye you take the pains, and read further, that hereafter whatsoeuer become

of me, my words be not peruerterd and abused to the hurt of some others, and especiallie against the great personages, of whom I haue bene sundrie times (as appeareth by my answers) examined, for I perceiue the net was not cast onelie for little fishes, but for the great ones, *Iuxta adagium*.

It shall be but losse of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you desire doth make nothing for you.

And for the better confirmation of all the treasons objected against the prisoner, and therein to proue him guiltie, you of the iurie shall heare the duke of Suffolks depositions against him, who was a principall, and hath suffered accordingly. Then the said sergeant read the dukes confession touching the prisoner, amounting to this effect, that the lord Thomas Greie did informe the said duke, that sir Nicholas Throckmorton was priuie to the whole deuises against the Spaniards, & was one that should go in to the west countie with the erle of Devonshire.]

But what doth the principall authour of this matter saie against me, I meane the lord Thomas Greie who is yet liuing: Why be not his depositions brought against me, for so it ought to be, if he can saie anie thing: Will you know the truth? Neither the lord Thomas Greie hath said, can saie, or will saie anie thing against me, notwithstanding the duke his brothers confession and accusation, who hath affirmed manie other things besides the truth. I speake not without certeine knowledge: for the lord Thomas Greie being my prisioner-felowe for a small time, informed me, that the duke his brother had misreported him in manie things, amongst others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you maister Southwell, and other the examiners not long ago. I am sure if the lord Thomas could, or would haue said anie thing, it should haue bene here now. And as to the dukes confession, it is not materiall: for he doth referre the matter to the lord Thomas report, who hath made my purgation.

And it please you my lords, and you my masters of the iurie, besides these matters touching What rebellion, sir Peter Caroes treasons and confederating with the duke of Suffolke, and besides the prisoners conspiracie with the erle of Devonshire, with Crofts, Rogers, Warner, and sundrie others in sundrie places, it shall manifestlie appeare vnto you, that Throckmorton did conspire the queenes maiesties death, with William Thomas, sir Nicholas Arnold, and other traitors intending the same, which is the greatest matter of all others, and most to be abhorred. And for profe hereof, you shall heare what Arnold saith. Then was sir Nicholas Arnolds confession read, saieing that Throckmorton shewed to him, riding betwixt Hnam and Crosse laund in Gloucestershire, that John Fitz Williams was verie much displeased with William Thomas.

William Thomas deuised, that John Fitz Williams should kill the queene, and Throckmorton knew of it, as appeareth by Arnolds confession.

First I denie that I said anie such thing to maister Arnold, and though he be an honest man, he may either forget himselfe, or deuise meanes how to burden himselfe of so weightie a matter as this is; for he is charged with the matter as principall. Which I did perceiue when he charged me with his tale, and therefore I do blame him the lesse, that he seeketh how to discharge himselfe, bing me as a witness. If he could so transerre the deuise to William Thomas. But trulie I neuer spake anie such words vnto him. And for my better declaration, I did see John Fitz Williams here euen now, who can testifie, that he neuer shewed me of any displeasure betwixt them,

and as I know nothing of the displeasure betwixt them, so I know nothing of the cause: I pray you my lords let him be called to depose in this matter what he can. When John Fitzwilliams drew to the barre, and presented himselfe to depose his knowledge in the matter in open court.

The attorneie. I praye you my lords suffer him not to be sworne, neither to speake, we haue nothing to doe with him.

Chockmorton. Why should he not be suffered to tell truth? And why be ye not so well contented to heare truth for me as vnto truth against me?

Hare. Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or commanded you to speake? You are a verie busie officer.

Chockmorton. I called him, and doe humble desire that he maie speake, and be heard as well as Cloughan; or else I am not indifferentlie bled, especiallie seeing maister attourneie doth so presse this matter against me.

Southwell. So your waies Fitzwilliams, the court hath nothing to doe with you: peradventure you would not be so reddie in a good cause. When John Fitzwilliams departed the court, and was not suffered to speake.

Chockmorton. Sithence this gentlemans declaration may not be admitted, I trust you of the iurie can perceiue, it was not for anie thing he had to saie against me, but contrariwise that it was feared he would speake for me. And now to maister Arnolds depositions against me, I saie I did not tell him anie such wordes, so as if it were materiall, there is but his pea and my naie. But because the wordes be not so strained against me, I praye you maister attourneie why might not I haue told maister Arnold, that John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, and yet know no cause of the anger? It might be vnderstand, to disagree oftentimes. Who doth confesse that I know anie thing of William Thomas deuisse touching the quenes death? I will answer, No man. For maister Arnold doth mention no word of that matter, but of the displeasures betwixt them. And to speake that, doth neither proue treason, nor knowledge of treason. Is here all the euidence against me that you haue to bring me within the compasse of the indictment?

Stanford. We thinke the matters confessed by others against you, together with your owne confession, will woeie the iudic. But how saie you to the rising in Kent, and to Wiatts attempt against the quens roiall person at hir palace?

Spontic. Why doe you not read Wiatts accusation to him, which doth make him partener to his treasons?

Southwell. What hath greuouslie accused you, and in manie things that others haue confirmed.

Chockmorton. Whatsoeuer Wiatt hath said of me in hope of his life, he vsaid it at his death. For since I came into this hall, I heard one saie (but I know him not) that Wiatt vpon the scaffold did not onelie purge my lady Elizabeth hir grace, and the erle of Devonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the tower, saieing they were all ignorant of the sturre and commotion. In which number I take my selfe.

Hare. Notwithstanding he said, all that he had writtten and confessed to the counsell, was true.

Chockmorton. Saie sir, by your patience, maister Wiatt said not so, that was maister doctors addition.

Southwell. It appeareth you haue had good intelligence.

Chockmorton. Almighty God provided that reuelation for me this daie since I came hither: for I haue bin in close prison these eight and fiftie daies, where I heard nothing but what the birds told me, which did lie ouer my head. And now to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, whome I desire to marke attentiuely what shall be said. I haue bene indicted, as it appeareth, and now am arraigned of compassing the quenes maiesties death, of leuening war against the quene,

of taking the tower of London, of deposing and depeining the quene of hir roiall estate, and finally to deuoie hir, and of adherence to the quenes enemies. Of all which treasons, to proue me guiltie, the quens learned counsell hath giuen in euidence these points materiall; that is to saie: for the compassing or imagining the quenes death, and the destruction of hir roiall person, sir Nicholas Arnolds depositions, which is, that I should saie to the said sir Nicholas in Gloucestershire, that maister John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas.

Wherevnto I haue answered, as you haue heard, both denieng the matter: and for the proue on my side, doe take exceptions, because there is no witness but one. And neuerthelesse, though it were granted, the depositions proue nothing concerning the quenes death. For leuening of warre against the quene, there is alleged my conference with sir Thomas Wiatt, sir James Crosses, sir Edward Rogers, sir Edward Warner. Against the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards hither, which talke I doe not denie in so far as I saie it, and ment it: and notwithstanding the malicious gathering this daie of my conference, proueth yet no leuening of warre. There is also alleged for proue of the same article, sir James Crosses confession, which (as you remember) implicth no such thing, but generally talke against the marriage with Spaine. And of my departing westward with the earle of Devon, which the said James doth not auow, & therefore I praye you consider it as not spoken. There is also for proue of the said article, the duke of Suffolks confession, with whome I neuer had conference; and therefore he auouched the tale of his brothers mouth, who hath made my purgation in those matters; and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatlie materiall in law. There is also alleged for the further proue of the same article, and for deposing and depeining the quene of hir roiall estate, and for my adhering to the quenes enemies, Culbert Cloughans confession, whose testimonie I haue sufficientlie disproued by sundrie authorities and circumstances, and principally by your owne law, which doth require two lawfull and sufficient witnesses to be brought face to face. Also for the taking of the tower of London, there is alleged Wiatters depositions, which vttereth my misliking, when he vttered vnto me sir Thomas Wiatts resolution and deuise for attempting of the said peece. And last of all, to inforce these matters, mine owne confession is ingreued against me, wherein there doth appeare neither treason, neither coneclement of treason, neither whispering of treason, nor procurement of treason.

And forsomuch as I am come hither to be tried by the law, though my innocencie of all these points materiall objected, be apparant to acquit me, where to I doe principally cleaue: yet I will for your better credit and satisfactions, shew you euidentlie, that if you would beleue all the depositions laid against me, which I trust you will not doe, I ought not to be attainted of the treason compassed within my indictment, considering the statute of repeale the last parlement, of all treasons, other than such as be declared in the five and twentieth yeare of king Edward the third, both which statutes, I pray you my lords, maie be read here to the inquest.

So sir, there shall be no bookes brought at your desire, we doe all know the law sufficientlie without booke.

Doe you bring me hither to trie me by the law, & will not shew me the law? What is your knowledge of the law to these mens satisfactions, which haue my triall in hand? I praye you my lords, and my lords all,

all, let the statutes be read, as well for the queene, as for me.

My lord chiefe iustice can shew the law, and will, if the iurie do doubt of anie point.

You know it were indifferent that I should know and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, and for asmuch as the statute is in English, men of meaner learning than the iustices can vnderstand it, or els how should we know when we offend?

You know not what belongeth to your case, and therefore we must teach you: it apperteyneth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neither sit we here to be taught of you, you should haue taken better heed to the law before you had come hither.

Because I am ignorant, I would learne, and therefore I haue more need to see the law, and partlie as well for the instructions of the iurie, as for my own satisfaccion, which me thinke were for the honoz of this presence. And now if it please you my lord chiefe iustice, I do direct my spech speciallie to you. What time it pleased the queenes maiestie, to call you to this honorable office, I did learne of a great personage of hir highnesse priuie counsell, that amongst other good instructions, hir maiestie charged and inioined you to minister the law and iustice indifferently without respect of persons. And notwithstanding the old error amongst you, which did not admit anie withnesse to speake, or anie other matter to be heard in the fauor of the aduerfarie, hir maiestie being partie, hir highnesse pleasure was, that whatsoeuer could be brought in the fauor of the subiect, should be admitted to be heard. And moreover, that you speciallie, & likewise all other iustices, should not perswade themselves to sit in iudgement otherwise for hir highnesse, than for hir subiect. Therefore this manner of indifferent proceeding being principallie inioined by Gods commandement, which I had thought partlie to haue remembred you & others here in commission, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue, & the same also being commanded you by the queens owne mouth: me thinke you ought of right to suffer me to haue the statutes read openlie, and also to reiect nothing that could be spoken in my defense; and in thus doing, you shall shew your selues worthy ministers, and sit for to waite a mistresse.

You mistake the matter, the queene spake those words to maister Morgan chiefe iustice of the common ples: but you haue no anse to complaine, for you haue bene suffered to talke at your pleasure.

What would you do with the statute booke? The iurie doth not require it, they haue heard the evidence, and they must vpon their conscience trie whether you be guiltie or no, so as the booke needeth not; if they will not credit the evidence so apparant, then they know not what they haue to do.

You ought not to haue anie booke read here at your appointment, for there doth arise anie doubt in the law, the iudges sit here to informe the court, and now you do but spend time.

I pray you my lord chiefe iustice repeat the evidence for the queene, and giue the iurie their charge, for the prisoner will keepe you here all daie.

How saie you? Haue you anie more to saie for your selfe?

You seeme to giue and offer me the law, but in verie deed I haue onelie the forme and image of the law; neuertheless, sith I cannot be suffered to haue the statutes red openlie in the booke, I will by your patience gesse at them as I maie, and I praie you to helpe me if I mistake, for it is long since I did see them. The statute of repeale made the last parlement, hath these words: Be it enacted by the queene, that from henceforth none act, deed, or offense, be-

ing by act of parlement or statute made treason, petit treason, or misprision of treason, by words, writing, printing, ciphering, deeds, or other wise whatsoeuer, shall be taken, had, deemed, or adiudged treason, petit treason; but onelie such as be declared or expessed to be treason, in or by an act of parlement made in the five and twentieth yere of Edward the third, touching and concerning treasons, and the declaration of treasons, and none other. Here may you see, this statute doth referre all the offenses aforesaid, to the statute of the five and twentieth yere of Edward the third, which statute hath these words touching and concerning the treasons that I am indicted and arraigned of, that is to saie: Whosoever doth compass or imagine the death of the king, or leue warre against the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enemies within this realme, or elsewhere, and be thereof probable attainted by open deed by people of their condition; shall be adiudged a traitor. Now I praie you of my iurie which haue my life in triall, note well what things at this daie be treasons, and how these treasons must be tried and decerned; that is to say, by open deed, which the lawes doth at some time terme (Ouert act.) And now I aske notwithstanding my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where doth appeare the open deed of anie compassing or imagining the queenes death? Where doth appeare anie open deed of being adherent to the queens enemies, giuing to them aid and comfort? Where doth appeare anie open deed of taking the tower of London?

Why do not you of the queenes learned counsell answer him? He thinke, Throckmorton, you need not haue the statutes, for you haue them metelie perfectlie.

You are deceiued to conclude all treasons in the statute of the five and twentieth yere of Edward the third; for that statute is but a declaration of certeine treasons, which were treasons before at the common law. Euen so there doth remaine diuerse other treasons at this daie at the common law, which be expessed by that statute, as the iudges can declare. Neuertheless, there is matter sufficient alleged and proued against you, to bring you within the compasse of the same statute.

I praie you expresse those matters that bring me within the compasse of the statute of Edward the third. For the words be these: And be thereof attainted by open deed: By people of like condition.

Throckmorton you deceiue your selfe, and mistake these words; By people of their condition. For thereby the law doth vnderstand the discouering of your treasons. As for example: What and the other rebels, attainted for their great treasons, already declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerse & sundrie times you had conference with him and them about the treason, so as What is now one of your condition, who (as all the world knoweth) hath committed an open traitorous fact.

By your leaue my lord, this is a verie strange and singular vnderstanding. For I suppose the meaning of the law-makers did vnderstand these words: By people of their condition; of the state and condition of those persons which should be on the inquest to trie the partie arraigned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the belaying of the offense by another mans act, as you saie. For what haue I to do with Whats acts, that was not nigh him by one hundred miles?

Will you take vpon you to skill better of the law than the iudges? I doubt not but you of the iurie will credit as it becommeth you.

Concerning the true vnderstanding of these words: D o o o o, u, w o r d s:

Bromie.

Stankie.

Throckmorton.

Bromie.

Throckmorton.

The attorne.

Cholmiste.

words: By people of their condition, my lord chiefe iustice here hath declared the truth, for What was one of your condition, that is to saie, of your conspracie.

Hare.

You do not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath bene conference and sending betwene What and you: and he and Winter doth confesse the same, with others, so as it is plaine; What may be called one of your condition.

Throckmorton.

Well, seeing you my iudges rule the vnderstanding of these words in the statute, by people of your condition, thus strangle against me: I will not stand longer vpon them. But where doth appeare in me an open deed whereunto the treason is speciallie referred?

Bzomleie.

If thre or foure do talke, deuise, and conspire together of a traitorous act to be done, and afterwards one of them doth commit treason, as What did, then the law doth repute them, and euerie of them as their acts, so as Whats acts do implie and argue of your open deed: and so the law doth terme it and take it.

Throckmorton.

These be marvellous expositions and wonderfull implications, that another mans act whereof I was not partie, should be accounted mine: for What did purge me that I knew nothing of his sinne.

Hare.

Pea sir, but you were a principall procurer and contriuer of Whats rebellion, though you were not with him when he made the sinne. And as my lord here hath said, the law alwaies doth adudge him a traitor, which was partie, and doth procure treason, or anie other man to commit treason, or a traitorous act, as you did What and others: for so the *Ouert act* of those which did it by your procurement, shall in this case be accounted your open deed. We haue a common case in the law, if one by procurement should disseize you of your land, the law holdeth vs both wrong doers, & giueth remedie as well against the one as the other.

Throckmorton.

For Gods sake applie not such constructions against me, and though my present estate doth not moue you, yet it were well you should consider your office, and thinke what measure you giue to others, you your selues I saie shall assuredlie receiue the same againe. The state of mortall life is such, that men know full little what hangeth ouer them. I put on within these xij. moneths such a mind, that I most wooll wight was as unlike to stand here, as some of you that sit there. As to your case last recited, whereby you would conclude; I haue remembred and learned of you maister Hare, and you maister Stanfords in the parlement house, where you did sit to make lawes, to expound and explaine the ambiguities and doubts of law sincerelie, and that without affectations. Where I saie I learned of you, and others my maisters of the law, this difference betwixt such cases as you remembred one euen now, and the statute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the law, which ought not to be violated, that no penall statute maie, ought, or should be construed, expounded, extended, or wrested, otherwise than the simple words and nude letter of the same statute doth warrant and signifie. And amongst diuerse good and notable reasons by you there in the parlement house debated (maister sergeant Stanford) I noted this one, whie the said maxime ought to be inuolable. You said, considering the private affectations manie times both of princes and ministers within this realme, for that they were men, and would and could erre, it should be no securitie, but verie dangerous to the subiect, to refer the construction and extending of penall statutes to anie iudges equitie (as you termed it) which might either by feares of the higher powers be seduced, or by

ignorance and follie abused: and that is an answer by procurement.

Notwithstanding the principall (as you alleadge *Bzomleie* it) and the precisenesse of your sticking to the bare words of the statute, it doth appeare and remaine of record in our learning, that diuerse cases haue bene adjudged treason, without the expresse words of the statute, as the quenes learned counsell there can declare.

It doth appeare the prisoner did not onlie intise *The attorne* or procure What, Caro, Rogers, and others, to commit their traitorous act, and there doth his open facts appeare, which Laugbans confession doth witnesse, but also he did mind thortlie after to associat himselfe with those traitors; for he minded to haue departed with the earle of Deuonshire westward. By innocencie concerning these matters I trust *Throckmorton* sufficientlie appeareth by my former answers, not, notwithstanding the condemned mans vniust accusation. But because the true vnderstanding of the statute is in question, I saie procurement, and speciallie by words onlie, is without the compasse of it, and that I do learne and proue by the principle which I learned of maister Stanford.

Maister Throckmorton, You and I maie not agree this daie in the vnderstanding of the law, for I am for the quene, and you are for your selfe; the iudges must determine the matter.

He that doth procure another man to commit a *Bzomleie* felonie or a murder, I am sure you know well enough the law doth adudge the procurer there a felon or a murderer; and in case of treason it hath bene alwaies so taken and reputed.

I do and must cleaue to my innocencie, for I *Throckmorton* procured no man to commit treason: but yet for my learning I desire to heare some case so ruled when the law was as it is now. I do confesse it, that at such time there were statutes provided for the procurer, counsellor, aider, abetter, and such like, as there were in king Henrie the eighths time; you might lawfullie make this cruell construction, and bring the procurer within the compasse of the law. But these statutes being repealed, you ought not now so to do: and as to the principall procurer in felonie and murder, it is not like as in treason; for the principall and accessories in felonie and murder be triable and punishable by the common law: and so in those cases the iudges maie vse their equitie, extending the determination of the fault as they thinke good: but in treason it is otherwisse, the same being limited by statute, which I saie and aduow is restrained from anie iudges construction, by the maxime that I recited.

Your lordships do know a case in Richard the *Stanford* thirde time, where the procurer, to counterfeit false monie, was iudged a traitor, and the law was as it is now.

Maister sergeant doth remember you *Throckmorton* of an experience before our time, that the law hath bene so taken: and yet the procurer was not expresse in the statute, but the law hath bene alwaies so taken.

I neuer studied the law, whereof I do much *Throckmorton* repent me: yet I remember, whilst penall statutes were talked of in the parlement house, you the learned men of the house remembred some cases contrary to this last spoken of. And if I misrepost them, I praie you helpe me. In the like case you speake of concerning the procurer to counterfeit false monie; at one time the procurer was iudged a felon, and at another time neither felon nor traitor: so as some of your predecessors adjudged the procurer no traitor in the same case, but leaned to their principall, though some other extend their constructions too large. And here is two cases with me, for one against me. *Because*

Because you repleie vpon the principall, I will remembre where one taking the great seale of England from one writing, and putting it to another, was adiudged a traitor in Henrie the fourths time, and yet his act was not within the expresse words of the statute of Edward the third. There be diuerse other such like cases that maie be alledged and need were.

I praie you my lord chiefe iustice call to your good remembrance, that in the selfe same case of the seale, iustice Spilman, a graue & well learned man, since that time, would not condemne the offender, but did reuocae that former iudgement by you last remembred, as erroneous.

If I had thought you had bene so well furnished in booke cases, I would haue bene better prouided for you.

I haue nothing but I learned of you speciallie maister sergeant, and of others my maisters of the law in the parlement house, & therefore I maie saie with the prophet (*salutem ex inimicis nostris.*)

You haue a verie good memorie.

If the prisoner maie auoid his treasons after this maner, the queenes suretie shall be in great leoparchie. For Iacke Cade the blacke smith, and diuerse other traitors, sometime alledging the law for them, sometime they meant no harme to the king, but against his counsell, as Mat, the duke of Suffolke, and these did against the Spaniards, when there was no Spaniards within the realme. The duke and his brethren did misake the law, as you do: yet at length did confesse their ignorance, and submitted themselves: and so were you best to do.

As to Cade and the blacke smith, I am not so well acquainted with their treasons as you be: but I haue read in the chronicle, they were in the field with a force against the prince, whereby a manifest act did appere. As to the duke of Suffolkes doings, they appertene not to me. And though you would compare my speeche and talke against the Spaniards to the dukes acts, who assembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much. I am lozie to ingraue anie other mans doings, but it serueth me for a peece of my defense, and therefore I wish that no man should gather euill of it; God forbid that words and acts be thus confounded.

Sir William Stanleie vsed this shift that the prisoner vseth now; he said he did not leue warre against king Henrie the seauenth, but said to the duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he would aid him with five hundred men; and neuertheless Stanleie was for those words attainted, who (as all the world knoweth) had before that time serued the king verie faithfully and trulye.

I praie you maister attorneie do not conclude against me by blind contraries. Whether you alledge Stanlies case true or no, I know not. But admit it be as you saie, what doth this proue against me? I promised no aid to maister Mat nor to anie other. The duke of Buckingham leued warre against the king, with whom Stanleie was confederat so to do as you saie.

I praie you my lords that be the queens commisioners, suffer not the prisoner to vse the queenes learned counsell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knew anie thus suffered to talke, as this prisoner is suffered; some of vs will come no more at the barre & we be thus handled.

Chockmorton you must suffer the queenes learned counsell to speake, or else we must take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleasure.

It is proued that you did talke with Mat, against the comming of the Spaniards, and deuised

to interrupt their arrivall: and you promised to do what you could against them: wherevpon Mat being incogaged by you, did leue a force, and attempted warre against the queenes roiall person.

It was no treason nor no procurement of treason, to talke against the comming hither of the Spaniards, neither was it treason for me to saie I would hinder their comming hither as much as I could (vnderstanding me rightlie as I meane it) yea though you would extend it to the worst, it was but words, it was not treason at this daie as the law standeth. And as for Mats doing, they touch me nothing; for at his death when, it was no time to report vnrueilie, he purged me.

By sundrie cases remembred here by the queenes learned counsell (as you haue heard) that procurement which did appeare none otherwise but by words and those you would make nothing, hath bene of long time, and by sundrie well learned men in the lawes adiudged treason. And therefore, your procurement being so euident as it is, we maie lawfully saie it was treason, because Mat performed a traitorous act.

As to the said alleaged forpresidents against me, I haue recited as manie for me, and I would you my lord chiefe iustice should incline your iudgments rather after the example of your honourable predecessors, iustice Sparham, and others, which did eschue corrupt iudgements, iudging directlie and sincerelie, after the law & the principles in the same, than after such men as swaruing from the truth, the marime, and the law, did iudge corruptlie, maliciouslie, and affectionatlie.

Iustice Sparham had reason to warrant his doings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arraigned and slanderouslie accused of treason for compassing and imagining the kings death, he did saie he would make his sonne heire of the crowne, and the merchant meant it of a house in Cheapside at the signe of the crowne, but your case is not so.

My case doth differ I grant, but speciallie because I haue not such a iudge: yet there is an other cause to restraine these your strange and extraordinary constructions: that is to saie, a prouiso in the latter end of the statute of Edward the third, hauing these words: Prohibited allwaies, if anie other case of supposed treason shall chance hereafter to come in question or triall before anie iustice, other than is in the said statute expresse, that then the iustice shall forbear to adiudge the said case, vntill it be shewed to the parlement to trie whether it should be treason or felonie. Here you are restrained by expresse words to adiudge anie case, that is not manifestlie mentioned before, and vntill it be shewed to the parlement.

That prouiso is vnderstood of cases that maie come in triall which hath bene in vze, but the law hath alwaies taken the procurer to be a principall offender.

The law alwaies in cases of treason doth account all principals and no accessories as in other offenses, and therefore a man offending in treason, either by conuert act or procurement, wherevpon an open deed hath ensued, as in this case, is adiudged by the law a principall traitor.

You adiudge (me thinke) procurement verie hardlie, besides the principall, and besides the good prouiso, and besides the good example of your best and most godlie learned predecessors, the iudges of the realme, as I haue partlie declared, and notwithstanding this grieuous racking & extending of this word procurement, I am not in the danger of it, for it doth appeare by no deposition that I procured neither one or other to attempt anie act.

The iurie haue to trie whether it be so or no, let it

Chockmorton.

Wormie.

Chockmorton.

Wormie.

Chockmorton.

Wormie.

Sanders.

Chockmorton.

Stanford.

Here.

weie as it will.

I know no meane so apparant to trie procurement as by wordes, & that meane is probable inough against you, as well by your owne confession, as by other mens depositions.

Throckmorton.

To talke of the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, and also the comming hither of the Spaniards, is not to procure treason to be done: for then the whole parlement house, I meane the common house did procure treason. But sith you will make no difference betwixt wordes and acts, I prae you remember a statute made in my late soueraigne lord and masters time, king Edward the first, which apparantlie expresse the difference. These be the wordes: Whosoever doth compasse or imagine to depose the king of his roiall estate by open preaching, expresse wordes or sayings, shall for the first offense lose and forset to the king all his and their goods and cattels, and also shall suffer imprisonment of their bodies at the kings will and pleasure. Whosoever, &c: for the second offense shall lose & forset to the king the whole issues and profits of all his or their lands, tenements and other hereditaments, benefices, prebends, and other spirituall promotions. Whosoever, &c: for the third offense, shall for tearme of life or liues of such offendo: or offendo:rs, &c: and shall also forset to the kings maiestie, all his or their goods and cattels, and suffer during his or their liues perpetuall imprisonment of his or their bodies. But whosoever, &c: by writing, ciphering, or act, &c: shall for the first offense be adiudged a traitor, and suffer the paines of death. Here you maie perceiue how the whole realme and all your iudgements hath before this understood wordes and acts diuerse and apparantlie. And therefore the iudgements of the parlement did assigne diuerse of punishments, because they would not confound the true understanding of wordes & deeds, appointing for compassing and imagining by word, imprisonment: and for compassing and imagining by open deed, paines of death.

Bromley.

It is agreed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be deemed alwaies traitors, when as a traitorous act was committed by anie one of the same conspiracie: and there is apparant p:ofe of your adhering to What, both by your owne confession and other waies.

Throckmorton.

Adhering and procuring be not all one, for the statute of Edward the third doth speake of adhering, but not of procuring; & yet adhering ought not to be further extended, than to the queenes enemies within his realme, for so the statute doth limit the understanding. And What was not the queenes enemy, for he was not so reputed when I talked with him last, and our speech implied no enemy, neither tended to anie treason, or procuring of treason: and therefore I prae you of the iurie note, though I argue the law, I alleage mine innocencie, as the best part of my defense.

Here.

Your adhering to the queenes enemies within the realme, is euidentlie p:oued: for What was the queenes enemy within the realme, as the whole realme knoweth it, and he hath confessed it both at his arresignment and at his death.

Throckmorton.

By your leaue, neither What at his arresignment nor at his death, did confesse that he was the queenes enemy when I talked last with him; neither was he reputed nor taken in fouretene daies after, untill he assembled a force in armes, what time I was at your house master Englefield, where I learned the first intelligence of Whats stirre. And I aske you who doth depose that there passed anie manner of aduertisement betwixt What and me, after he had discovered his doings, and shewed himselfe an enemy? If I had bene so disposed, who did let me that I did

not repaire to What, or to send to him, or to the duke of Suffolke either, who was in mine owne countrie, and thither I might haue gone and conuicted my selfe with him, vn suspected for my departing homewards.

It is true that you were there at my house, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of these matters.

Throckmorton, you confessed you talked with What and others against the comming of the Spaniards, and of the taking of the tower of London, whereupon What leuied a force of men against the Spaniards he said, and so you saie all: but in deed it was against the queene, which he confessed at length: therefore Whats acts do proue you counsellor and procurer, howsoever you would auoid the matter.

My thynke you would conclude against me with a mishapen argument in logike, and you will giue me leaue, I will make an other.

The iudges sit not here to make disputations, but to declare the law, which hath bene sufficientlie done, if you would consider it.

You haue heard reason and the law, if you will conceiue it.

O mercifull God, o eternall father, which seest all things, what manner of proceedings are these: To what purpose serueth the statute of repeale the last parlement, where I heard some of you here present, and diuerse other of the queenes learned counsell, grieuoullie inuete against the cruell & bloudie lawes of king Henrie the eight, and against some lawes made in my late soueraigne lord and masters time, king Edward the first. Some termed them D:racos lawes, which were written in bloud: some said they were more intollerable than anie lawes that Dionysius or anie other tyrant made. In conclusion, as manie men, so manie bitter fearmes and names those lawes had. And moreover, the p:eface of the same statute doth recite, that for wordes onelie, manie great personages, and others of good behaviour, haue bene most cruellie cast abwaie by these former sanguinolent thirstie lawes, with manie other suggestions for the repeale of the same. And now let vs put on indifferent eyes, and throughtlie consider with our selues, as you the iudges handle the constructions of the statute of Edward the third, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much worse case now than we were when those cruell lawes yoked vs. These lawes albeit they were grieuous and captious, yet they had the verie propertie of a law after saint Pauls description. For those lawes did admonish vs, and discover our sinnes plainelie vnto vs, & when a man is warned, he is halfe armed. These lawes, as they be handled, be verie baits to catch vs, & onlie prepared for the same, and no lawes: for at the first sight they asceraine vs we be deliuered from our old bondage, and by the late repeale the last parlement, we liue in more securitie. But when it please the higher powers to call anie mans life and sayings in question, then there be constructions, interpretations, and extentions referred to the iustices and iudges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am now, shall find himselfe in much worse case than before when those cruell lawes stood in force.

Thus our amendment is from Gods blessing into the warme sunne. But I require you honest men which are to trie my life, consider these opinions of my life, iudges be rather agreeable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godlie and best learned predecessors opinions, repugnant I saie to the p:ouiso in the statute of repeale made in the last parlement.

Spa:ker Throckmorton quiet your selfe, and it shall

Shall be the better for you.

Master attorneie, I am not so vniquiet as you be, and yet our cases are not alike: but because I am so tedious to you, and haue long troubled this presence, it maie please my lord chiefe iustice to repeat the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my answers to all the objections, if there be no other matter to laie against me.

Then the chiefe iustice remembred particularlie all the depositions and euidences giuen against the prisoner, and either for want of good memorie, or god will, the prisoners answers were in part not recited: wherupon the prisoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the iudges old memorie with his owne recitall.

My masters of the iurie, you haue to inquire whether sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, here prisoner at the barre, be gilltie of these treasons, or anie of them, wherof he hath bene indicted and this daie arraigned, yea or no. And if you find him gilltie, you shall inquire what lands, tenements, goods, and catels he had at the daie of his treasons committed, or at anie time since: and whether he fled for the treasons or no, if you find him not gilltie.

Haue you said what is to be said?

Yea for this time.

Then I praye you giue me leaue to speake a few words to the iurie. The weight and grauitie of my cause hath greatly occasioned me to trouble you here long, and therefore I mind not to intertaine you here long. With anie prolix oration: you perceiue notwithstanding this daie great contention betwixt the iudges and the queenes learned counsell on the one partie, and me the poore and wofull prisoner on the other partie. The trial of our whole controuersie, the trial of my innocencie, the trial of my life, lands, and goods, and the destruction of my posteritie for euer, doth rest in your good iudgements. And albeit manie this daie haue greatly inuaded against me, the final determination thereof is transferred onely to you. How grievous & horrible the shedding of innocents blood is in the sight of almightie God, I trust you do remember. Therefore take heed (I saie) for Christs sake, do not defile your consciences with such heinous & notable crimes. They be grievouslie and terrible punished, as in this world and bale of miserie upon the childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and in the world to come with everlasting fire and damnation. Let by your minds to God, and care not too much for the world. Take not backe to the flappots of Aegypt, which will allure you from beaueilie respects, to worldlie securitie, and can thereof neither make you anie suertie. I praye you, the queene and hir magistrats be more delighted with fauourable equitie, than with rash crueltie. And in that you be all citizens, I will take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Cythreians, citizens also you be, whom he toke to record that he was pure from shedding anie blood, a speciall token & doctrine left for your instruction, that euerie of you maie wash his hands of innocents blood shed, when you shall take your leaue of this wretched world. The holie ghost be amongst you.

Come hither sergeant, take the iurie with you, and suffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the law appointeth, untill they be agreed upon their verdict.

It may please you my lords and masters which be commissioners, to giue order that no person haue access or conference with the iurie, neither that any of the queenes learned counsell be suffered to repaire to them, or to talke with anie of them, untill they present themselves here in open court, to pub-

lish their verdict.

Upon the prisoners sute on this behalfe, the bench gaue order that two sergents were sworne to suffer no man to repaire to the iurie, untill they were agreed according vnto order. Wherupon then the prisoner was by commandement of the bench withdraue from the barre, and the court adjourned untill three of the clocke at afternone, at which houre the commissioners returned to the Gaile hall, and there did tarie untill the iurie were agreed upon the verdict. And about five of the clocke, their agreement being aduertised to the commissioners, the said prisoner, sir Nicholas Throckmorton was againe brought to the barre, where also the iurie did tarie; and being demanded whether they were agreed upon their verdict, answered vniuersallie with one voice, Yea. Then it was asked who should speake for them: they answered, Whetston the foreman.

Nicholas Throckmorton knight, hold up thy hand. Then the prisoner did so upon the summons.

You that be of the iurie, looke vpon the prisoner.

The iurie did as they were intained.

How saie you, is maister Throckmorton knight there prisoner at the bar, gilltie of the treasons wherof he hath bene indicted and arraigned in maner and forme, yea or no?

No.

How saie you, did he lie vpon them?

No, we find no such thing.

I had forgotten to answer that question before, but you haue found according to truth: and for the better warrantie of your doings, vnderstand that I came to London, and so to the queenes counsell brought, when I vnderstood they demanded for me: & yet I was almost an hundred miles hence, where if I had not presumed vpon my truth, I could haue withdraue my selfe from catching.

How saie you the rest of you, is Whetstons verdict all your verdicts?

The whole inquest answered Yea.

Remember your selues better, haue you considered substantially the whole euidence in so far as it was declared & recited, the matter doth touch the queenes highnesse, and your selues also, take god heed what you do.

My lord, we haue thoroughlie considered the euidence laid against the prisoner, and his answers to all these matters, and accordingly we haue found him not gilltie agreeable to all our consciences.

If you haue done well, it is the better for you. It is better to be tried, than to liue suspected. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised vp a mightie saluation for vs in the house of his seruant David. And it may please you my lord chiefe iustice, so far as I haue bene indicted and arraigned of sundrie treasons, and haue according to the law put my trial to God and my countrie, that is to saie, to these honest men which haue found me not gilltie, I humbly beseech you to giue me such benefit, acquittall and iudgement, as the law in this case doth appoint.

When the prisoner had said these words the commissioners consulted together.

Maie it please you my lord chiefe iustice to pronounce sentence for my discharge?

Whereas you do aske the benefit that the law in such case doth appoint, I will giue it you; to wit, that where you haue bene indicted of sundrie high treasons, & haue bene here this daie before the queenes commissioners and iustices arraigned of the said treasons, wherunto you haue pleaded not gilltie, and haue for trial therein put your selfe on God & your countrie, and they haue found you not gilltie, the court doth award that you be cleerlie discharged, paid

Sendall.
Throckmorton.
Sendall.
Jurie.
Sendall.

Whetston.
Sendall.
Whetston.
Throckmorton.

Whetston.
Jurie.
Whetston.

Whetston.
Whetston.
Throckmorton.

Throckmorton.

Throckmorton.
Whetston.

eng your sees. Notwithstanding maister lieutenant take him with you againe, for there are other matters to charge him withall.

The hockmorton.

It maie please you my lords & masters of the M. highnesse priuie counsell, to be on my behalfe humble suitors to hir maiestie, that like as the law this daie (God be praised) hath purged me of the treasons wherewith I was most dangerouslie charged: so it might please hir excellent maiestie to purge me in hir priuie iudgement, and both forgive & forget my ouerrash boldnesse, that I vsed in talke of hir highnes marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters too far aboue my capacitie, and I verie unable to consider the grauitie thereof, a matter impertinent for me a priuie person to talke of, which did appertaine to hir highnesse priuie counsell to haue in deliberation. And if it shall please hir highnesse of hir bountifull liberallitie, to remit my former ouersights, I shall thinke my selfe happy for triall of the danger that I haue this daie escaped, and maie thereby admonish me to eschue things aboue my reach, and also to instruct me to deale with matters agreeable to my vocation. And God saue the queens maiestie, and grant the same long to reigne ouer vs. And the same Lord be praised for you the magistrats, before whome I haue had my triall this daie indifferentlie by the law, and you haue proceeded with me accordinglie; & the grace of God be amongst you now and euer. ¶ There was no answer made by anie of the bench to the prisoners sute, but the attornie did speake these words.]

The attornie.

And it please you my lords, forsomuch as it seemeth these men of the iurie, which haue strangellie acquitted the prisoner of his treasons wherof he was indicted, will forthwith depart the court, I praye you for the queene, that they, and euerie of them maie be bound in a recognisance of five hundred pounds a pece, to answer to such matters as they shall be charged with in the queenes behalfe, whensoever they shall be charged or called.

Whetston.

I praye you my lords be good to vs, and let vs not be molested for discharging our consciences trulie. We be poore merchantmen, and haue great charge vpon our hands, & our liuings do depend vpon our trauels, therefore it maie please you to appoint vs a certeine day for our appearance, for perhaps some of vs maie be in forren parties about our businesse.

¶ Thus much for sir Nicholas Throckmorton's arraignment, wherein is to be considered, that the repealing of certeine statutes in the last parlement, was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his advantage: whereas the repealing of the same statutes was meant notwithstanding for an other purpose (as before you haue partlie heard) which statutes, or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue bene since that time againe renewed, as by the booke of the statutes it maie better appeare, to the which I referre the reader. The eight and twentieth of Aprill, the lord Thomas Crete, brother to the duke of Suffolke, was beheaded at the towre hill, a proper gentleman, and one that had serued right valiantlie both in France and Scotland, in the daies of the late kings Henrie and Edward.

¶ Upon saturdaye the eight and twentieth of Aprill, sir James Cross and maister William Winter were brought from the towre to the Guildhall in London, where sir James Cross was arraigned: but because the daie was farre spent, maister Winter was not arraigned, but caried backe againe to the towre with the said sir James Cross. William Thomas, of whome mention is made before in the historie of sir Thomas Mait, with certeine other, were arraigned and condemned for the conspiring of the murder and killing of the queene vpon the sub-

William Thomas
was arraigned
& condemned.

den: and for that offense, the said William Thomas was the eighteenth daie of Maie, beheaded, and quartered at Tiburne. The nineteenth daie of Maie next following, the ladie Elisabeth sister to queene Marie, was deliuered out of the towre, and committed to the custodie of sir John Williams knight, afterward lord Williams of Tame, by whome hir grace was more courteously intreated than some would haue wished. Wherefore shortly after she was committed to the manour of Woodstocke, under the custodie of sir Henrie Weningfield of Drenborough in the countie of Northfolke, knight, at whose hands she found not the like courtesie, who (as it is well knowne) vsed his office more like a gailor than a gentleman, and with such rigour as was not meet to be shewed to such an estate, which extremitie of crueltie to a person of great dignitie notwithstanding hir innocencie, is verie well noted by C. O. in Eirenachia sine Elisabetha, where he saith:

odis quoque tenditur acris
Suspicio vehemens in te clarissima princeps
Elisabetha, capitis, tuum: quod vixeras infans,
Quodq; animi candor culpa noxam, remotus
Hactenus inuidia remittens hebetat oculos,
Ab linore tuumens sacer obliuiscitur ordo.
Implacata cohors strumante exasuat ira
Furor in eiusdem, donec custodibus agna
(Arcebat Deus ipse lupos) committitur artibus
Asseruanda locis, vi libertatis adempta.

The ladie Elisabeth
was deliuered out of
the towre.

Sir Henrie
Weningfield
knight.

* Elisabeth.

Rich. Graison

But here is to be noted, not so much the vncwill nature of the man, as the singular lenitie, and gracious clemencie of that gentle and vertuous prince, who afterward (as shall appeare) comming to the possession of the crowne as hir rightfull inheritance, was at that time so farre from reuenge of iniuries receiued, that whereas diuerse princes haue requited much lesse offenses with losse of life, or losse of lands or goods, nor neuer proceeded further than to discharge him of the court: which manie thought was the thing that pleased him best. At whose departing from hir presence, she vsed onelie these words, or the like in sense: God forgive you that is past, and we doe: and if we haue anie prisoner whome we would haue hardlie handled and straitlie kept, then we will send for you.

The five and twentieth of Maie, the erle of Denonshire was brought out of the towre at thre of the clocke in the morning, sir Thomas Tresham knight, and maister Chamberlaine of Suffolke, with certeine of the gard, being appointed to attend on him to Fordingham castell in Northamptonshire, where he was assigned to remaine under custodie of the said sir Thomas Tresham and others. ¶ On the tenth of June, the foresaid doctor Bendleton preached at Poules crosse, at whome a gun was shot, the pellet wherof went verie nere him, and light on the church wall: but the shoter could not be found. ¶ The eleuenth of June the lord John Crete, brother to the late duke of Suffolke, was arraigned at Westminster in the kings bench, and there condemned: but yet through the painfull trauell and diligent sute of the ladie Crete his wife, his pardon was obtained, and so he escaped with life, and was at length set at libertie, as after it shall appeare.

¶ The two and twentieth of June was proclamation made, forbidding the shoting in hanagons, and bearing of weapons. The fifteenth of Iulie, Elisabeth Cross, a wench about eightene yeares old, stood vpon a scafold at Pauls crosse all the sermon time, where she confessed, that she being moued by diuerse lewd persons thereunto, had vpon the fourteenth of March last before passed, counterfeited certeine speeches in an house without Aldersgate of London, through

Quaine Elisabeth
was brought to the
manor of Woodstocke
by the lord Williams
of Tame.

A gun shot at
the preacher:
See before
pag. 1102.

Anno Reg. 4.
The lord
John Crete
was arraigned,
pardoned, and
released.

Abt. Fl. ex
1. Snow. 1554.
A figure in a
wall without
Aldersgate
both parties at
Pauls crosse
for shewing
the people, &c.

through the which the people of the whole cite were wonderfullie molested, for that all men might heare the voice, but not see his person. Some said it was an angel, some a voice from heauen, some the holie ghost, &c. This was called the spirit in the wall: the had laine whistling in a strange whistle made for that purpose, which was giuen him by one Drakes: then were there diuerse companions confederat with him, which putting themselves amongst the prease, toke byon them to interpret what the spirit said, expressing certeine seditious words against the queene, the prince of Spaine, the masse, and confession, &c.

But now in this meane while that these things thus passed here in England, the prince of Spaine prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had bene sent the earle of Bedford lord priuie seale, and the lord Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerse noble men and gentlemen, who arriving at the Corone in Calissa, were receiued verie honozable. And forsomuch as the prince was then at bale Dolido, distant from thence nere hand an hundred leagues, they were desired to staie there for their better ease, till he might haue conuenient oportunitie to repaire thither: which neuertheless he could not do so sone as he pretended to haue desire thereto, as well by reason of the sicknesse of his sister, the princes Dowager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires. But being at length rid of such incumbers, & come into Calissa, the English ambassadors met him at saint James de Compostella. And after he had in presence of a great number of noble men and gentlemen there ratified the contract, and sworn to obserue the covenant, he departed towards Corone, where within a few daies after he embarked, and accompanied with the number of an hundred and fiftie saile, directed his course toward England.

The lord admerall hauing continuallie bene abrode on the seas for the space of thre moneths or more, with a nauie of eight and twentie ships and other vessels, accompanied also with the viceadmirall of the low countries, that had vnder his gouernance fourtene ships of the emperours, met with the said prince the nineteenth of Iulie, about the Rades, and from thence accompanied him vnto Southampton, where he arrived the morrow after the twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Arundell lord steward of the queens house being sent from him to present to him the George and the garter of the order (of the which fellowship he was at the last chapter holden by the confessors chosen one of the companie) met him vpon the water, and at his comming to land, presented the said George and garter vnto him. At his landing he was receiued by the lord treasurer, the bishop of Lincolne, the lord Saint-John, and others, by whom he was first conueied to the church, and from thence to his lodging.

After his landing, the lord chancelor accompanied with diuerse gentlemen, was sent from the queene to bid him welcome on his behalfe; & so was he visited by diuerse noble personages whilst he remained at Southampton, sent thither for that purpose. And he on the other part sent diuerse on his noble men to visit him maistie on his behalfe. Specially the thre & twentieth of Iulie, he departed from Southampton towards Winchester, whither the was the saturday before remoued from Bishops Waltham. On the waie he was accompanied, besides the noblemen & gentlemen of his owne traine, with the marques of Winchester, the earles of Arundell, Darbie, Worcester, Bedford, Rutland, Denbroke, Surrie: the lords Clinton, Cobham, Willoughbie, Darcie, Patrauers, Talbot, Strange, Fitzwarren, and North, with manie other noblemen and gentlemen, and their traines, to the number of

two thousand horses. At his comming to the church in Winchester, the lord chancelor accompanied with the bishops of Durham, Ely, London, Lincoln, Chichester, and diuerse other prelates, were ready to receiue him. After he had made his prayers, he was conueied to his lodging prepared for him in the deans house.

The queene his selfe was lodged in the bishops palace, whither his highnesse the next daie came, and was receiued by him in the hall, in most courteous & louing manner. And after such salutations & talkes ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he returned to his lodging, where he continued all that night: and the next daie being the five and twentieth of Iulie, the mariage was openlie solemnized. At the which were present, the ambassadors of the emperour, the king of Romans, the king of Bohem, of Venice, Florence, Ferrare, and Hauois, with certeine agents of other states in Italie. As for the shot of ordinance, the diuerse kinds of muske, the sumptuous and costlie apparell, trappers, and other furniture, readie prouided against the receiuing of him, with other ceremonies used aswell about the mariage, as in other places where he was to be receiued, were suerlie such, and euerie thing done in such good order, as better for such a purpose might not lightlie be deuised. Nobles of Spaine were, the duke of Alua, the duke of Medina celi, the admerall of Castilla, the marques of Bergues, the marques of Pescara, the marques of Saria, the marques of Valli, the marques of Aguilar, the earle of Egmond, the earle of Hozne, the earle of Feria, the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Aluarez, the earle of Saldana, the earle of Godica, the earle of Fuentesalida, the earle of Landisano, the earle of Castellar, Don Rui Gomes, the bishop of Cuenca, Don John de Benauides, and diuerse others.

The queene lodged in the bishops palace.

The mariage solemnized and what states of Italie & Spaine were present at it.

The names of the noble men that came ouer from Spaine with the prince.

An abstract of the conditions of this mariage betweene both the princes.

But now forsomuch as some would happlie be desirous to know the conditions of this memorabile mariage betwixt these two high princes, the consequence whereof might haue proued of so great importance, although by the queens decaie the effect was made void, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chiefe articles thereof.

1 It was couenanted that he should enjoy the title and name of king, during the matrimonie, and should aid his highnesse (being his wife) in the administration of his realmes and dominions; but yet he should permit and suffer him to haue the whole disposition of all benefices, offices, lands, reuenues, and fruits of the said realmes and dominions, and that the same should be bestowed vpon such as were his naturall borne subiects, and that all matters of the said realmes and dominions should be treated and handled in the same tongue, wherein of old they haue bene wont to be treated.

He to be intituled king during the matrimonie, &c.

2 That the queene by vertue of the said mariage should be admitted into the societie of the realmes and dominions of the said prince of Spaine, as well such as he now presentlie hath, as such other also as during the matrimonie may come to him.

She to be intituled to his dominions during the mariage.

3 And for his dowrie, in case she ouerliued him, she was appointed to receiue perlie thre score thousand pounds, after the value of fortie groats Flemish monie the pound, to be allotted vpon all the realmes, lands, and patrimoniall dominions of his father the emperour, that is to saie, fortie thousand pounds to be assigned vpon the realms of Spaine, Castile, and Aragon,

His dowrie if she suruiued him.

Aragon, according to the custome of those realms. The other twentie thousand pounds were appointed upon the dukedoms, earledoms, and dominions of Brabant, Flanders, Henalt, Holland, and other patrimoniall lands and inheritances of the said emperor in the low countries of Germanie; in like manner as the ladie Margaret of England, sometime wife and widow of the lord Charles, sometime duke of Burgogne, had and receiued of the same. And if anie parcell or parcels thereof be alienated, then in lieu thereof, other lands should be in due forme assigned forth for hir to enjoy, lieng nere to the residue of hir dower.

Touching the issue of hir bodie male or female,

4 The issue that should chance to come of this marriage, touching the right of the mothers inheritance in the realme of England, and the other realmes and dominions depending of the same, aswell the males as females should succeed in them, according to the lawes, statutes, and customs of the same.

Touching the prince of Spaines disposing of his lands after his decease.

5 And as touching the lands that the said prince of Spaine shall leave behind him, first there should be reserved unto his eldest sonne the lord Charles of Austria, infant of Spaine, and to the children and heires of him descending, as well females as males all and singular their rights, which to the said prince do either then, or thereafter should belong, or should at anie time be deuolued to him in the realmes of Spaine, of both the Sicils, in the dukedome of Milaine, and other lands and dominions in Lombardie and Italie, which neuertheless shall be burdened and charged with the foresaid dower of fortie thousand pounds. And if it fortuned the said lord Charles to die, and the issue of his bodie to faile, then the eldest son of this matrimonie should succeed, and be admitted unto the said right, according to the nature, lawes, and customs of those realmes and dominions. The same eldest son should also succeed in all the dukedoms, earledoms, dominions, and patrimoniall lands belonging unto the said emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, as well in Burgogne, as in the low countries, in the dukedoms of Brabant, Luxemburgh, Gelberland, Zutphane, Burgogne, Friesland, in the countries of Flanders, Artois, Holland, Zealand, Namure, and the land beyond the Rhes, and all other whatsoever thereunto belonging.

Touching the lord Charles and his descendants if heire male came by this marriage.

6 But if the said lord Charles, or they that should come of him, remaine in life; and that there be anie male child by this matrimonie: the said lord Charles and his descendants should then be excluded from the said lands and patrimoniall dominions of the low countries, and of Burgogne, and the same should descend unto the said eldest son borne of this matrimonie. And to the other children borne thereof, as well males as females, a convenient portion and dower should be allotted in the realme of England, and dominions depending of the same, and in the said lands & patrimoniall dominions of the low countries: and neither the eldest sonne of this matrimonie, nor the sons begotten in the same, should pretend anie right in the realme of Spaine, or in the dominions of the same, and reserved to the said lord Charles the infant, otherwise than by their fathers and grandfathers disposition.

what is to be done if heire male faile, and there be none but issue female.

7 Moreover, if it fortune no issue male to be borne of this matrimonie, but onelie females, in that case the eldest female should with full right succeed in the said lands and dominions of the low countries, so as neuertheless she being minded to chuse to husband anie noble man not borne in England, or in the low countries, without the consent of the said lord Charles the infant, in that case the right of the succession should remaine to the said lord Charles, in the said dominions of the low countries, Burgogne,

and their appurtenances. And yet neuertheless in that case, both she and the other daughters also descending of this matrimonie, shall be indowled of their fathers lands & possessions aswell in Spaine, as in the low countries.

8 And for want of the said lord Charles, and issue of him, and none but daughters remaining of this marriage, the eldest daughter in that case should succeed, not onelie in the lands of the low countries; but also in the realmes of Spaine, England, and the rest, after the nature, the lawes, and customs of the same.

9 Herewith was a prouiso accorded, that whatsoeuer he or she should be that should succeed in them, they should leaue to euertie of the said realms, lands, and dominions, whole and entire their priuileges, rites and customs, and gouerne the same by the natural bozne of the same realmes, dominions, and lands, &c.

10 Finally, that betwene the said emperor, the prince and his successors, their realmes, and the said queene, it was concluded, that from the time forth there should be an entire & sincere fraternitie, vniue, and most strict confederacie for euer, &c: so as they should mutuallie aid each other in all things, according to the strength, forme, & effect of the latter trefise of a strict amitie, bearing date at Westminister in the yere 1542: the declaration of which treatie beareth date at Witeright, the sixteenth of Januarie, in the yere 1546.

In another treatise were these articles following comprised.



First, that the prince of Spaine should not promote, admit, or receiue into anie office, administration, or benefice in the realme of England, or dominions to the same belonging, anie stranger, or persons not borne vnder the subiection of the said queene.

2 That he should receiue into his household and court, gentlemen and yeomen of the said realme of England in a conuenient number, esteeming, intertaining, and nourishing them as his proper subiects, & bring none with him in his retinue that will doe anie wrong to the subiects of the said realme; & if they do, he to correct them with condigne punishment, and to see them expelled his court.

3 That he shall doe nothing whereby anie thing be innouated in the state and right either publike or priuat, or in the lawes and customs of the said realme of England, or the dominions thereunto belonging; but shall keepe to all estates and orders their rights and priuileges.

4 That he shall not leade auaile the queene out of the borders of hir graces realme, vntil she hir selfe desire it; or carrie the children that may be borne of this matrimonie out of the same realme, vntil she be otherwise thought good by the consent and agreement of the nobilitie of England.

5 And in case no children being left, the said queene do die before him, he shall not challenge anie right at all in the said kingdome, but without impediment shall permit the succession thereof to come vnto them to whome it shall belong, by the right and lawes of the realme.

6 Item that he shall not beare nor carrie ouer out of the said realme, the iewels and pretious things of estimation. Neither shall he alienate or do auaile anie what of the appurtenances of the said realme of England, or suffer anie part of them to be usurped by his subiects, or anie other. But shall see that all and singular places of the realme, and speciallie the forts and frontiers of the same be faithfully kept and preferred

what for want of issue by the lord Charles.

A prouiso touching the succession.

Touching a perpetual league or league of fraternitie, &c.

Not to be admitted to anie office, administration, or benefice in the realme of England.

Englishmen to attend at the court.

The state to be innouated.

The queene not to be carried out of hir owne realme.

The prince of Spaine to be admitted to the succession of the queene.

The iewels &c. of the realme not to be carried out, or alienated.

preferred to the use and profit of the said realme, and by the naturall boone of the same.

7 He shall not suffer any ship, guns, ordinance, whatsoeuer of warre or defense, to be remoued or conueied out of the same realme: but shall contrarie wise cause them diligentlie to be kept and viewed when need requireth; and shall so prouide that the same maie be alwaies readie in their strength and force for defense of the realme.

8 Item the realme of England by occasion of this matrimonie, shall not directlie nor indirectlie be intangled with the warre that is betwene the emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, and Henrie the French king; but he the said prince (as much as in him maie lie) on the behalfe of the said realme of England, shall see the peace betwene the said realmes of France and England obserued, and shall giue no cause of any breach, by which covenant the latter treatise of a strict amitie should not be in any point derogated, but the same still to remaine in the former force, &c.

But now to returne where we left. At the time of the solemnization of the foresaid marriage holden at Winchester (as before we haue heard) the emperors ambassadors being present, openly pronounced, that in consideration of that marriage, the emperor had giuen and granted to the said prince his sonne the kingdom of Naples and Jerusalem, with diuerse other seats and seignories. The solemnitie of that marriage ended, the king of heralds called Carter, openly in the church in the presence of the king, the queene, & the lords as well of England as Spaine, all the people being present, solemnely proclaimed the title and stile of those two princes, as followeth: Philip and Marie by the grace of God king and queene of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, princes of Spaine and Sicilie, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, counties of Halpurge, Flanders, and Trolle. The proclamation being ended, the trumpets blew, and the king with the queene came forth of the church hand in hand and two swordes boine before them, and so returned to their palace.

By this time report had sufficientlie sounded abroad all that happened, speciallie the solemnities executed about this roiall marriage; whereby some supposed that this land would haue become a golden world, and that such amitie would haue ensued betwene both nations, as nothing should dissolue. But others were of a contrarie opinion, supposing (as it came to passe indeed) that the peoples minds would be alienated and estranged from the disposition whereto they were addicted in king Edwards daies, and that manie would become heauie hearted upon heare-saie of this coniunction; much moze penlike & grieved at the meditation of the miseries which were like immediatlie to follow; as C. O. noteth in discouering on this matter, saying as here follo weth:

*Succedit regi defuncto, sceptrum capescens
Femina, cui nomen Maria est, soror una duarum
Ex stirpe Henrici: qua paucis nupta diebus
Post homini externo consanguineoque Philippo,
Coniugio tali subtristes reddidit Anglos,
Nondumque duas gentes raro coalescere cernas
Vnanimes patria plerumque & amore diremptam*

Of this marriage (saith maister Fox) as the papists chiefly seemed to be verie glad, so diuerse of them after diuerse studies, did shew forth their inward affections: some made interludes and pageants, and some dyed forth genealogies, deriuing his pedigree from Edward the third, and John of Gaunt; some made verses. Amongst all other man-

ster White then bishop of Lincolne in his poeticall vein, being drunken with ioy of the marriage, spued out certaine verses, the copie wherof we haue here inserted, to impart vnto common knowlege.

Philippi & Mariæ genealogia, qua ambobus principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo Eduardi tertij, Angliæ, Franciæque regis filio descendisse ostenduntur, H. into Lincolniense authore.

*Ille parens regum Gandaua ex urbe Iohannes
Somersefensem comitem profert Iohannem.
Somersefensis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit comitissam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni septimus huius
Henrico octauo solium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fausto quasi fydere natâ
Iure tenes sacram, teneſque Maria coronam.*

20 Verses of maister White bishop of Lincolne, concerning the marriage of Philip and Marie.

*Nubet ut Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis demon vetus hostis,
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida spes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timidusque ad prælia Gallus,
Cæsar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (stirps Cælis) pontificum grex
Pontificum sed grex Catholicus voluit.
Oſta vxorati Patres in demone nollent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrium vsus,
Sed fidem regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit atatis nostra Catilina Piatum,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,
Cum sit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.]*

But to proceed. As soone as the feasting & solemnitie of the said marriage was ended, the king and queene departed from Winchester, and by easie routes came to Windsor castle, where the first of August being Sunday, he was staled according to the order of the garter, and there kept St. Georges feast himselfe in his roiall estate, and the earle of Suſsex was also the same time staled in the order. At which time an herald toke downe the armes of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would haue set the armes of Spaine, but he was commanded to let them by againe by certaine lords. The seuenth of August was made a generall hunting with a tolle raised of foure or fve miles in length, so that manie a dære that day was brought to the quærie. The eleuenth of August they remoued to Richmond, and from thence the 27 of the same moneth they came by water to London, landing at the bishop of Winchester house, through which they passed both to Southwicks parke, and so to Suffolke place, where they lodged that night: and the next daie being Saturday and the nineteenth of August, they being accompanied with a great number of nobles and gentlemen, rode from thence ouer the bridge, and passed through London vnto Westminster.

Now as the king came to London bridge, & as he entered at the drawbridge, was a vaine great spectacle set vp, two images representing two giants, one named Coineus, and the other Gogmagog holding betwene them certaine Latine verses, which for the vaine ostentation of flatterie Iouerpassed. And as they passed ouer the bridge, there was a number of

These verses are answered in maister Fox by the letters.

King Philip staled at Windsor.

John Fox,

A generall hunting.

The king and queene come through London to Westminster.

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio. Vaine pageants of London.

Winchester
cannot abide
the booke col-
led Verbum
Dei.

The painter
sent for to the
bishop of Win-
chester.

The painters
answer.

Five Philips

The erecting
up of the rood
at Pauls.

Bishop Bo-
ners god the
rood of Pauls
set up with
Te Deum.

Salutation to
the rood of
Pauls.

ordinance shot at the tower, such as by old mens re-
port the like hath not bene heard or seene these hun-
dred yeres. From London byrge they passed to
the conduit in Gracious street, which was finelie
painted, and among other things, the nine worthies,
whereof king Henrie the eight was one. He was
painted in harnesse hauing in one hand a sword, and
in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written
Verbum Dei, deliuering the same booke (as it were) to
his sonne king Edward, who was painted in a cor-
ner by him. But hereupon was no small matter
made, for the bishop of Winchester lord chancellor,
sent for the painter, and not onelie called him knaue
for painting a booke in king Henries hand, and spe-
ciallie for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*: but also
ranke traitor & villen, saieing to him that he should
rather haue put the booke into the queenes hand (who
was also painted there) for that she had reformed the
church and religion, with other things according to
the pure and sincere word of God indeed. The painter
answered and said, that if he had knowne that that
had bene the matter wherefore his lordship sent for
him, he could haue remedied it, and not haue trou-
bled his lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the
queenes maiesties will and commandement, that he
should send for him; and so commanding him to wipe
out the booke and *Verbum Dei* too: he sent him home.
So the painter departed, but fearing leass he should
leauie some part either of the booke, or of *Verbum Dei*,
in king Henries hand: he wiped awaie a peece of his
fingers withall. Here I passe ouer and cut off other
gauds and pageants of pastime shewed vnto him in
passing through London, with the flattering verses
set vp in Latine, wherein were blazed out in one place
the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world,
Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philippus
Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip prince of Spaine
and king of England. In another poetrie king Phi-
lip was resembled by an image representing Olym-
pus, and all English people resembled to brute and
sauage beasts following after Olympus harpe, and
dancing after king Philips pipe. Not that I repre-
hend the art of the Latine verses, which was fine
and cunning; but that I passe ouer the matter, ha-
uing other graver things in hand, and therefore passe
ouer also the sight at Pauls church side, of him that
came downe vpon a rope tied to the battlements with
his head before, neither staieing himselfe with hand or
foot: which horrible after cost him his life.

But one thing by the waie I cannot let passe, tou-
ching the yong flourishing rood newlie set vp against
this present time, to welcome king Philip into
Pauls church. The setting vp of which rood was this,
and may make as good a pageant as the best. Anno
2. Marie Boner in his rosaltie, and all his prebenda-
ries about him in Pauls quere, the rood laid along
vpon the pavement, and also all the doores of Pauls
being shut, the bishop with other said and long di-
uers praies by the rood: that being done they an-
ointed the rood with oile in diuers places, and after
the anointing crept vnto it and kissed it. After that
they took the said rood and weied him vp and set him
in his old accustomed place, and all the while they
were doing thereof, the whole quere sang *Te Deum*,
and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not on-
lie for ioy, but also for the notable and great fact they
had done therein.

Not long after this, a merrie fellow came into
Pauls, and spied the rood with Marie and John new
set vp, wherto (among a great sort of people) he made
low curtisie & said: Sir, your maiestie is welcome
to towne, I had thought to haue talked further with
your maiestie, but that ye be here clothed in the

queenes colours. I hope ye be but a summers bird,
for that ye be dyessed in white & graine, &c. The prince
thus being in the church of Pauls, after deacon
Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latine, set
forward through Fleetstreet, & so came to White hall,
where he with the quene remained foure daies af-
ter, and from thence remoued vnto Richmond. Af-
ter this, all the lords had leaue to depart into their
countrie, with strict commandement to bring all
their harnesse and artillerie into the tower of Lon-
don with all speed. Now remained there no English
lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester.

From Richmond they remoued to Hampton
court, where the hall doore within the court was con-
tinuallie shut, so that no man might enter, unless
his errand were first knowne: which seemed strange
to Englishmen that had not bene used thereto. The
seventeenth daie of September, was a proclamati-
on in London, that all vagabonds and masterlesse
men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should de-
part the citie within five daies: and strictlie charging
all inholders, vittelers, tanners, and alehouseke-
pers, with all other that sold vittels, that they (after
the said five daies) should not sell anye meat, vyinke,
or anye kind of vittels or relesse to anye seruiceman
whatsoever, unless he brought a testimoniall from
his master to declare whose seruant he was, & were
in continuall household with his said master, vpon
paine to runne in danger of the law if they offend
herein.]

In September, the duke of Norfolk departed
this life at Frenningham castell in Norfolk, and
there was honorable buried among his ancestors.
The 26 of October, a Spaniard was hangd at Cha-
rtingcrosse for killing an Englishman, there was of-
fered for his life by other strangers 500 crownes, but
all that would not staie iustice. On fridaie the same
26 of October, those honest men that had bene of
Throckmorton's quest, being in number eight (for the
other foure were deliuered out of prison, for that
they submitted themselves, and said they had offer-
red like weakelings, not considering truth to be
truth, but of force for feare said so) these eight men I
saie (whereof master Emanuel Lucar and master
Whetston were chiefe) were called before the coun-
cell in the Starre chamber, where they affirmed that
they had done all things in that matter according to
their knowledge, and with good consciences, euen
as they should answer before God at the daie of
iudgement. Where master Lucar said openlie be-
fore all the lords that they had done in the matter
like honest men, and true and faithfull subiects: and
therefore they humble besought my lord chancellor
and the other lords, to be meanes to the king and
queenes maiesties, that they might be discharged
and set at libertie: and said that they were all con-
tented to submit themselves to their maiesties, sa-
uing and reseruing their truth, consciences, and ho-
nesties.

The lords taking their words in marvellous cum-
part, iudged them worthy to paie excellent fines.
Some said they were worthy to paie 1000 pounds
a peece. Other said that Lucar and Whetston were
worthy to paie a thousand marks a peece, and the rest
five hundred pounds a peece. In conclusion, sentence
was giuen by the lord chancellor that they should
paie a thousand marks a peece, he that paid leass, and
that they should go to prison againe, and there re-
main till further order were taken for their punish-
ment. The thirtieth of October being tuesday, the lord
John Greie was deliuered out of the tower, and set
at libertie. Upon saturday the tenth of Nouember,
the striffes of London had commandement to take
an inuentarie of each one of their goods, which were

Spaniards
on for the as-
sailing of
masterlesse
men out of the
cite of Lon-
don.

Death of the
Duke of Nor-
folk
A Spaniard
hangd.
John Snow.

Eight of the
best Throck-
mortons were
appeare in the
Starre chamber.

The hard
inherent
the lords as
gaunt the
eight hundred
man.

The L. J.
Greie was
deliuered
out of the
tower
the tenth of
November.

of maister Thoschmoysons quest, & to seale by their
dayes, which was done the same date.

Maister Whetston, and maister Lucar, and maister
highllie, were adjudged to paie two thousand
pounds a peece, and the rest a thousand marks
a peece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From
this payment were exempted those foure which con-
fessed a fault, & thereupon had submitted themselves,
whose names are these: maister Loe, maister Poin-
ter, maister Beswicke, and maister Cater. The 12
of November being mondaie, the parlement began
at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the
king and quene rode in their parlement robes, ha-
ving two swordes borne before them. The earle of
penbrooke bare his sword, and the earle of West-
merland bare the quenes. They had two caps of
maintenance likewise borne before them: whereof
the earle of Arundell bare the one, and the earle of
Shrewesburie the other. During this parlement,
cardinall Pole landed at Dover upon wednesdaie,
being the 21 of November, who being received with
much honour in all other countries through which he
had passed, was received here at the first, with no
great shew, for the causes aboue mentioned. The
same daie on the which he arrived, an act passed in
the parlement house, for his restitution in blood, ut-
terlie repealing (as false and most slanderous) that
was made against him in L. Henrie the eighths time.
And on the next daie being thursdaie and the 22 of
November, the king and quene both came to the
parlement house to give their roial assent, and to es-
tablish this act against his coming. On saturdaye
the foure and twentieth of November, he came to the
court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging
was prepared.

On wednesdaie following in the after none, he
came into the parlement house, being at that pre-
sent kept in the great chamber of the court of the
White hall, for that the quene by reason of sicknesse
was not able to go abroad (where the king and quene
sitting under the cloth of estate, and the cardinall sit-
ting on the right hand, with all the other estates of
the realme being present) and the knights and bur-
geses of the common house being also called thither,
the bishop of Winchester being lord chancellor, spake
in this manner. My lords of the upper house, and you
my masters of the nether house, here is present the
right reverend father in God, my lord cardinall
Pole, legat A Latere, come from the apostolike see of
Rome, as ambassador to the king and quenes maie-
ties, upon one of the weightiest causes that e-
uer happened in this realme, and which apperteineth
to the glorie of God, and your universall benefit; the
which ambassage, thir matelies pleasure is to be
signified unto you all by his owne mouth, trusting
that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent
and thankfull sorte, as their highnesse haue done,
and that you will give attentive and inclinable care
unto his grace, who is now ready to declare the
same. So soon as the lord chancellor had ended his
tale, the cardinall began and made a long & solempne
oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collected
into these few articles, remitting the reader to mai-
ster Foxes Acts and Monuments, where they shall
find the same whole and entierlie as by him it was
uttered.

1 First, he yielded most heartie thanks to the
king and quene, and next unto the whole parlement;
that of a man crept & banished from this common
weale, they had restored him againe to be a member
of the same, and to the honour of his house and fami-
lie, and of a man having no place, neither here nor
elsewhere within the realme, to haue admitted him
into a place where to speake, and to be heard.

2 Secondlie, that his expectall comming was for
the restitution of this realme to the ancient estate,
and to declare that the see apostolike hath a spectall
care of this realme aboue all other: and chieflie for
that this Island first of all other prouinces of Eu-
rope, receiued the light of Christs religion from the
see of Rome.

3 Thirdlie, he exhorted that though the realme had
swarued from the catholike vnitie, that yet being
better informed, we ought to returne into the bo-
some of the church, most open to receive all peni-
tents. For the perswasion wherof he brought a num-
ber of old examples, what perill and hurt hath hap-
pened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the
church of Rome, namelie Grece and Germanie.

4 Fourthlie, how much we are bound to God for
the king and quens maiesties, and how miraculou-
lie God had saued and defended our quene from hir
enemies in most dangerous times: and also that he
hath provided to ioint with hir in marriage, such a
noble prince as king Phillip was, & one of hir owne
religion.

5 Fifthlie, he exhorted them all to obedience of
these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to
be had betwene them, adding that king Philips fa-
ther the emperour, had amongst other princes tra-
uelled most for the restitution of the peace and vnitie
of the church. But as almighty God said vnto Da-
uid, though he had a mind and will to build his tem-
ple: yet because he had shed blood, he should not
build it. And so because the emperour hath had so ma-
nie wartes, and shed so much blood: therefore he
could not attaine to hying perfect peace to the church.
But trulie (said he) this gracious prince king Philip
his sonne, as I conceiue, is appointed of God to it,
considering now the calling of him to be iointed with
so catholike a princesse, as is the quene of this
realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God,
for the restoring of the said realme to the vnitie of the
church, from whence it hath erred and gone astray,
as it both and maie manifestlie appeare.

6 Sixtly, he protested that his commission was
not to preiudice anie person, for he came not to de-
stroe, but to build; he came to reconcile, and not to
condemne; he came not to compell, but to call a-
gaine; he came not to call anie thing in question al-
ready done: but his commission was of grace and
clemencie to all such as would receive it. For tou-
ching all matters past, and done, they should be cast
into the sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer more to be
thought vpon.

7 Finallie (said he) the meane whereby to receiue
this high benefit, is first to renoue and repeale all
such lawes as are impediments, blockes and barres
to this most gracious reconciliation. For like as he
himselfe had no place to speake there, before such
lawes were abrogated and remoued as stood in his
waie: euen so they could not receiue the grace offer-
red from the see apostolike, vntill these like impedi-
ments of lawes made against the see of Rome, were
utterlie abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion
aduertised them, first for the glorie of God, and next
for the conseruation and suertie of the wealth and
quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should ear-
nestlie trauell therein, and that then he would make
them participants of the benefit of his commission.

The next daie the whole court of parlement drew
out the forme of a supplication, and the next daie fol-
lowing, when the king, the quene, and the cardinall,
with all the nobles and commons were assembled a-
gaine in the great chamber of the White hall afore-
said, the bishop of Winchester there shewed what the
parlement had determined concerning the cardin-
alls request, and then offered to the king and quene

He sheweth
the spectall
cause of his
coming into
England.

He exhorted
to a generall
returne into
the bosome of
the church.

He declareth
how wonder-
fullie god had
preserued M.
Marie.

He exhorted
to obedience
and reuerence
of this
realme to the
vinitie of the
church.

He protested
that he ment
the preiudice
of no man, &c.

He sheweth
the meane of
procuring the
foresaid recon-
ciliation.

the said supplication, to be by them presented to the cardinall. Wherein would be noted the readinesse of the assemble to submit themselves to antichristian Raverie: but omitting to give judgement, marke their supplication, the copie whereof followeth.

A supplication exhibited to cardinall
Poole by the parlement.

Whe lords spirituall and temporall, and commons in this present parlement assembled, representing the whole bodie of the realme of England and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues particularlie, and also of the said bodie vniuersallie, offer this our most humble supplication to your maiesties, to this end and effect; that the same by your gracions intercession and meane maie be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God the lord cardinall Poole legat, sent speciallie hither from our most holie father pope Iulie the third, and the se apostolike of Rome. Wherein we do declare our selues verie soile and repentant of the long schisme and disobedience hapening in this realme, and the dominions of the same, against the se apostolike, either by making agreeing, or executing of ains lawes, ordinances or commandments against the primasie of the same se, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugne or prejudice the same. Whereby our selues, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repenstance, we be and shall be ever ready, vnder and with the authorities of your maiesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that shall lie in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of all the said lawes and ordinances, made and enacted to the prejudice of the se apostolike, as well for our selues as for the whole bodie whome we represent. Whereupon we humbly beseech your maiesties, as persons vnderfild in offense of his bodie towards the said se, which neuertheless God by his prouidence hath made subiect to you, so to set forth this our humble suite, as we the rather by your intercession maie obtaine from the se apostolike, by the said most reuerend father, as well particularlie as generallie, absolution, release, and discharge from all dangers of such censures and sentences as by the lawes of the church we be fallen into. And that we maie as children repentant, be receiued into the bosome and vnitie of Christs church: so as this noble realme, with all the members thereof, maie in this vnitie a perfect obedience to the se apostolike, and popes for the time being, serue God and your maiesties to the furtherance and aduancement of his honour and glorie, Amen.

This supplication was exhibited to the king and queene.

Promise in signe of repenstance to make full amends by being reconciled to the catholic church

The king and queene exhibit the supplication to Poole the prouid prelat.

This supplication being first openlie read, the same was by the chancelor deliuered to the king and queene, with petition to them, to exhibit the same to the lord cardinall. And the king and queene rising out of their seats, and doing reuerence to the cardinall, did deliuer the same vnto him. The cardinall perceiving the effect thereof to answer to his expectation, did receiue it most gladielie at their maiesties hands. And then, after that he had in few words given thanks vnto God, and declared what great cause he had to reioice about all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken such most happy successe; then he caused his commission to be read (whereby it might appeare he had authoritie from the pope to absolve them) which commission was verie long and large. And that being done, and all the parlement on their knees, this cardinall, by the popes authoritie, gaue them absolution in maner following.

An absolution pronounced by cardinall Poole to the parlement house.

Our lord Iesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed vs from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the father hath appointed head ouer all his church; he by his mercie absolve you. And we by the apostolike authoritie given vnto vs by the most holie lord pope Iulius the third (his vicegerent in earth) do absolve and deliuer you, and euerie of you, with the whole realme, and the dominions thereof, from all heresie and schisme, and from all and euerie iudgements, censures and paines for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you againe to the vnitie of our mother the holie church, as in our letters of commission more plainlie shall appeare.

After this generall absolution receiued, the king and the queene, and all the lords with the rest, went into the kings chappell, and there sang *Te Deum* with great ioy and gladnesse, for this new reconciliation. The report whereof with great speed flew to Rome, as well by the French kings letters, as also by the cardinals. Whereupon the pope caused solemne processions to be made in Rome, namely one, wherein he himselfe with all his cardinals were present, passing with as great solemnitie and pompe as might be, giving thanks to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his church. At what time also he not a little commended the diligence of cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the king and queene. And on Christmas euen next following, he set forth by his bulls a generall pardon to all such as did reioice in the same reconciliation.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember next following, it was commonlie reported, that the queene was quicke with child, & therefore commandment was given by Edmund Bonner then bishop of London (and as it was said not without the commandment of the counsell) that there should be made in most solemne manner one generall procession in London, wherein the mayor, and all the companies of the citie were in their liueries, at whose returne to the church of Pauls, there was sung verie solemne *Te Deum* for ioy thereof. The same date at this procession was present ten bishops with all the prebendaries of Pauls. The copie of the counsels letter implieng the aforesaid commandment touching the generall procession here followeth, *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.

A copie of a letter sent from the counsell vnto Edmund Bonner bishop of London, concerning queene Marie conceived with child.

After our hartie commendations vnto your god lordship. Whereas it hath pleased almighty God amongst other his infinit benefits of late most graciouly potored vpon vs and this whole realme, to extend his benediction vpon the queens maiestie in such sort, as she is conceived & quicke of child; whereby (his maiestie being our naturall liege lordie, queene andoubted inheritor of this imperall crowne) god

Pope Iulie the third gave cardinall Poole his most ample authoritie.

Solemn processions at Rome for the new reconciliation of England to the catholic church.

A report that the queene was with child.

The counsels letter to bishop Bonner of the queens conceiving of child.

¶ Queene
Marie wrote
this letter
to the
lords of
parlement
and
counsell
in the
month of
November
the first
year of
her reigne
the first
year of
her reigne
the first
year of
her reigne

hope of certaine succession in the crowne is giuen vnto vs, and consequentlie, the great calamities, which for want of such succession might otherwise haue fallen vpon vs & our posteritie) shall by Gods grace be well auoided, if we thankfullie acknowledge this benefit of almighty God, in deuoting our selues with earnest repentance to thanke, honor, & serue him as we be most bounden. These be not onelie to aduertise you of these good newes, to be by you published in all places within your dioces; but also to praise and requite you, that both your selfe do giue God thanks with vs for this his especiall grace, and also giue order that thanks maie be openlie giuen by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said dioces; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiasticall ministers, in their masses and other diuine seruices, may continuallie praise to almighty God, so to extend his holie hand ouer his maiestie, the kings highnesse and this whole realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power graciousely thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glorie of his name. Wherevnto albe it we doubt not ye would of your selfe haue had speciall regard without these our letters: yet for the earnest desire we haue to haue this thing done out of hand, & diligentlie continued, we haue also writtten these our letters, to put you in remembrance: & so bid your lordship most hartlie well to fare. From Westminster the 27 of Nouember.

1554.

Your assured and louing friends

{ S. Winton. Chancel. Arundell. F. Shrewesburie. Edward Darbie, Henrie Suffex.	{ John Bathon, R. Rich. Thomas Warthom. John Huddillstone. R. Southwell.
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¶ Upon this letter of the counsels sent to bishop Bonner (signifying the good newes of queene Marie to be not onelie conceiued, but also quicke with child, which was in the moneth of Nouember, the eight and twentieth daie) it is out of count what great talke began at this time to rise in euerie mans mouth, with busie preparation and much adoe, especiallie among such as seemed in England to carrie Spanishe hearts in English bodie. In number of whome here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendation for his worthie affection toward his prince and his issue, one sir Richard Southwell, who being the same time in the parlement house, when as the lords were occupied in other affaires and matters of importance, suddenly starting vp for fulnesse of ioy, burst out in these words following: Tush my maisters (quoth he) what talke ye of these matters? I would haue you take some order for our yong maister that is now coming into the world apace, least he find vs vnprovided, &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the foresaid letters of the counsell, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare that an assured opinion was then conceiued in mens heads of queene Marie, to be conceiued and quicke with child. In so much that at the same time, and in the same parlement, there was ensigned a bill exhibited, and an act made vpon the same, the words whereof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificat.

The words of the act.

Albeit we the lords spirituall & temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled, haue firme hope & confidence in the goodnes of almighty God, that like as be hath hitherto miraculousely preserved the queenes maiestie from manie great imminent perils and

dangers; euen so he will of his infinit goodnesse giue his highnesse strength, the rather by our continuall prayers to passe well the danger of deliuerance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to blesse him: yet for so much as all things of this world be vncertaine, and hauing before our eyes the dolorous experience of this incessant government during the time of the reigne of the late king Edward the first, do plainlie see the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perils that maie insue to this whole realme, if foresight be not vsed to prevent all euill chanches, if they should happen. For the eschewing hereof, we the lords spirituall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled; for and in consideration of a most speciall trust and confidence that we haue and repose in the kings maiestie, for and concerning the politike government, order, and administration of this realme in the time of the yong yeeres of the said issue of his maiesties bodie to be borne, if it should please God to call the queenes highnesse out of this present life, during the tender yeeres of such issue of issues (which God forbid) according to such order & maner as hereafter in this present act his highnesse most gracions pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, haue made our humble sute by the assent of the queens highnesse, that his maiestie would vouchsafe to accept & take vpon him the rule, order, education & government of the said issue of issues to be borne as is aforesaid, vpon which our sute being of his said maiestie most graciousely accepted, it hath pleased his highnesse, not onlie to declare, that like as for the most part his maiestie verely trusteth that almighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the queens maiestie) to giue this realme so good an hope of certaine succession in the blood roiall of the same realme, will assist his highnesse with his graces and benedictions to see the fruit of his bodie well brought forth, liue and able to gouerne (whereof neither all this realme, nor all the world besides, should or could receiue more comfort than his maiestie should & would) yet if such chance should happen, his maiestie at our humble desires is pleased & contented not onlie to accept & take vpon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues, as of this most happy marriage shall be borne betwix the queens highnesse and him: but also during the time of such government, would by all waies & meanes studie, trauele and imploye himselfe to aduance the weale, both publike & priuat, of this realme & dominions there to belonging, according to the said trust in his maiestie reposed, with no lesse good will & affection than if his highnesse had bene naturallie borne among vs. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king & the queens most excellent maiesties, by assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, &c: as it is to be seene in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the same parlement, to the same intent and purpose.

¶ Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader maie vnderstand, not so much how parlements maie sometimes be deceived (as by this child of queene Marie may appeare) as rather what cause the Englishmen haue to render most earnest thanks vnto almighty God, who so mercifullie against the opinion, expectation, and working of our aduersaries, hath helped and deliuered vs in this case: which otherwise might haue opened such a window to the Spaniards, to haue entred and replenished this land, that peradventure by this time Englishmen should haue inioied no great quiet in their owne countrie. The Lord therefore make vs

P p p p. it. perpetu.

Order taken
by parlement
for queene
Maries child.

Trust bishops
pointed.

Parlements
maie be de-
ceived.

¶ The words of
Richard
Southwell in
the parlement
house for his
yong maister.

perpetuallie mindfull of his benefits, Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labor, provision, and order taken in the parliament house for their young master long looked for, coming so surely into the world; in the end appeared neither young master nor young mistress that any man yet to this date can hear of. Furthermore as the labor of the late lost was herein declined, so no less ridiculous it was to behold what little effect the prayers of the popes churchmen had with almighty God, who travelled no less with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happy deliuerance of this young master to come, as here followeth to be seen.

The prayers of the papists of what little effect they are with God.

A praier made by doctor Weston

deane of Westminster, daile to be laid for the queenes deliuerance.

A praier for queene Marie and hir child, turned out of Latine into English.

O most righteous Lord God, which for the offense of the first woman, hast threatened unto all women a common, sharpe, and inevitable malediction, and hast intined them that they should conceiue in sinne; and being conceived, should be subiect to manie and greuous torments, and finally be deliuered with the danger and teopardie of their life: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodnesse and bottomlesse mercie, to mitigate the stridnes of that law. Alswage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosome of thy fauor and mercie our most gracious queene Marie, being now at the point of hir deliuerance. So helpe hir, that without danger of hir life, she maie overcome the sorow, and in due season bring forth a child, in bodie beautifull and comelie, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward the forgetting the trouble, maie with ioye, laud and praise the bountifullnesse of thy mercie; and togither with vs, praise and blesse both thee and thy holie name world without end. This (O Lord) we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most hartlie craue of thee. Heare vs (O Lord) and grant vs our petition. Let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church saie; Where is their God?

A solemne praier made for king Philip

and queene Marias child, that it maie be a male child, well fauored and witty, &c.

A deuout praier made by the catholikes for queene Marie being great and quick with child.

O most mightie Lord God, which regardest the praier of the humble, and despisest not their request, how downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the etes of thy mercie vnto vs wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with manie and deepe sighs beualling our sinnes and offenses humble with eles intent, and hands dispiayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Marie thy seruant and our queene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whome through thy grace thou hast willed to be conceived with child; and at the time of hir trauell graciouslie with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer hir, and from all danger with the child in hir conceived, mercifullie preferue. It hath seemed good in thy sight (mercifull father) by thy seruant Marie to worke these wonders, that is to saie; in hir hands to vanquish and ouerthrow the stout enimie, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of heretikes, infidels, enemies to thee, and to the crosse of thy beloued sonne Iesus Christ, that of thy seruant thou mightest speake in farre countries. Therefore for these wonderfull workes which thou dost to thy seruants, thou art magnified Lord

The papists call the protestants heretikes and enemies to the crosse of Christ, even as Achab called Elia the disturber of Israel, when he was onelic the disturber himselfe.

God for ever, & we thy people blesse thee the God of heauen, which hast wrought vpon vs this great mercie, and hast excluded from vs the heretike, the enimie of truth, and the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know that we haue grieuouslie (Lord) sinned, that we haue bene deceived by vanitie, and that we haue forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sinnes be increased by to heauen, and we our selues haue offended, and our princes and our priests: for these our sinnes haue deserued an hypocrit to our prince, our sinnes haue deserued a tyrant to our gouernor that should bring our life vnto bitternesse. We be not worthy to haue so gentle and mercifull a queene, so goodlie a ruler, and finally so vertuous a prince. At the verie beginning of whose reigne, a new light, as it were of Gods religion, seemed to vs for to spring and arise. The Jewes did blesse the widow Iudith with one voice, saying: Thou art the glorie of Jerusalem, thou art the ioye of Israel, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou hast loued chastitie, and thou shalt be blessed for ever.

And we the English people with one agreeable consent doe crie: Thou Marie art the glorie of England, our ioye, the honor of thy people, for that thou hast embraced chastitie: thine hart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever. But how downe, O most mercifull father thine eare, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest Lord, that against Philip, not by humane, but by thy ordinance our king, and against thy seruant Marie by thy providence our queene, the restorers and maintainers of thy testament, and of the faith and most constant defenders of thy church; thou knowest (I saie) that against these our two gouernors (the enemies of thy holie testament, and of the church thy spouse) be most ranke rebels, and spitefull murmurers, walking after their lusts, whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they maie set by the kingdom of here, of tikes and schismatikes. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroye thine inheritance, and stop and shut by the mouths of them that praise thee, and ertinguish the glorie of thy catholike church and altar.

It is manifest and plaine, how manie contentions, how manie conspiracies & seditions, how great warres, what tumults, how manie and how great trouble some verations, how manie heresies and schismes (for these be the most readie deuises and evident tokens of heretikes) for our sinnes do hang ouer vs, if thy seruant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling place in the middell of his people, to the intent to deliuer vs out of the hands of our enemies. Turne therefore thy countenance vnto vs, shew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Punish vs for our sinnes according to thy will and pleasure, onelic now deliuer vs. We bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee that thou wilt not reuerue vnto vs punishment for ever, and we shall praise thee, all the daies of our life. Heare our crie, and the praier of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercie, thy gracious fauour, the spring of liuelie water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy seruant a perfect worke. Suffer not, we praye thee, the faithlesse rebels to saie of thy seruant and hir counsellors, that they haue deuised matters which they can not performe. And grant vnto thy seruant an happy and an easie trauell. For it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iustice, nor vntoward vnto thy mercie.

It is well knowne vnto vs, how marvellouslie thou

Queene Marie compared of the papists to queene Iudith.

Mark how forgetting his praier he falleth to the praising of queene Marie.

The testament setteth by onelic the glorie of Christ.

If the changing of Gods promises, by drawing his inheritance, stopping the mouths of Gods people if contentions, sowres, and schismes be tokens of heretikes, how great a sinne is this?

Crie by lorde der you praies perch venture your god is a slape.

The Lord gaue a pr

thou diddest worke in Sara of the age of fourescore and ten yeres, and in Elisabeth the barren, and also farre stricken in age: for thy counsell is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy seruant neuer lusted after man, neuer gaue hir selfe to wanton companie, nor made hir selfe partaker with them that walke in lightnesse: but she consented to take an husband with thy feare, and not with hir lust. Thou knowest that thy seruant tooke an husband, not for carnall pleasure, but onelic for the desire and loue of posteritie, wherein thy name might be blessed for euer and euer. Gue therefore vnto thy seruants this, lip our king, & Marie our queene, a male issue, which maie sit in the seat of thy kingdome. Gue vnto our queene thy seruant, a little infant in fashion and bodie comelie and beautifull, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitalitie like Lot, in chastitie and brotherlie loue like Joseph, in mekenesse and mildnesse like Moses, in strength and valiantnesse like Samson. Let him be found faithfull as Dauid after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Salomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an vpsight man, fearing God and eschewing euill. Let him shallie be garnished with the comelinesse of all vertuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and line, that he maie see his childzens children to the third and fourth generation. And giue to our soueraigne lord and ladie, king Philip and queene Marie, thy blessing and long life vpon earth. And grant that of them maie come kings and queenes which maie steadfastlie continue in faith, loue, and holinesse. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations maie know thou art onelic God in all the earth, which art blessed for euer and euer, Amen.

Another praier for queene Marie, and hir conceived child.

O Almighty father, which diddest sanctifie the blessed virgine and mother of Marie in hir conception, & in the birth of Christ our sauour, thy onelic sonne; also by thy omnipotent power diddest safelie deliuer the prophet Jonas out of the whales bellie. Defend O Lord we beseech thee, thy seruant Marie our queene, with child conceived, and so visit hir in and with thy goodlie gift of health, that not onelic the child thy creature with in hir contained, maie soisallie come from hir into this world, and receiue the blessed sacraments of baptisme and confirmation, inioyning therewith daily increase of all princelie and gracions gifts both of bodie and soule; but that also she, the mother, through thy spectall grace and mercie, maie in time of hir trauell avoid all excessiue dolour and paine, and abide perfect and sure from all perill and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, thorough Christ our Lord, Amen. And thus much shall suffice touching this great adu about queene Marie and hir babe.]

The second daie of December being fundae, cardinal Pole came to Pauls church in London with great pompe, hauing before him a crosse, two pillars and two pollares of siluer, and was there solemnlie receiued by the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of England, who met him with procession. And shortly after, king Philip came from Westminster by land, being accompanied with a great number of his nobles. And the same daie, the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, in the which sermon he declared, that the king and queene had reioyced the

pope to his right of primasie; & that the three estates assembled in parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, had submitted themselves to his holinesse, and to his successors for euer. And in the same also, he greatlie praised the cardinal, and set forth the passing high authoritie that he had from the pope of Rome, with much other glorious matter, in the commendation of the church of Rome, which he called the see apostolike. This sermon being ended, the king and the cardinal riding together, returned to White hall, and the king had his sword borne before him, and the cardinal had onelic his crosse, and no more.

The seauen and twentieth daie of the said moneth, Emanuel Philibert earle of Sauoie and prince of Piemount came into England, accompanied with diuerse other lords and gentlemen strangers, who were receiued at Grauelend by the earle of Bedford lord priue seale, and conueied by water through London bidge to White hall, where the king and queene then laie. On the ninth of Januarie next following, the prince of Orange was in like manner receiued at Grauelend, and from thence conueied to the court, being at White hall. The twelfth of Januarie, the said prince of Orange, with other lords, was conducted by the lord chamberlein to the tower of London, where was shewed vnto him the ordinance, artillerie, munitions, and armorie, with the mint, &c: and so was brought into the white tower, from whence, as he returned through the long gallery, all the prisoners saluted him: vnto whom the prince said, he was sorie for their captiuitie, and trusted the king and queene would be good vnto them. At his departing from the tower, he gaue the gunners ten peces of Flemmish gold at five shillings the pece, and the warders other ten peces, as a reward.]

Upon wednesdaie the 12 of December, five of the eight men which late in the Fleet, that had passed vpon Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's trial, were discharged and set at libertie vpon their fines paid, which was two hundred and twentie pounds a pece. The other three put vpon a supplication, therein declaring their goods did not amount to the summe of that which they were appointed to pae: and so vpon that declaration, paing three score pounds a pece, they were deliuered out of prison on saint Thomas daie before Christmas, being the one & twentieth of December. The two and twentieth of the same moneth, the parlement (which began the two and twentieth of Nouember before) was dissolved, wherein among other acts passed there, the statute *Ex officio*, and other lawes made for punishment of heresies were reuined. But chieffelie, the popes most liberall bull of dispensation of abbeie land was there confirmed, much to the contentation of manie, who not without cause suspected by this new vnion, to lose some pece of their late purchase. On new yeares daie at night was a great tumult betwene Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to haue ensued great mischief, though a Spaniard frer which got into the church and rang alarm. The occasion was about two whores which were in the cloister of Westminster with a sort of Spaniards, whereof whilest some plaid the knaues with them, other some did kepe the entrie of the cloister with dags and harnesse. In the meane time certene of the deanes men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole towne was vp almost, but neuer a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the deanes men, and also the ringing of the alarm made much ado,

diners sermon.

The king and the cardinal ride together.

Prince of Piemount cometh into England.

I. Stow. 1053. Prince of Orange.

Five of Throckmorton's trialles released.

Parlement dissolved.

Abr. Fl. ex Joh. Foxi martyrologio. A sturte betwene the Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster.

1555
1 Spag. 1095.

Prisoners de-
livered out of
the tower.

Trouble and
persecution
for religion.

Ambassadors
out of Eng-
land to Rome.

William Fe-
therstone, alias
Constable a
boie, nameth
himselfe king
Edward the
sixt.

John Stow.

at w, and a great number also to be sore afraid.]

Upon fridaie the eighteenth of Iannarie, all the council, by name, the lord chancellor, the bishop of Cle, the lord treasurer, the earle of Shrewesburie, the comptroller of the queenes house, secretaire Beurne, and sir Richard Southwell master of the ordinance and armorie, went to the tower, and there the same daie discharged and set at libertie all the prisoners of the tower, or the more part of them, name- lie the archbishop of Yorke, the late duke of Northumberland sonnes, the lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henrie; also, sir Andrew Dudley, sir James Croftes, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sir John Rogers, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentlow, sir Gawen Carew, William Gibbes esquier, Cutbert Maughan, and diuerse others.

Moreouer, about this season diuerse learned men being apprehended, and in prison for matters of religion, were brought before the bishops of Winchester and London, and other the bishops and commissi- oners appointed therefore: who vpon the constant standing of the said learned men in their opinions, which they had taken vpon them to mainteine, as grounded vpon the true word of God, as they pro- fessed, proceeded in iudgement against them, and so diuerse of them were burned at London in Smith- field, and in diuerse other places. Paie not onelie by fire but by other torments were the good christians persecuted, whose zeale was hot in religion and deffiance of the pope: insomuch that then he was coun- ted Gods enimie, which toke not the pope for the friend of Christ (whome he hateth with hostilitie) as C.O. noeth verie trulie in his *Elisabetha*, saieing:

— nam creditur hostis

Esse Dei, papam: si quis pius asserit hostem

Esse Dei, veros Christi qui tollit honores.

In Februarie next following, doctor Whitelie bishop of Cle, and Antonie lord Pontacute, with a verie honorable traine of gentlemen and others, rode south of the citie of London towards Rome as ambassadors sent from the king and queene, to con- firme this new reconciliation to the pope. A yong stripling, whose name was William Fetherstone, a millers sonne, about the age of eightene yeares, na- med and bznted himselfe to be king Edward the sixt, whereof when the queene and the counsell heard, they caused with all diligence inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southwke, or (as other haue) at Eltham in Kent the tenth of Maie, and brought before the counsell at Hampton court, and there examined. And it was demanded of him why he so named himselfe: To which he counterfet- ting a manner of simplicitie, or rather stensie, would make no direct answer, but paid pardon, for he wist not what he said: affirming further, that he was counselled so to saie, and to take vpon him the name, whereof he accused certeine persons: but his talke was not found true, wherefore he was committed to the Marshalse, as a lunatike sole.

On the eight and twentieth daie of Maie next fol- lowing, the aforesaid counterfet prince was brought in a cart from the Marshalse thorough the citie of London, with a paper ouer his head, wherein was written, that he named himselfe king Edward. And from thence was conueied to Westminster, being led round about the hall, and shewed to all the peo- ple there: and afterward he was taken out of the cart and stripped, and then whipped round about the palace at the same carts taile, and then thorough Westminster into Smithfield, and then banished into the north, in which countrie he was borne, and had bene sometime lackie to sir Peter Hewtas, and without more punishment was discharged, and set

at libertie. But the next yeare following, for that he had spred abroad that king Edward was alive, and that he had spoken with him, he was againe appre- hended, and arreigned of high treason, whereof bei- ing condemned, he shortly after was drawne into Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered the thir- teenth of March. ¶ Here, as in a fit and conuenient place, the obseruation of the daie and moneth offer- ring no lesse, it is not amisse to set downe the speech of queene Marie vnto lordie of hir lords, touch- ing a motion which no doubt certeine popish pre- lats had put into hir mind; the effect whereof follow- eth as I find it in master Fox.

Before I passe this moneth of March (saith he) I cannot but leaue a little memorandum of the words or consultation of queene Marie, vnto certeine of the counsell, the eight & twentieth daie of the said mo- neth of March, touching the restoring againe of the abbey lands. Who after she had called vnto hir pre- sence foure of hir priuie counsell, the daie and mo- neth aforesaid: the names of which counsellors were these; William lord marquesse of Winchester high treasurer of England, sir Robert Rochester knight, the queenes comptroller, sir William Peter knight, secretaire, sir Francis Inglesfield knight, master of wards; the said queene Marie inferred these words: the principall effect & summe thereof here followeth. You are here of our counsell, and we haue willed you to be called to vs, to the intent ye might heare of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of mo- nasteries, as other churches whatsoeuer being now presentlie in my possession. First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken awaie from the churches aforesaid, in time of schisme, and that by vnlaw- full means, such as are contrarie both to the law of God and of the church. For the which cause my con- science doth not suffer me to deteine them: and there- fore I here expresselie refuse either to claime or to re- ceine the said lands for mine: but with all my heart frelie and willinglie without all paction or condi- tion, here and before God I do surrender and relin- quish the said lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoeuer, & do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall seeme best liking to our most holie lord the pope, or else his legat the lord cardinal, to the honour of God and wealth of this our realme.

And albeit you may obiect to me againe, that considering the state of my kingdome, the dignitie thereof, and my crowne imperiall cannot be hono- rablie mainteined and furnished without the posses- sions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding I set more by the saluation of my soule, than by ten kingdoms: and therefore the said possessions I vterlie refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and giue most hartie thanks to almighty God, which hath giuen me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalfe, than I am my selfe. Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I haue conferred my mind in this matter before) and you foure, to morrow together do resort to the most reuerend lord legat, and do signifie to him the premises in my name, & giue your attendance vpon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdome, and of the aforesaid possessions accor- dinglie, as you your selues do vnderstand the mat- ter, and can informe him in the same. This charge (as the sequele gaue proue) was followed with no lesse diligence of the lords, than it was imposed with willingnes vpon them by the queene: insomuch that shortly after (as anon you shall heare) she performed hir promise to the pith.

But to le this matter passe, till due time & place require

Abt. Flex
Ioh. Fox
martyrologus

The names
of the coun-
sellors called
before queene
Marie.

The effect
of queene Ma-
ries words
touching ab-
bey lands to
be restored.

The queene
saith a con-
science in bas-
ing abbey
lands.

The queene
surrendereth
from hir selfe
the possession
of abbey lands.

Promissio
restitutionis
abbatis

And more of
this in a booke
of the warre
in Eng-
land.

The death of
pope Julius
second.

And more of
this in a booke
of the warre
in Eng-
land.

And more of
this in a booke
of the warre
in Eng-
land.

And more of
this in a booke
of the warre
in Eng-
land.

And more of
this in a booke
of the warre
in Eng-
land.

And more of
this in a booke
of the warre
in Eng-
land.

require a declaration of the conclusion thereof; I am
here (saith master Fox, as occasion seruet) to in-
treat of pope Julius death, for so much as he made
his end about the latter end of this foresaid moneth
of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which
pope to make a full declaration, it were not so much
tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good cares.
Under this Julius florished the archbishop of Bene-
dictus, a florentine, named Iohannes a Casa,
deane of the popes chamber, and chiefe legat to the
Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that fil-
thy se, so farre forgot both honestie and nature, that
he shamed not onelie to plaie the filthy Sodomite
himselfe, and to boast openlie of the same: but also
toke upon him most impudentlie in Italian metre,
to all mens eares, to set forth the praise and com-
mendation of that beastlie iniquitie, saieing that he
himselfe neuer vied other: and this booke was prin-
ted at Venice, by one Troianus Nauus. And yet the
pope could suffer this so great iniquitie and shame,
lesse beastliness; even vnder his nose in his owne
chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of
Christ in christian bookes.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid
pope, in his Iubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in
confirming of the idoll of Lauretane, this is also re-
ported of him in his life, that he delighted greatlie in
porke flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was
admonished of his physician to abstaine from all
swines flesh, for that it was noisome for his gent,
and yet would not follow his counsell: the physician
afterward gaue warning to his steward or orderer
of his diet, that he should set no more porke flesh be-
fore him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the
said porke flesh to be lacking in his accustomed ser-
uice; where (saide he) is my porke? And when his stew-
ard had answered that his physician had forbidden
anie porke to be serued: then the pope bursting out
in great rage, said in these words; Bring me, said he,
my porke flesh. *Al dispetto di Dio*: that is to saie in
English, In the despite of God.

At an other time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to
a peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched;
saieing (saide he) this cold peacocke for me against sup-
per, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall haue
ghosts. So when supper came, and amongst other hot
peacocks, he saw not his cold peacocke brought to
his table: the pope after his wonted manner, most
horrible blaspheming God, fell into an extreame
rage, &c. Whereupon one of his cardinals sitting by,
desired him saieing: Let not your holiness, I praye
you, be so moued with a matter of so small weight.
Then this Julius the pope answering againe; What
(saide he) if God was so angrie for one apple, that he
cast our first parents out of paradise for the same,
what maie not I being his vicar, be angrie then for a
peacocke, liethen a peacocke is a greater matter
than an apple: Behold here good reader, by this pope,
the holiness of that blasphemous se: and yet thou
shalt see here, what affection was borne vnto this
pope here in England, by the diriges, hearles, and
funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all
churches by the queene and hir counsell, as may ap-
peare by the copie of their letters here following.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester
(being lord chancellour) vnto Boner bishop
of London, touching the celebrating of
the popes funerals.

After my hartie commendations to
your good lordship. The king and
queenes maiesties hauing certeine
and wledge of the death of the popes holi-

ness, thought good there should be as well
solemne obsequies said for him throughout
the realme, as also these prayers which I
send you herem inclosed) bled at masse
times in all places at this time of vacati-
on; and therefore willed me to signifie their
pleasures vnto you in this behalfe, that
thereupon ye might proceed to the full ac-
complishment thereof, by putting the same
in due execution within your owne dioc-
esse, and sending word to the rest of the bi-
shops to doe the like in theirs. Thus doubting
not but that your lordship will be such
diligence in this matter at this time, as
shall be necessarie, I bid your lordship har-
tillie well to fare. From my house at Ather,
the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your assured freend and brother,
Stephanus Winton. Cancell.

Praiers commanded to be vsed in
the funerall masses for the pope,
Apostolica sede vacante.

*Supplicare Domine humiliter deprecamur, ut tua immen-
sa pietas sacrosancte Romanae ecclesie concedat pontificem
illum, qui & pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, & tuo popu-
lo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis ve-
nerandus, per Dominum nostrum.*

I collect for
the pope.

*Tue nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gra-
tum maiestati tue pontificem sancte matris ecclesie regimini
precesso studeamus per Dominum nostrum.*

Another pray-
er for chusing
of the pope.

Post communionem.
*Pretiosi corporis & sanguinis tui Domine sacramento re-
fectos, munifica tue maiestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis
assumptione letificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus instrui-
at, & fidelium mentes spiritualium aromatum odore perfun-
dat, per Dominum nostrum.*

Upon this commmement, on wednesdaie in Ca-
ster weeke there were hearles set by, & diriges song
for the said Julius in diuerse places. At which time
it chanced a woman to come into S. Magnus church
at the bidgefoot in London, & there seeing an hearle
and other preparation, asked what it meant: and o-
ther that stood by, saide, that it was for the pope, and
that the mass prae for him. Saie (quoth she) that will
I not, for he needeth not my prae: and seeing he
could forgive vs all our sinnes, I am sure he is clean
himselfe: therefore I need not to prae for him. She
was heard speake these words of certeine that stood
by: which by and by carried hir vnto the cage at Lon-
don bidge, and bad hir coole hir selfe there.

A woman of
S. Magnus
parish im-
pationed for
not praying
for the pope.

And here (saith master Fox) cometh to be re-
membred the notable working of Gods hand vpon
a certeine priest in Kent named Rightingall, par-
son of Crondall besides Canturburie: who vpon
Shrouesundaie, which was about the third daie of the
said moneth of March, and yeare of our Lord afore-
said, reioissing belike not a little at this alteration of
religion, began to make a sermon to his parishio-
ners, taking his theame out of the words of saint
John: He that saith, he hath no sinne, is a lier, and
the trueth is not in him, &c. And so vpon the same,
verie impertinentlie, declared to them all such arti-
cles as were set forth by the popes authoritie, and by
the commendement of the bishops of this realme;
saieing moreouer vnto the people in this wise: Note
masters and neighbors reioice and be merrie, for the
prodigall sonne is come home. For I knowe that the
mozt part of you be as I am: for I knowe your
hearts

A terrible ex-
ample of
Gods severe
punishment
vpon Right-
ingall par-
son of Cron-
dall in Kent.

blasphemie
to Chyrlis
nossett punis-
hed.

The lord
Courtneie go-
eth ouer into
France.

The lord
Courtneie
descended of
the blood
royall.

Ambassadors
sent to treat
a peace be-
twene the
French king
and the em-
perour.

Abr. Fl. cx
l. S. 1097.

The necessitie
of the popes re-

hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this wa he past. I was before my lord cardinal Poles grace, and he hath made me as cleane from sinne, as I was at the font stone: and on this daie last being before him, he hath appointed me to notifie (I thanke him for it) the same unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And so reading the popes bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that euer he had liued to see that daie: adding moreover that he beleued, that by the vertue of that bull he was as cleane from sinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediatlie upon the same fell suddenlie downe out of the pulpit, and neuer stirred hand nor foot, and so laie he. Witnessed by Robert Austen of Cartham, which both heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the whole countrie round about.]

About this time, Edward Courtneie, earle of Devonshire, of whom before ye haue heard, how he was appointed to remaine at Fordinghrie under safe custodie, at length was set at libertie, came to the court, and got licence to passe the seas, went into Italie, where shortly after he sickened, and died within foureteene daies after his sicknesse first toke him: he was honorable buried in Paduwa. This Courtneie was the onelie sonne and heire of Henrie, marquisse of Cresser, cousine germaine to king Henrie the eight, as is said before. For the said king and he were descended of two sisters, Elizabeth and Katharine, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propingittie of blood notwithstanding the said marquisse, for points of treason laid against him, suffered at the tower hill, the thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, to the great dolour of the most of the subiects of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour and goodwill.

After whose death, this young gentleman his sonne, being yet a child, was committed prisoner to the tower, where he remained untill the beginning of the reigne of this queene Marie (as before you haue heard.) This gentleman (as it appeared) was boyne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeares of age unto thirtie, he had scarce two yeares libertie, within the which time he died, and obtained quiet, which in his life he could neuer haue. In the moneth of Aprill next following, cardinall Pole, who had bin a great labourer for peace betwene the French king and the emperour, being accompanied with Stephan Cardiner bishop of Winchester and chancelor of England, the erle of Arundell lord steward, and the lord Paget, were sent by the king and queene ouer the sea to Calis, & from thence went to the towne of Parke where they met with the ambassadors of the emperour and the French king. From the emperour were sent the bishop of Arras with others. From the French king was sent the cardinall of Lozaine, and the constable of France. In this treatie, cardinall Pole sat as president and vmpier in the name of the queene of England. This peace was greatlie laboured, where at the first, there was much hope, but in the end nothing was concluded: wherefore the fiftieth daie of June, this assemble was dissolved, and the English ambassadors returned againe into England.

In this moneth of August, in Suffolke, at a place by the sea side, all of hard stone and pibble, called in those parts a shelke, lying betwene the townes of Orford and Alborough, where neuer grew grasse, nor any earth was euer sene, there chanced in this barren place suddenlie to spring vp without any tillage or sowing, great abundance of peason, whereof the poore gathered (as men iudged) aboue an hundred quarters; yet remained some ripe, & some l. loss.

ming, as mantle as euer there were before. The which place rode the bishop of Norwich, and the lord Willoughbie with others in great number, till he found nothing but hard reekie stone for the space of three yards under the roots of those peason, which roots were great and long, and verie sweet in tast to the mouth of the eater, &c.

On Bartholomew euen, after the Lord maior and aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew faire, they came to Chyrlis hospitall within Newgate, where they heard a disputation betwene the scholars of Paules schole, saint Anthonies schole, and the scholars of the said hospitall, for whome was provided three games, which was three penes: the best pen of siluer and gilt, valued at five shillings, wonne by a scholer of saint Anthonies schole, and the maiester of that schole had six shillings eight pence: the second, a pen of siluer patrell gilt, valued at six shillings, wonne by a scholer of Paules schole, & his maiester had five shillings in monie: the third a pen of siluer, valued at three shillings, wonne by a scholer of the said hospitall, and his maiester had four shillings. And there were two preist maiesters of arts appointed for iudges, which had each of them a siluer rule for their paines, valued at six shillings eight pence the peece. The disputation being ended, the maior and aldermen entered the hall, where the children of the hospitall ble to dine, and had fruit & wine, and so departed.

King Philip went ouer seas, and landed at Calis on the fourth of September, where he was honorably receiued by the lord deputie, & the maior of the staple of Calis, an alderman of London named sir Andrew Jod, presenting him maiestie with a purse & a thousand marks of gold in it: that night the king was lodged in staple turre: and on the morrow he departed from Calis towards Brussells in Hyabant, to visit the emperour his father: he gaue at his departing among the souldiours of the towne of Calis, a thousand crownes of gold, and there accompanied him in his tourne of English lords, the earle of Arundell lord steward of the queens house, the earle of Penbrooke, the earle of Huntington, and others. On Michaelmasse euen, the prisoners that laie in the counter in Breadstreet, were remoued to a new counter made in Woodstreet of the cities purchase & building, the which remouing was confirmed by a common counsell assembled at the Guildhall for that purpose.

On the last of September, by occasion of great wind and raine that had fallen, was such great floods, that that morning the kings palace at Westminster, and Westminster hall was ouerflowed with water, vnto the flaire foot going to the chancerie and kings bench: so that when the lord maior of London should come to present the shiriffes to the barons of the exchequer, all Westminster hall was full of water. And by report there, that morning, a whirriman rowed with his bote ouer Westminster hydge, into the palace court, and so through the staple gate: and all the wall staple into the kings street, and all the marshes on Lambeth side, were so ouerflowed, that the people from Melvington church could not passe on foot, but were caried by bote from the said church to the pinfold, nere to saint Georges in Southwoike.]

About this time, the bishop of Lincolne, Gloucester, and Bissow, were sent in commission to Orford by the popes authoritie, to examine Kildeie and Latimer, upon certeine articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and consent to the popes doctrine, then had they power to proceed in sentence against them as heretikes, and to commit them ouer to the secular power. Those two doctors neuer

Disputation
at Chyrlis
hospitall, as
hat bene re-
counted of la-
ter. Bartho-
meus in
Smithfield,
being an-
courageant
to young
scholars.

King Philip
went ouer
to Flaunders.

New counter
in Woodstreet.

Great lands
waters wher
by directio-
quarred pla-
ces were
ouerflowed.

Anno Reg. J.
Commissio-
ners sent to
Orford, by the
popes authori-
tie, & wher
they

theles stood constantlie to that which they had taught, and would not rencke: for which cause, they were condemned, and after burned in the towne ditch at Oxford, the firste daie of October. In the time of whose examination, because the bishops aforesaid declared themselves to be the popes commissioners, neither Kildeie nor Latimer would doe them any reverence, but kept their caps on their heads: wherefore they were sharplie rebuked by the bishop of Lincoln, and one of the officers was commanded for to take of their caps. Of these men, and the maner of their death, ye may read at large in the booke of the monuments of the church.

The one and twentieth of October, a parlement was holden at Westminster, in the which amongst other things the queene being perswaded by the cardinal (and other of his clergie) that she could not prosper, so long as she kept in his hands any possessions of the church, did frankelie and frelie resigne and render unto them all those reuenues ecclesiasticall, which by the authoritie of parlement, in the time of king Henrie, had bene annexed to the crowne, called the first fruits and tenths of all bishopricks, benefices, and ecclesiasticall promotions. The resignation thereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne. ¶ In this parlement was granted to the king & queene a subsidie of the lastie from five pounds to ten pounes eight pence of the pound, from ten pounds to twentie pounds twelue pence of the pound, & from twentie pounds upward sixtene pence of the pound, and all strangers double, and the cleargie granted six shillings of the pound.

Dona, Storie and other were appointed by the cardinal, to visit euery parish church in London and Middlesexe, to see their reliques repaired, and the images of the crucifix, with Marie and John thereupon to be fixed. ¶ During the time of this parlement, Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England died at his house called Winchester place, beside saint Marie Queries in Southwoker, the ninth daie of September, whose corps was shortly after solemnly from thence conueied to his church of Winchester, & there buried. The maner of whose death why should I blush to blaze as I find it by report: ¶ One mistresse Spondate, being the wife of one maister Spondate secretearie sometime to the old lord Thomas duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openlie reported in the house of a worshipfull citizen, bearing office in this citie, in words and effect as followeth. The same daie, when as bishop Kildeie and maister Latimer suffered at Oxford, being about the nineteenth daie of October, there came to the house of Stephan Gardiner, the old duke of Norfolk with the foresaid Spondate his secretarie aboue named, reporter hereof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarieing for his dinner, the bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time till three or foure of the clocke at after none.

At length, about foure of the clocke cometh his servant posking in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and scene: of whom the said bishop diligentlie inquiring the truth of the matter, & hearing by his man, that fire most certeinlie was set vnto them, cometh out reioicing to the duke: Now saith he, let us go to dinner. Whereupon, they being set downe, meat immediatlie was brought, and the bishop began merilie to eate: but what followed? The bloudie tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God his terrible hand fell vpon him in such sort, as immediatlie he was taken from the table, & so brought to his bed, where he continued the space of sixe daies, in such intollerable angustie and tor-

ments, that all that meane while, during those sixe daies, he could not auoid by order of vaine, or otherwise, any thing that he receiued: whereby his bodie being miserable inflamed within (who had inflamed so manie good martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth so swolne & blacke, with the inflammation of his bodie. A spectacle worthy to be noted and behol-

den of all such bloudie burning persecutors. ¶ But what soeuer he was, seeing he is now gone, I referre him to his iudge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death and maner thereof, I would they which were present therat, would testifie to vs what they saw. This we haue all to thinke, that his death happened so opportunelie, that England hath a mightie cause to giue thanks to the Lord therefore: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in peruertering his princesse, in bringing in the six articles, in murdering Gods saints, in defacing Christs sincere religion, as: as also especiallie for that he had thought to haue brought to passe in murdering also our noble queene that now is. For what soeuer danger it was of death that she was in, it did (no doubt) proceed from that bloudie bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certeine which we haue heard, that his highnesse being in the tower, a writ came downe from certeine of the counsell for his execution, it is out of controuersie, that wollic Winchester was the onelie Medals and framer of that engine. Who (no doubt) in that one daie had brought this whole realme into woofull ruine, had not the lords most gracious counsell, thorough maister Widges then the lieutenant, comming in haile to the queene, certified hir of the matter, and preuented Achitophels bloudie deuises. For the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English churches, Amen.

After whose death, Nicholas heath archbishop of Dorset, was preferred by the queene to the office of the chancellor. ¶ He likewise gaue the priuie seale to the lord Paget, and made him lord priuie seale, these were both Londoners borne. In this month of February, the lord maior of London and the aldermen entered into Wydeuwell, and take possession thereof, according to the gift of king Edward, now confirmed by queene Marie. ¶ In the month of March next following, there was in maner no other talk, but of the great preparation that was made for the queens lying in childbed, who had alreadie taken vpon hir chamber, and sundrie ladies and gentlewomen were placed about hir in curie office of the court.

¶ And now for so much as in the beginning of the month of June about Whitson tide, the time was thought to be nie, that this young maister should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared and in a readinesse, suddenlie vpon what cause or occasion it is uncerteine, a certeine vaine rumor was blowne in London of the prosperous deliuerance of the queene, and the birth of the child: insomuch that bells were rung, bonifiers and processions made, not onelie in the citie of London, and in most other parts of the realme, but also in Antwerpe guns were shot off vpon the river by the English ships, and the mariners thereof were rewarded with an hundred pilslets or Italian crownes by the ladie regent, who was the queene of Hungarie. Such great reioicing and triumph was for the queenes deliuerie, and that there was a prince borne. ¶ Yea, diuers preachers, namelie one the person of saint Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and Te Deum song, took vpon him to describe the propeztion of the child, how saies, how beautifull, and great a prince it was, as the like

Stephan Gardiner
speciallie
humbleth for
the life of Iacob
Elizabeth.
D. Elizabeth
preferred.

Ad. Widges
lieutenant the
lords organ
in sauing the
ladie Elizabeth
her life.

The archbishop
of Dorset
lord chancellor.
John Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex I.F.
marrytologie.
Rockers and
nurses prepared
for queene
Maries child.

processions
and bonifiers
in London, &
top of the young
prince.

Triumph at
Antwerpe for
the same.

had not bene sene.

In the midst of this great adoe, there was a simple man (this I speake but upon information) dwelling within foure miles of Barlothe, that neuer had bene before halfe waie to London, which said concerning the benefices made for quene Maries child; Here is a toisall triumph, but at length all will not proue worth a messe of pottage, as in deed it came to passe: for in the end all proued cleane contrarie, and the joy & expectations of men were much deceiued. For the people were certified, that the quene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue anie child. At this time manie talked diuerslie. Some said this rumour of the quenes conception was spread for a policie: some other affirmed that she was deceiued by a timpanie or some other like disease, to thinke herselfe with child, and was not: some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarie, or else that she was betwixched: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is secret. One thing of mine owne hearing and seeing I cannot passe ouer but witnesseth.

There came to me, whome I did both heare and see, one Isabell Palt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate street in Hoene alie, not farre from the house where this present booke was printed, who before witnesseth made this declaration vnto vs, that she being deliuered of a man-child upon Whitsundaie in the morning, which was the eleuenth daie of June Anno 1555, there came to hir the lord Poole, and another lord to hir unknowne, dwelling then about old fish street, demanding of hir if she would part with hir child, and would sweare that she neuer knew nor had no such child. Which if she would, hir sonne (they said) should be well prouided for, she should take no care for it, with manie faire offers if she would part with the child.

After that came other women also, of whome one (she said) should haue bene the rocker: but she in no wise would let go hir sonne, who at the writing hereof being alieue and called Timothie Palt, was of the age of thirtene yeares and vplward. Thus much (I saie) I heard of the woman hir selfe. What credit is to be giuen to hir relation, I deale not withall, but leave it to the libertie of the reader, to beleue it they that list: to them that list not, I haue no further warrant to assure them. Among manie other great preparations made for the quenes deliuerance of child, there was a cradle verie sumptuouslie and gorgeously trimmed, on the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latine and in English, as they are set downe here in record:

Quon Maria Jobolem Deus optime summe dedisti,

Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

The child which thou to Marie,

o Lord of might hast send,

To Englands ioie in health

prelerue, keepe and defend.

About this time there came ouer into England a certaine English booke, giuing warning to the Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certaine close practises for recouerie of abbey lands, which booke was called A warning for England. Whereof ye shall vnderstand much moze at large where we speake of the Spanisch inquisition. So that by the occasion of this booke, vpon the thirteenth daie of this moneth came out a certaine proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and the quene, repealing and disanulling all manner of bookes written or printed, whatsoever should touch anie thing the impairing of the popes dignitie, whereby not onelie much goodlie edification was hindered, but also great perill grew among the people. This procla-

mation is recorded at large with other arguments, in the Actes and Monuments, vnder the title of quene Marie.]

In this yeare died sir John Cressham, who bere the office of lord maiour of London 1547, a man of a mercifull nature, and god deuotion both to God and his countrie. He founded a free schole at Holt, a market towne in Suffolke, & gaue to euerie ward in London ten pounds to be distributed to the poore, and to therscore poore men and women, euerie one of them thre yeards of bryde cloth of eight or nine shillings the yard, to be made in gownes reable to their backs. He gaue also to maids marriages, and to the hospitals in London, about two hundred pounds in reable monie. A blasfame was sene at all times of the night, the first, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth of March.]

About this time, Wokes bishop of Gloucester was by the cardinall sent downe as commissioner from the pope to Drford, there to sit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, in such things as should be laid to his charge by John Hoole and Thomas Martin, doctors in the lawes, sent speciallie in commission from the quene. At which time the said archbishop making low obsequance to them that sate in the quenes name, shewed no token of reuerence to the bishop that was the popes commissioner: who neuertheless proceeded against him as iudge, and conuicted him of heresie. According to the which sentence, the one and twentieth daie of March next following, he was disgraced by Edmund Boner, and Thomas Thirkelbie, bishops of London and Ely, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the same place where Ridley and Latimer before had suffered.

Before his death by the perswasion of a Spanisch frier, named frier John, a reader of diuinitie in Drford, and by the counsell of certaine other that put him in hope of life and pardon, he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholie to the church of Rome, and continued in the same mind to outward appearance, vntill he was brought out of prison, to go to the fire. Afoze whose execution, a sermon was made by doctor Cole deane of Pauls, in saint Martins church in Drford. And in the end of his sermon, the said doctor Cole praised the people to incline their eares to such things as the said Cranmer would declare vnto them by his owne mouth. For (saith he) he is a man verie repentant, and will here before you all reuoke his errors. For the lesse he did cleane contrarie. For when he came to the place where the holie bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley were burnt before him, for the confession of the truth, kneeling downe he praised to God, & not tarling long in his praises, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himselfe to death. His shirt was made long downe to his feet: his feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one heare could not be sene vpon it. His beard was long and thicke, covering his face with marvellous grauitie. Such a countenance of grauitie moued the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

And as for the recantation aforesaid, with manie tears he protested, that he had subscribed to the same against his conscience, onelie for feare of death, and hope of life. Which seemed true: for when he came to the stake, & the fire kindled, he put his right hand into the fire, and held it there a good space, saying: that the same hand should first burne, because it held the pen to subscribe against his Lord God. Vpon the death of this Cranmer I find these reuerend verses:

Infortunat est felix, qui nomine lesi,

Cuius fin gaudet commoditate boni.

Q. Maries child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

Ex. 15. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The young princes cradle

Written vpon the cradle.

L. Fox in mart. feb. tit. l. 8.

*In felix ille est uero felicitate, orbi
Inuisus quisquis tristitia fata subit.
Hic Crammere probus, uita presentis amore,
Dum quævis sanctam disimulare fidem.
Et dum consilij tandem melioribus usus,
Proponit uita funera sua tunc.*

Immediatlie after the death of the said bishop Crammer, cardinall Pole (a popish prelat, and a soe enimie to the religion receiued & established in king Henrie the eighths time) was made archbishop of Canturburie, who (during the life of the other) would neuer be consecrated archbishop. Who so desireth to see more of this matter, maie see the same at large in the booke of the monuments of the church, where you shall also find, that about this time marie were in trouble for religion. The eight and twentieth daie of the aforesaid moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers maid of the gaile of Newgate in London, who had left a candle where a great deale of straw was, the same was set on fire, and burnt all the timber worke on the northside of the same gate.

The Summer next following was a new conspiracie brought to light, which was, to haue raised war in the realme against the queene, for maintenance whereof, their first enterprize was to haue robbed the treasure of the queens exchequer at Westminister, called the receipt of the exchequer, in the which there was of the queens treasure aboue fiftie thousand pounds the same time, to the intent they might be able to mainteine warre against the queene, as it fell out afterwards in prose. The utterer of which conspiracie was one White, who at the beginning was made priue to the same, whereupon diuerse of the conspiracie, namelie, Henrie Peckham, Dantell, Dethicke, Udall, Thockmorton, and capteine Stanton, were apprehended, and diuerse other fled into France. Moreover, sir Anthoine Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and died in the waite comming to London. The eight and twentieth of Aprill, Thockmorton and Richard Udale, were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged & quartered. The nineteenth of Maie Stanton was likewise executed. The eight of June, Kossie, Redhe, and Bedell suffered at Tiborne for the same offense. The eighteenth of June, one Sands, younger son to the lord Sands, was executed at St. Thomas Waterings, for a robbetrie committed by him and others to the value of thre thousand pounds. The seuen and twentieth of June, eleuen men & two women, were had out of Newgate, and in thre carts conueied to Stratford the bow, where for religion they were burnt to ashes.

The eight of Iulie, in the beginning of this fourth yeare of the queens reigne, Henrie Peckham and John Dantell were executed, and after they were dead, were headed on the tower hill: their bodies were buried in Warking church. About this time one Clobber, which sometime kept a schole at Dis in Dorsethe, with thre brethren, whose names were Lincoln, pretended an insurrection, and would haue gathered the people at a mariage, vnto the which the brethren promised either of them to bring an hundred horse with men. At which time by their appoint, the said Clobber gaue charge to a seruant of his, to watch in a lane nigh to the church where they should met, and as soone as he saw any horseman comming thitherward, to giue him warning with all speed. So it chanced (by the will of God) that certaine men riding through that lane, to some other place about their businesse, came about such an houre as Clobber had appointed. Upon sight of which men, his said seruant returned to his maister, and told him that his friends were come: and immediatlie the said Clobber fled by in the parish church of

Parleie, and read a traitorous proclamation of purpose prepared: which being ended, and seeing his part was too weake, for that his mates were not come, began to flee. But one maister Shireman pursued and took him at a towne called Cic in Suffolke, and was kept in prison untill the next sessions at saint Edmundsburie, and his thre mates being brought to him, were there all together drawne, hanged, and quartered.]

This yeare, the hot burning fevers and other strange diseases, which began the yeare before, consumed much people in all parts of England; but namelie, of most ancient and graue men: so that in London, betwene the twentieth of October, and the last of December, there died seuen aldermen, whose names were Henrie Heardson, sir Richard Dobs late maior, sir William Laxton late maior, sir Henrie Hoblethorne late maior, sir John Champneis late maior, sir John Aleph late shiriffe, and sir John Gresham late maior. The one & twentieth of Nouember, John Fecknam late deane of Pauls in London, now made abbat of Westminister, was killed, and took possession of the same: and fourteene monks more receiued the habit with him that daie of the order of saint Benet. The said one and twentieth of Nouember, a man was brought from Westminister hall riding with his face to the horse taile, and a paper on his head, to the stand in Cheape, and there set on the pillorie, and then burned with an hot iron on both his cheekes, with two letters J. and A. for false accusing one of the court of the common pleas in Westminister of treason.

The sixteenth of December, Gregorie Carpenter smith, and a Frenchman boine, was arrested for making counterfeit keies, wherewith to haue opened the locks of Newgate, to haue laine the keeper, and let forth the prisoners. At which time of his arraignment, hauing conueied a knife into his sleeve, he thrust it into the side of William Whittrents his fellow prisoner, who had giuen witness against him, so that he was in great perill of death thereby. For the which fact he was immediatlie taken from the barre into the street before the iustice hall, where his hand being first stricken off, he was hanged on a gibbet set vp for that purpose. The keeper of Newgate was arraigned & indicted, for that the said prisoner had a weapon about him, and his hands loose, which should haue bene bound. The fourth of Ianuarie, a ship before Greenwich (the court being there) shot off his ordinance, one peece being charged with a bullet of stone, which passed through the wals of the court, and did no more hurt.]

About this time came to London an ambassador to the queene from the emperor of Cathale, Pulcovia, and Kusseland, who was honorable receiued at Totenham by the merchants of London, hauing trade in those countries, riding in velvet coates and chaines of gold, who bare all his costs and charges from the time of his entrie into England out of Scotland: for thither by tempest of weather he was driven, and there forced to land. The lord Montacute with the queens pensioners met him at Fillington townes end; and at Smithfield barres the lord maior and aldermen in scarlet receiued him, and conueied him through the citie vnto maister Dimmocks house in Fanchurch street, where he lodged untill the twelue of Maie, all which time he wanted no resort. And after his message and ambassage done to the queene, he departed againe with thre faire ships from Grauesend into his countrie, when he had remained here by the space of two moneths and more.

A traitorous proclamation read, and the reader apprehended.

Great death.

Seuen aldermen of London dead in one yeare.

Ab. Fl. ex l. Stow. 1103. Fecknam abbat of westminster.

Falle accuser set on the pillorie & burnt in both cheekes; wound to God all such accusers were so well marked.

A stranger would haue murdered the keeper of Newgate.

A gun shot into the court at Greenwich.

1557 An ambassador out of Pulcovia.

John Stow.

The lord
Sturton
committeeth a
thamefull
murder.

John
Claus.

The lord
Sturton
hanged.

Abr. Flex
i. S. 1105.
Dearth and
plentie.

John Claus.

The returne
of king Philip
into Eng-
land.

Stafford and
others com-
mitted to the
tower, and af-
ter executed.

Thomas
Persie crea-
ted earle of
Northum-
berland.

Queene Marie.

An. Dom. 1557.

Also about this time, the lord Sturton, for a verie shamefull and wretched murder committed by him upon two gentlemen, the father and the son, of the surnames of Hargill, being his nere neighbors, whom he caused to be smitten downe with clubs, then their throates to be cut, and after to be buried in his owne house fiftene foot deepe; for the which heinous offense he was apprehended and committed to the tower of London. And although the queene seemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholike religion: yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile deed, she abhorred him, & commanded that he should be used according to iustice; wherefore shortly after, he was brought to Westminster, & there arraigned & found guiltie, & had iudgement as a murderer to be hanged. And for the same fact were likewise condemned foure of his seruants. And the second daie of March next following, the said lord with his foure seruants were conueied by the queens gard from the tower of London through the citie, he hauing his armes pintoned at his backe, & his legs bound vnder the horse belite, and so caried to Salisbury, where the first daie of March next, he was hanged in the market place, and his foure seruants were hanged in the countie nere vnto the place where the murder was committed.

This yeare before haruest, wheat was sold for foure marks the quarter, malt at foure & fortie shillings the quarter, beans & rie at fortie shillings the quarter, & pease at fir and fortie shillings and eight pence: but after haruest wheat was sold for siue shillings the quarter, malt at fir shillings eight pence, rie at three shillings foure pence. So that the penie wheat loose, that weied in London the last yeare but eleuen ounces Troie, weied now fir and fiftie ounces Troie. In the countie, wheat was sold for foure shillings the quarter, malt at foure shillings eight pence; and in some places a bushell of rie for a pound of canoles which was foure pence. The seauenth of September, at seauen of the clocke at night, in a blache raine cloud in the west was seene a rainbowne, the more in the east risen one houre before, and saie shining, and at the full the daie before. This present moneth of March king Philip, who a long season had bene in Flanders to take possession & government of the low countries (as is aforesaid) did now returne into England, and passed through London, being accompanied with the queene and diuerse nobles of the realme.

The foure and twentieth of Aprill Thomas Stafford, second sonne to the lord Stafford, with other to the number of two and thirtie persons, comming forth of France by sea, arrived at Scarborough in Yorkshire, where they took the castell, and held the same two daies, and then were taken without effusion of blood by the earle of Westmerland. The said Stafford and Richard Sanders, otherwise called capteine Sanders, with three or foure others, of the which one was a Frenchman, were sent vp to London, & there committed to prison in the tower. The said Stafford and foure others were arraigned and condemned. Whereupon the eight and twentieth of Aprill, being fridaie, the said Stafford was beheaded on the tower hill; and on the morrow three of his companie, as Strangle, Bradford, and Proctor, were drawn from the tower to Tibborne, and there executed. Their heads were set ouer the bridge, and their quarters ouer the gates about the same citie. Capteine Sanders had his pardon, and so escaped. The first of Maie Thomas Persie was made knight, and after lord, and on the next daie he was created earle of Northumberland. The queene gaue vnto him all the lands which had bene his ancestors, remaining at that time in hir hands.

In this season, although the French king (as was said) was verie loth to haue warres with England, yet the queene tangling hir selfe contrarie to promise in hir husbands quarrell, sent a defiance to the French king by Clarenceur king of armes; who comming to the citie of Remes, where the said king then late, declared the same vnto him the tenth of June, being the mondaie in Whitsun weeke. On the which daie, Carter and Porrette king of armes, accompanied with other heralds, and also with the lord maior and certeine of the aldermen of the citie of London, by sound of three trumpets that rode before them, proclaimed open war against the said French king, first in Cheape side, and after in other parts of the citie, where customarie such proclamations are made: the shiriffes still riding with the heralds, till they had made an end, although the lord maior brake off in Cheape side, and went to saint Peters to heare seruice, and after to Pauls, where (according to the vsage then) he went on procession. King Philip because of the warres towards, betwixt him and the French king, the first of Iulie passed ouer to Calis, and so into Flanders, where on that side the seas he made prouision for those warres: at which time there was great talke among the common people, muttering that the king making small account of the queene, sought occasions to be absent from hir.

Preuerthelesse, the shortly after caused an armie of a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, with two thousand pioners to be transported ouer to his aid, vnder the leading of diuerse of the nobilitie and other valiant capteins, whose names partly follow: the earle of Penbroke capteine generall, sir Anthonie Browne vicount Montacute lieutenant generall vnder the said earle, the lord Greie of Wilton lord marshall, the earle of Rutland generall of the horsemen, the lord Clinton earle of Lincoln colonell of the footmen, the lord Russell earle of Bedford, the lord Robert Dudley earle of Leicester and master of the ordinance, the lord Thomas Howard, sir William West lord de la Mare, sir Edward Windsoze after lord Windsoze, the lord Wiaie, sir Edmund Huges lord Shandois, the lord Ambrose Dudley earle of Marthwike, the lord Henric Dudley, Edward Randall esquier sergeant maior, master Whitteman treasurer of the armie, Edward Chamberleine esquier capteine of the pioners, sir Richard Leigh trenchmaster, John Higate esquier prouost marshall, Thomas Harvie esquier mustermaster, sir Peter Carew, sir William Courtneie, sir Giles Stranguish, sir Thomas Finch master of the campe, and other nobles, knights, and gentlemen of right approued valiance: although diuerse of them were suspected to be protestants. Furthermore, to make king Philips power the stronger, there came aid vnto him from sundrie places; where by as his armie increased in number, so likewise grew the same more puissant in strength. The people that assisted him are thus remembred by C. O. in his discourse of this warre, as here followeth:

*Misti in auxilium Germania lecta virorum
Corpora ferratas acies peditioneque catus.
Nec deerat miles Latius de gente oruentus,
Dalmata non deerat bello hinc nec desuit Hunnus.
At tamen ante alios, fiducia summa locata est
In quibus armatus valide conuenerat Anglus.
Fidus amicitia vetus id pascibat, & vxor.
Cui cum regis fuit socia commune periculum.*

The fiftieth of Iulie, the ladie Anne of Cleme departed this life at Ghelcie, and was honorable buried at Westminster the first of August: a ladie of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, & verie bountifull to hir seruants.

Queene Marie
proclaimed
open warre
against the
French king.

King Philip
passed ouer
to Flanders.

The names
of the cap-
teins ouer
the queens
armie.

The death
of the ladie
Anne of Cleme.

the siege of
the king of
Portingale.

the siege of
the king of
Portingale.

the siege of
the king of
Portingale.

the siege of
the king of
Portingale.

the siege of
the king of
Portingale.

The eighteenth of August was a solemn obsequie celebrated in the church of S. Paule in London, for John king of Portingale, who departed this life in Julie last past. The lord treasurer was chiefe mourner. The queenes armie being transported ouer to Calis (as before ye haue heard) marched to ioint with king Philips power: the which already being assembled, had invaded the french confines, and being come before saint Quintins, planted a strong siege before that towne. To the rescue whereof, the french king sent a great armie both of horsemen and footmen, under the leading of the constable of France: which armie consisted of about nine hundred men at armes, with as manie light horsemen, seven or eight hundred horseiers, two & twentie ensignes of lancequenets, and sixtene ensignes of french footmen. They had also with them sixtene peeces of great artillerie, to wit, six double canons, foure long culuerings, the rest bassard culuerings, and other peeces of smaller mould. The constable thus garded upon saint Laurence date, which is the tenth of August, approached the towne, meaning to put into the same succours of more soldiors, with Dandelot the admirals brother, that was within the towne not furnished with such a garrison as was thought expedient for the defense thereof, against such a power as king Philip had prepared against it.

The duke of Saucie and other capitains of the armie that laie at siege before the towne, advertised of the constables comming towards them, assembled the most part of their horsemen together, and with all speed made towards a passage distant from the place where the french armie stood houching about a two English miles: and being got ouer, they divided themselves into eight troopes of horsemen, led by the earles of Egmond, Horne, Paussfeld, the dukes of Brunswike and others, being in all to the number of five thousand men of armes, beside the swart Kutters and light horsemen. Which gaue such a furious & cruell charge upon the frenchmen, that they not able to resist the same, were altogether defeated, and their battels as well horsemen as footmen put to flight. Whereof king Philip hauing knowledge, pursued them with all his force, in which pursuit there were slaine of the frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were these that follow. John of Burbon duke of Anguien the vicount of Turraigne & eldest sonne of Roch du Paine, the lord of Chandenier, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field. There were taken these prisoners following: the duke of Montmorencie constable of France hurt with an harquebus shot in the hand, the duke of Montpenfer hurt in the head, the duke of Longueuille, the marshall of saint Andreus, the lord Leices brother to the duke of Pantoa, monsieur de Vasse, the baron of Curton, monsieur de la Roch du Paine, the Kingraue coroneell of the Almans: moreouer the counte de Roch Foucault, monsieur d'Obignie, monsieur de Heru, monsieur de Montbrun, monsieur de Biron, sonnes to the constable, monsieur de la chapelle de Biron, monsieur de saint Heran: beside manie other gentlemen and capitains of good account and estimation. Yet there escaped the more part of the french horsemen, and manie of their footmen, with certeine of their capitains of honor: as the duke of Beuers, the prince of Conde brother to the king of Nauarre, the earle of Montmorencie eldest sonne to the constable, the earle of Sancerre, monsieur de Burdillon, and other of the barons of France.

Within two or three daies after this ouerthrow, king Philip with the English armie, under the gouernement of the earle of Penbroke, and others, came to the siege afoze saint Quintins, & so was the

siege greatly reinforced: and on the tenth and twentieth of August by the speciall aid & helpe of the Englishmen, the towne of saint Quintins was taken. For when the other soldiors, after diuerse assaulls were repelled and gaue ouer, the Englishmen of a stout courage gaue a new onfet, by reason whereof the towne was taken. And in reward of their well doing, king Philip granted them the saccage of the said towne. But then the swart Kutters, which kept no rule when they be strongest, set vpon the Englishmen, in taking of the spoile, and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, & men thought that if the Englishmen being much fewer in number had not bene oppressed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both parts. At the assault the lord Henrie Dupleie, yongest sonne to the duke of Northumberland was slaine with the shot of a great peece, as he stooped vpon his approach vnto the wall, and staid to rip his hose ouer the knee, thereby to haue bene the more apt and nimble to the assault. This was his end, of whom one saith thus:

Henricus Dudleius heros,

Ille annis generosam animam iuuenilibus efflat,

Quem referunt socij stantes in castra peremptum,

Primos christicolæ est, velatum sudore, gentis.

After the winning of this towne, newes in post were brought into England to the queene, who caused generall processions to be made, and Te Deum to be song, giuing all laud and praise to almighty God for this great victorie. And in the streets of euerie citie and towne of the realme were made bonafires with great reioysing: which sudden short gladnesse turned verie shortly after to great & long sorrow. For if ought were to be had of saint Quintins, England got nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onelie to king Philip. But the losse of Calis, Hammes and Guines, with all the countie on that side the sea (which followed some after) was such a buffet to England, as happened not in more than an hundred yeares before: and a bishopp: wherewith this realme shall be blotted, untill God shall giue power to redub it with some like requitall to the french.

Doctor Wileson being (as you haue heard before) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with cardinall Pole, and other bishops: because he was unwilling to resigne his deanrie of Westminster vnto the queene, whose purpose was to place there (as in old time before) the religion of monks, whome in deed he fauoured not, although in all other things he stood with the church of Rome. Neuertheless, by verie importunate sute, or rather compulsion, he with his colleagues resigned the deanrie of Westminster. In recompense whereof he was made deane of Windosor, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the cardinall deprived of all his spirituall linings, from whose sentence he appealed vnto the court of Rome. For the following of which appeale he sought secretlie to depart the realme: but he was apprehended by the wate, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner, untill (by the death of queene Marie) queene Elizabeth came vnto the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and shortly with fell sicke and died.

The common talke was, that if he had not so suddenly died, he would haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the clergie, meaning the cardinall, which was to haue taken vp 11. Henries bodie at Windosor, and to haue burned it, as manie thought. The thirtieth of Nouember, being saint Andreus date, in the forenone, the queene came from saint James to hir palace at Westminster, where she heard masse: at the which, sir Thomas Cresham knight received

taken and
sacked.

The lord
Henrie Dupleie
was slaine
with the shot
of a gun.

Doctor Wileson
resigned
the deanrie of
Westminster
by compulsion
and is recommit-
ted.

The malice
of cardinall
Pole against
king Henrie
the eight.

Sir Thomas
Cresham
made lord of
saint Johns
of Jerusalem.

Calis not furnished with a sufficient number of men.

The losse of saint Quintins netteth the French king.

The duke of Guise with a great armie cometh toward Calis.

Guise entrench the English frontier.

1558.
Anno Reg. 5.

Newnambridge taken by the French.
The master gunners head smitten cleane off with a gun.

the order of the crosse, & was instituted lord of saint Johns of Jerusalem in England. At this time, although there was open hostilitie and warre betwixt England & France; yet contrarie to the common custome before used, the towne of Calis and the forts thereabouts were not supplied with anie new accretions of soldiers, but rather withdrawn from thence, and discharged. Which negligence was not unknowne to the enimie, who long before had practised the winning of the said towne and countrie.

The French king therefore being sharplie nettled with the late losse of saint Quintins, and a great peece of his countrie adjoining, and desirous of revenge, thought it not meet to let slip this occasion, but rather to aduance the same with all expedition, according vnto the plot lated by the constable before hand. The king yet neuertheless hauing an armie in a readinesse (although the constable were now prisoner, and therefore could not be present himselfe) to imploye where most aduantage should appeare, determined with all speed to put in proue the enterprise of Calis, which long and manie times before was purposed vpon, as it was well knowne. This practise was not secret, but that the deputies of Calis and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof, and informed the queene and hir counsell accordingly, as well by letters, as by sufficient messengers: for not onelie John Wicfield master of the ordinance was sent from thence to giue due aduertisement of the French kings purpose, & to haue a supplie of things necessarie for mounting of the great artillerie where of he had charge; but also sir Rafe Chamberleine, captaine of the castell, was likewise sent to giue the like aduertisement, who returned not past two or three daies before the duke of Guise came thither with the armie. And so either by wilfull negligence, or lacke of credit by the queenes counsell here, this great case was so slenderlie regarded, that no provision of defense was made, untill it was somewhat too late.

The duke of Guise being generall of the French armie, proceeded in this enterprise with maruellous speed and no lesse pollicie. For approaching the English frontier vnder colour to vittell Bullongne and Ard, he entered the same vpon a sudden on Newyears daie, a sozie little plot of ground, intrenched at Sandgate, and then diuided his armie into two parts, sending one part with certeine peeces of great artillerie along the downes by the sea side towards Kicebanke: and the other part furnished also with batterie peeces, marched straight forth to Newnambridge, meaning to batter these two forts both at one time. Which thing he did with such readie dispatch, that coming thither verie late in the evening, he was master of both by the next morning: where at the first shot discharged at Newnambridge, the head of the master gunner of that peece, whose name was Hoxlie was stricken off.

The captaine hauing sent vnto the lord deputie of Calis for some supplie of men, was answered that if he perceiued the enimies force to be such, whereby his peece should grow to be in anie danger: that then he should choke vp the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calis for defense of the towne, where they stood in great want of men also, euen to the perill of losing the whole, if the enimies came forwarde to besiege it. Wherevpon the captaine within Newnambridge perceiuing he might haue no succors, retired with his soldiers vnto Calis, in such secret wise, that the Frenchmen perceiued it not of a pretie while; in somuch that they shot still at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make resistance: and by that time that they were come to Calis, the other part of the French armie that went by the sea side with their

batterie, had sworne Kicebanke, being abandoned to their hands. The next daie the Frenchmen with five double canons and three culuerings began a batterie, from the Sandhills next Kicebanke against the curteine betwixt the watergate and the soldiers prison on the wall, and continued the same by the space of two or three daies, untill they had made a little breach next vnto the watergate, which neuertheless was not yet assailable: for that which was broken in the daie, was by them within the towne made by againe in the night stronger than before. But the batterie was not begun there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to abuse the English, to haue the lesse regard vnto the defense of the castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were ascertained by their espials to win easie entrie. So that while our people trauelled fondlie to defend that counterel breach of the towne wall, the duke had in the meane season planted sixtene double canons against the castell. Which castell being considered by the rulers of the towne, to be of no such force as might resist the batterie of the canon (by reason it was old and without anie rampiers) it was deuised to make a traine with certeine barrells of powder to this purpose, that when the Frenchmen should enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the said traine, and blowe vp the keepe, and for that purpose lest neuer a man within to defend it.

But the French hauing passed through the ditch full of water, & thereby with their cloths wazinging wet as they passed over the traine, they moisted so the powder, that it would not take fire when it was giuen. Wherevpon the Frenchmen espieng the traine, auoided the same; so as that deuise came to no purpose, and without anie resistance they entered the castell, and thought to haue entered the towne by that waie. But by the prouidence and hardie courage of sir Anthonie Ager knight, & marshall of the towne, with his soldiers they were repelled, and diuen backe againe into the castell, and so hard followed, that our men forced them to close and shut the castell gate for their suertie, least it should haue bene recovered against them, as it was once attempted by sir Anthonie Ager; who there with his sonne and heire, and a pursuant at armes called Calis, with diuise others to the number of three or foure score Englishmen lost their liues.

The same night after the recule of the French men, whose number so increased in the castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force, the lord Wentworth being deputie of the towne, appointed Nicholas Jellow, alias Guisnes, and Richard Turpine, alias Hammes, to go to the French within the castell, to demand parles: wherevnto they assented, put forth of the posterne two French gentlemen, and in pledge for them receiued into the castell John Wicfield master of the ordinance, and Edmund Hall one of the constables of the staple. Wherevpon they falling in talke about a composition: at length after some long debating of the matter, they concluded in this sort. First that the towne, with all the great artillerie, vittels, and munitions, should be freely yelded to the French king, the liues of the inhabitants onelie saued, to whose safe conduction should be granted to passe where they listed: sauing the lord deputie, with fiftie such other as the duke should appoint, to remaine prisoners, and be put to their ransom. The next morning, the Frenchmen entered and possessed the towne: and forthwith all the men, women, and children, were commanded to leaue their houses, and to go to certeine places appointed for them to remaine in, till order might be taken for their sending awaie.

Kicebanke
French.

The duke of
Guise his
liege.

The English
mens fond
sense.

The French
men dispo-
sitione
Englishmens
deuise.

Sir Anthonie
Ager and
his sonne
heire.

The lord
Wentworth.

A parle be-
manded at
French.

Calis deli-
uered to the
French.

The Duke of
Guise pro-
clamation to
bring in ma-
n and plate,
&c.

The French
his speaking
answering.

The places thus appointed for them to remaine in, were the five churches, the two churches of our ladie, and saint Nicholas, the deputies house, and the staple, where they rested a great part of that daie, and one whole night, and the next daie till thre of the clocke at afternone, without either meat or drinke. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, stricly charging all and euery person that were inhabitants of the towne of Calis, hauing about them any monie, plate, or iewels, to the value of one great to bring the same forthwith, and laie it downe vpon the high altars of the said churches vpon paine of death; bearing them in hand also, that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great & joyfull offertorie. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure: but specially of ordinance, armor, and other munitions.

Thus dealt the French with the English in lieu and recompence of the like usage to the French when the forces of king Philip prevailed at St. Quintins: where not content with the honour of victorie, the English in sacking the towne sought nothing more than the satisfiing of their greedie beine of conuolousnesse, with an extreme neglect of all moderation. So likewise did the Spanish soldiers, and the rest that could come to finger any thing of value: insomuch that neither monie nor plate, either of silver or gold, rich hangings, bedding nor household stuffe was spared: but what they could not carie away for cumbersome, they sold dogcheape; were the same necessarie furniture seruiceable for the chamber, the kitchen, or any other roome in a mans house. Pearls and pretious stones, iewels and owdches, the rich ornaments of the French dames were then bought and sold at a low price, which a long time had bene kept shut vnder locke and key: all late open now to the greedie eye of the soldiers, who like landlozds kept possession of houses, as C. O. noteth, of whom I haue borrowed the report of this reuel roist, saying:

*Amatis viros firmisumaque occupat urbis
Militibus victor, dominantur in edibus alris
Iam vacuis veterum dominorum Marce phalanges
Conspicua.*

The power
of the French
to take out of
Calis.

Content
the English
to take Calis

About two of the clocke the next daie at after none, being the seventh of Januarie, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, being garded through the armie with a number of Scottish light horsemen, who vsed the Englishmen verie well and frendlie: and after this euery daie for the space of thre or foure daies together, there were sent away diuerse companies of them till all were auoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserved for prisoners, as the lord Wentworth, & others. There were in the towne of Calis five hundred English soldiers ordinarie, and no more: and of the townsmen not full two hundred fighting men (a small garrison for the defense of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lord Wentworth deputie of Calis, sir Isaac Chamberlaine captaine of the castell, John Harrison captaine of Aicebanke, Nicholas Alexander captaine of Newmansbridge, Edward Crimstone the comptroller, John Rogers succesor, with others, to the number of fiftie (as aforesaid) such as it pleased the duke of Guise to appoint, were sent prisoners into France.

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the overthrow

and losse of the towne of Calis, the which enterprisse was begun and ended in lesse than eight daies, to the great maruell of the world; that a towne of such strength, and so well furnished of all things as that was (sufficient numbers of men of warre onlie excepted) should so suddenlie be taken and conquered, but most speciallie in the winter season, what time all the countrie about (being marish ground) is commonly overflowed with water. The said towne was wonn from the French king by H. Edward the third, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king: and being in possession of the kings of England two hundred and cleuen yeares, was in the time of Philip and Marie king & queene of England lost within lesse than eight daies: being the most notable feat that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edward aforesaid, in the 21 yeare of his reigne, was faine to continue a siege cleuen months and more. Therefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe, without some secret trecherie.

Here is also to be noted, that when queene Marie and hir counsell heard credible of the Frenchmens sudden approach to that towne, the with all speed possible (but somewhat too late) raised a great power for the rescue thereof, the which comming to Douer, staid thereabouts till the towne was wonne, either for that their whole number was not come together, or for that there were not ships readie sufficient to passe them ouer, although the wind and weather serued verie well to haue transported them thither, till the Sunday at night after the towne was deliuered: for then began a marvellous fore and rigorous tempest, continuing the space of foure or five daies together, that the like had not bene seene in the remembrance of man. Therefore some said that the same came to passe through necromancie, and that the diuell was raised vp and become French, the truth whereof is knowne (saith master Grafton) to God. True it is that after the said tempest began, for the time it lasted, no ship could well broke the seas, by reason of the outrageous stormes. And such of the queenes ships as did then aduenture the passage, were so shaken and tozned with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, & not without losse of all their tackle and furniture: so that if this tempestuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the armie should haue passed to haue giuen some succors to Guisnes, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calis.

But if the same armie might haue bene readie to haue transported ouer in time, before the losse of Calis, and whilest the weather was most calme and sweet, as was possible for that time of the yeare, the towne might haue bene preserved; and the other peeces which through want of timely succours came into the enemies possession. And thus by negligence of the counsell at home, conspiracie of traitors elsewhere, force and false practise of enemies, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempests of contrarie winds and weather, this famous fort of Calis was brought againe and lost in the hands and possession of the French. & How were he worthy of a kingdome, that could sensible and significantlie set forth the insistent triumphs and immoderate reioicing of the French for the recouerie of Calis so long possessed by the English, and now in forein tenure. In describing whereof a man had need of manie heads fraught with extraordinary inuention, and of many hands readie to deliuer in writing his rare conceits in this case. For as they are a people depending wholly vpon extremities in their actions: so in this they vsed no measure, insomuch that euen the learnedest sort among them, namelie Turnebus, Au-

Calis conquered and lost in lesse than eight daies.

How long Calis was in possession of the kings of England.

Is good neuer as too late.

A terrible tempest.

Rich, Grafton.

The queenes ships were shaken with storme and tempest.

Abr. Fl. ex opere historico Schardij collectio

ratus, Bellains, and others did both pen and publish pamphlets in Latine verse, replenished with scoffs and uncreusend termes against the English, calling them *Perfidus*, and in shewing forth *Diuifos or be Britanios*; but aduancing to the skies their Henric, their Guise, and the rest of the rotot that were adors in this conquest. A sight of which verses in some part I may not omit (for it requireth a booke to transcribe all) least I might be thought to impose vpon them a false charge. This therefore in the forme of a dialog betwene a poist and the people wrieth Auratus the French kings publike reader in the Greke tong:

N. *Clamate Galli nunc ter io io.*

V. *Qua leta Gallis instat onatio?*

N. *Capti Caletes. V. Multa paucis Digna nouo memoras triumpho.*

N. *Videte Galli, sed duce Guiso.*

V. *Io triumphe, nunc ter io io.*

N. *Videte victores Britannos.*

V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe.*

N. *Annos ducentos serua Britannie*

Prbs liberata est. V. Nunc ter io io.

N. *Migrate iam prisci coloni.*

V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe, &c.*

And thus proceedeth he in his od beine of inuenti-on, concluding with a question, whether the king of France or the duke of Guise are the more happie and blessed person? The answer is made that they are both blessed, the king for the duke sake, and the duke for the kings; and therefore his poist must of force sing and sound to them both this, that is, oftentimes *Ter io triumphe, ter io triumphe*. But I would to God the English had not bene so soon and so suddenlie turned out of their old possession, nor the French fondlings obtained such a iust cause of inmoderate joy and outragious triumph.]

But to leaue Calis in the present state, you shall vnderstand, that so soon as this duke of Guise (contrarie to all expectation) had in so few daies gained this strong towne of Calis (afore thought impregnable) and had put the same in such order as best seemed for his aduantage, proud of the spoile, and pressing forward vpon his good fortune, without giuing anie long time to the residue of the guides or capitaines of the forts there, to breathe vpon their busynesse, the 13 daie of the said moneth being thursdaie, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his armie from Calis, vnto the towne and fort of Guisnes, five miles distant from thence. Of which towne and castell at the same time there was captaine a balliant baron of England, called William lord Greie of Wilton, who not without cause suspecting a siege at hand, and knowing the towne of Guisnes to be of small force, as being large in compass, without walles or bulwarks, closed onlie with a trench, before the Frenchmens arrivall had caused all the inhabitants of the towne to auoid, and so manie of them as were able to beare armes he caused to retire into the castell, which was a place well fortified with strong and massie bulwarks of bricke, hauing also an high and mightie tower, of great force and strength, called the Beape.

The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more easie approach to the castell, who thinking to find quiet lodging in those vacant houses, entered the same without any feare. And being that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of souldiours appointed by the lord Greie, issued out by a posterne of the said castell, and slew no small number of their sleepe ghefts, & the rest they put out of their new lodgings, and maniegre the duke and all the French powder, consumed all the houses of the towne with fire. That notwithstanding, the said duke with all diligence began his trenches. And albeit the shot of the

great artillerie from the castell was terrible, & gaue him great impeachment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his owne person as a common ploner or labourer. So that within lesse than three daies, he brought to the number of five & thirtie batterie peeces, hard to the bzim of the castell ditch, to batter the same on all sides, as well southward as acrosse. But his principall batterie he planted against the strongest bulwark of all, called *Marie bulwark*, thinking by gaining of the strongest to come more easily by the weaker.

On mondaie morning therefore by breake of the daie, they had laid two battleres to the said bulwark, thirtene canons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they pld it so well, as that by none they had not onelie dismounted their counter batterie within, but also cleane cut awaie the hope of bricke off the whole forefront of their bulwarks, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crumble awaie. Which the enemye finding about two of the clocke in the same afternone, sent fortie or fiftie forlorne boies with swoords and targets to view and assaie the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not foure and twentie fot broad, now assuredlie not a dozen, nor in depth above a mans knees, therefore with small adoe they came to the breach, and with as little paine came vp the same, the clime was so easie; from whence hauing discharged certeine pistols vpon the Englishmen, and receiued a few pusses of the pike, they retired. And making report of the easinesse of the breach, strait a band or two of Gascoignes (as it was thought) threw themselves into the ditch, and vp they came. Then a little more earnestly the Englishmen leaped to their tackling, their flankers walked, their pikes, their culuers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebush saluted them, so as tolke master Gascoigne was set downe with more hast than he came vp with god speed: and so ended mondaies worke, sauing that vpon the retire from the assalt, they gaue seven or eight such terrible tires of batterie, as took cleane away from them within the top of their baumure and maunids, leauing them all open to the canons mouth. Whereby surelie but for night that came on, the Englishment had bene forced to haue abandoned the place.

At this assalt was slaine of gentlemen, one capitaine Bourne an Englishman, verie balliant, also a Spanish gentleman, and common souldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was also sore hurt at the same assalt, one other Spanish capitaine, with diuerse others, whom for the auoiding of tediousnesse I let passe. At night the lord Greie came to the bulwark, and hauing rendred thanks to God for that daies good successe, did greatlie commend them all for their manfull defense and balliant behaviour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onelie thing wherein their safetie and god name did rest. The batterie (as before is told) hauing laid the bulwarks open, they within were enforced for winning of a new baumure, to intrench within the bulwark fir fot deepe, and nine in thicknesse, which maruellouslie did strengthen the pcece, the same being of no great largenesse before. By the next daie being tuesday, they had planted two batteries more; the one in the market place of the towne, to beate a curtaine of the bodie of the castell, of six canons; the other vpon the rampire of the towne of three peeces, to beate the Cat and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one side of the *Marie bulwark*.

This morning they bestowed most in battering at the flankers, which the daie before they had felt, and in dād wone euerie one from them within, sauing

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Schardi de capto
Calet. pag. 1973

The duke of
Guise marcheth
to the fort and town
of Guisnes.

The L. Greie
captaine of
Guisnes.

The L. Greie
taketh the
French at a
sleepe aduanti-
tage.

Batteries laid
to the Marie
bulwark.

The Gascoignes put
backe with
more hast than
they came by
with god
speed.

The number
slaine at this
assalt.

The lord
Greie com-
mendeth his
souldiours.

Batteries at
the Barbican.

Enemie
Swisses
French
appo-
ched
the
ditch
as if
they
would
the assault.

Exchange
company
lost
the
ditch
and
escaped
away
upon
a
certain
signall.

Swisses
French
the
ditch.

Spaniards
the
ditch
against
the
French.

ning that of the Cat, which laie high and somewhat se-
cret, and an other at the end of a baie by the gate on
the other side of the bulwourke; all the rest, as those of
the Garden bulwourke which chaste beheld the maine
breach of the Barbican, and of the Ræpe, were quite
bereaved them. And besides the enimie continuallie
intertained the breach, with eight or nine times the
houre. In the afternoon, about the same houre that
they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment
of Swisses, with certeine bands of Frenchmen ap-
proched the ditch, as if presentlie they would have gi-
uen the assault; but there they did staie, sending to the
breach onlie a capteine or two, seeking thereby to
have discovered what flankers yet were left to them
within: wherein they were prevented, the lord Greie
having before warned the gunners not to disclose
them, but upon extremitie. And thus after an houres
plaie with the harquebush onlie, and a light offer or
two of approach, this people retired them, and gane
the canon place againe, which by night had dizen
them within anle to become moldwarps, and to
intrench themselves with all speed possible.

The morrow being Wednesday, by the pæpe of
daie, all the batteries began, and without intermissi-
on held on till one of the clocke in the afternoon, and
especiallie that in the market place so pccualled, as
having cleane ruined the old wall, did dize through
the rampire, and a new countermure of earth raised
upon the same, where the lord Greie himselfe sitting
upon a forme, with sir Henrie Palmer, and master
Lewes Dine his lordships counsell and deputie, made
a faire escape, the forme being stricken asunder un-
der them, without anie further harme to anie of
them: though sundrie other that daie and the next
following lost their lives on the same curteine by the
foresaid battrie, which fall in flanke did beat it, where-
in yet was his lordships onlie abode as his chiefe
place, to view and regard the behauiour and need of
all the other lims, from which also a quost might be
throwne into Marie bulwourke. The enimies canon
(as is said) having plaied thus all the morning, and
well searched (as they thought) euerie corner that
flankers might lurke in, about the foresaid houre of
one of the clocke, the Englishmen might descrite the
trench before the breach to be stuffed with ensignes.
The L. Greie freight expecting that which followed,
gave word incontinentlie to euerie place to stand on
their gard, encouraging euerie man to continue in
their well begun endeuor. A towler that was called
Webs tower, and yet standing, which flanked one
side of the beaten bulwourke, he stuffed with twentie
of the best shot with carriers. These things no sooner
thus ordered, but that eight or nine ensignes of
Swisses, and three of Gascoignes, did present them-
selves upon the counterscarfe; and without staie the
Gascoignes flue into the ditch, run vp the breach,
whome they within receiue with harquebush shot,
but they requite the Englishmen againe with two
for one. The top of the baumure or rather trench,
the enimie boldlie approcheth, the pike is offered, to
hundbloies it cometh. Then the Swisse with a
statelie leasure strepeth into the ditch, and close to-
gether marcheth vp the breach, the fight increaseth, war-
eth verie hot, & the breach all couered with the en-
imies. The small shot in Webs tower began now
their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the
other side againe 20 of the Spaniards on the inside
of the braces had laid themselves close till the heat
of the assault; and then theiwing themselves, did no
lesse gall the enimies than the towler. Thus was it
no lustiler assailed than by anelie defended. At last
after an houres fight and more, the gouernours with-
out, finding the great slaughter that theirs went to,
and small assaile, and perceiuing the two little cas-

mates of the towler and braces to be the chiefe an-
noyances, did cause a retire to be founded: and with
all three or foure of the canons in the market place,
to be turned vpon Webs tower, the which at two
times brought cleane downe the same upon the soldi-
ers heads, wherein two or three were slaine outright,
others hurt to death, and who escaped best, so maimed
or binned, as they were no more able to serue.

The enimie this while hauing breathed, and a brace
of an hundred shots put forth onlie to attend on the
few Spaniards that kept the corners of the braces
the assault afresh is begun, and their beaten bands
with new companies relieved. The lord Greie also
sent into the bulwourke two hundred fresh men. Now
grew the fight heauie vpon the Englishmen, all
their defense resting in the pike and bill, their che-
fist flankers being gone, their places to bestow shot
in taken from them, their fier-woorks in manner
spent, the Spanish shot on the other side so ouerlaid,
as not one of them but was either slaine or maimed,
per a quarter of the assault was past. The easinesse
of the fight thus alluring the enimie, vnappointed
companies flue to the breach, and courage was on
euerie side with them, what haucke they made it is
not hard to gette. By lord Greie perceiuing the ex-
tremitie, sent to the two fozenamed flankers, that
they should no longer spare. They freight went off,
the ditches and breach being couered with men. These
vnlooked for ghests made the enimie that was com-
ming to pause, and the other already come to repent
their hast. Three or foure boiws of these salutations
began to cleare well the breach, though the ditch grew
the fuller at night. At last parted with no great tri-
umph of others winnings (for as the Englishmen
within went not scotfree) so surerlie no small number
of their enimies carcases toke vp their lodgings in
the ditch that night.

App lord Greie this night came into the bulwourke,
where after praise first to God, he gaue thanks and
commendations to them all. The slaine men he cau-
sed to be buried, the hurt to be removed and looked
vnto, saw the breach repaired, inquired of their lacks,
and (as he might) supplied the same. They that were
great could not be helped, as compowder, fierwoorks,
pea and pikes began to faile vs. The most part of
the night he here besolued, and longer as was
thought had taried, had not a scaberdies sword about
one of the souldiours as he went in the throng & darke
amongst them, thrust him almost through the sot:
whereupon he withdrew him to be dressed, vising first
vnto his souldiours an exhortation to acquite them-
selves no lesse valiantlie the next daie, assuring them
that one or two more such bankets as this last, gi-
uen to the enimie, would cole their courages for
anie more assaults.

This night now, great noise & working was heard
in the ditch, whereupon the bulwourke was once or
twice on alarum. At the last with cressets it was
espied that they were making a bridge. The morning
came, and then the same was seene to be finished,
emptie casks with ropes fastened together, & sawed
boards laid thereon. This yet did but put them with-
in, in a certaintie of that which before they accounted
of, and stood prepared for. To be short, the enimies
spent all the daie till it was full two of the clocke in
batterie, & beating at the two last flankers, which at
length they wone from them within, & the gunners
of either slaine. Whereupon the lord Greie taking
counsell of sir Henrie Palmer, master Lewes Dine
and Pontdragon the leader of the Spaniards; it
was resolved, that there might be order to make a
fucasse within the bulwourke, and presentlie to with-
draw all from thence, sauing a certeine for a face and
stale to toll in the enimie, and then to haue blowne it
vp

A fresh as-
sault begun
and the fight
hot and heauie
against the
English.

Enimies
slaine.

App lord
Greies woork
after the this
mish ended.

App L. Greie
hurt by mis-
chance.

The French
make bridges.

Consultation
betweene the
lord Greie and
the English
gentlemen.

Rich. Grafton.

The duke of
Guise and
monsieur Dand-
elot with
their powers.

Rabucine.

The desperat
adventure of
the French.The duke of
Guise in a
rage with his
soldiers.The English
forced to avoid
the enemies
entereth.

by whole to the destruction of them all.

In the meane time, the duke of Guise hauing gi-
uen order to monsieur Dandelot coronell of the
French footmen, that he with his bands should be in
a readinesse to giue the assault when signe should be
giuen, did withdraw him to an higher ground, from
whence he might plainlie discouer the behauiour as
well of his souldiours in the assault giuing, as also of
the defendants in answering the same. And percei-
uing not so manie of the English part appearing for
defence (as he doubted there would) gaue order forth-
with, that a regiment of his most forward lance-
knights should mount the breach, to open the first pas-
sage: and that monsieur Dandelot with his French
footbands should backe them, which order was follo-
wed, with such hast & desperat hardines, that entering
a deepe ditch full of water, from the bottome whereof
to the top of the breach, in some places, was well
neare fortye foot, without feare either of the water
beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach.

And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue
heard) bridges made of planke boards, borne vp with
casks and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his
men to passe the said ditch: manie of them now at
this assault, without care of those bridges, plunged
into the water, and toke the next waie to come to
the assault. Which hot hast notwithstanding, the as-
sailants were at the first so stoutlie repelled and put
backe by the defendants, being furnished with great
store of wildfire, and other suchies for the purpose,
that they were turned headlong one vpon another,
much faster than they came vp, not without great
waile and slaughter of their best and most forward
souldiours, to the small comfort of the stout duke, who
(as is said before) stood all this while vpon a little hill
to behold this businesse. Wherefore he not induring
this sight any longer, as a man incaged, ran among
his men, to repressing some, and encouraging other,
that the assault was not renewed, with much more
vehementie and furie than before, and with no lesse
sturdie obstinacie and desperation receiued by the
defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled
with French carcases.

This notwithstanding, the duke still redoubled
his forces with fresh companies, and continued so
manie assaults one vpon another, that at the last
charge, being most vehement of all the other, the
Englishmen being tired, and greatlie minished in
their numbers, by slaughter and bloudie wounds,
were of fine force driuen to auoid, & so after halfe an
hours fight, the enimie entered. Which when the lord
Greie beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wi-
thing of God that some shot would take him. When
one that stood next him, by the scarfe suddenly pulled
him downe, otherwise the effects had well declared
the earnestnes of the praiser: for he was not yet vp a-
gaine, when a canon shot grated vpon the same place
from whence he fell. And thus verie narrowlie he
escaped the danger of that shot, which if it had hit him
would (no doubt) haue wrought his dispatch. For
that is the weake frame of a mans bodie to migh-
tie forts and strong castles, builded of timber and
stone, beside the iron worke therewith compact, of-
tentimes redoubling the strength of the same: And
yet these (we see by experience) ruinated, battered, and
last leuell manie times with the thundering shot of
this dreadfull artillerie: an engine of no great anti-
quitie, and not used among ancient warriors in
former ages, but a late deuise of a Frenchman siter,
pitie it is that euer he was borne to set abroad such a
pestilent inuention, as the poet noteth, the being also
the be and the mischæfous effect thereof as followeth:

*Tormenti genus est ex ferro aut are coactum,
Quod Franciscanus siter repperisse refertur.*

*Et capias paucis validissima castra dictum,
Qua vix cepisses armis toto prius anno, &c.*

But to proceed. The fight within the bulwark he yet
lasted, to the great slaughter of the in that defended
it. Whereupon my lord Greie presentlie called to mai-
ster Leues Diue, and others that were about him,
to follow him to the gate. The maze was such, that
besides his soane master Arthur Greie, and now
lord Greie, master Leues Diue, captaine Biche-
well, and halfe a dozen of armed cozlers, not a man
else did follow him. By this means the Englishmen
were cleane driuen out of the bulwark, the enimie
yet not daring to passe the braies, gaue them that re-
caped good leisure to reconner the gate, where my lord
Greie holding the wicket himselfe, receiued them
in. Upon the taking of this bulwark, the souldiours
of Whiteleies bulwark and the base court in dis-
comfiture abandoned their charges, fleeing to the cas-
tell: so that more than the keepe and the bodie of the
castell no part was free from the enimie. My lord
Greie hauing receiued all his, caused the gates to be
rammed vp.

Thus were the chiefe bulwarks and otter lines of
the castell of Guines obtained by the French, on
saint Sebastians daie, being the twentieth of Janu-
arie, but yet not without great expense of bloud on
both sides: for of the French part there were slaine
in those assaults about the number of eight or nine
hundred, and of the English not manie fewer: a-
mongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon those
few Spaniards and Mallons that were come to as-
sist the English at that present. It was now night:
when a trumpetter came to the ditches side in the
base court, & founded a summons: who being called
vnto, & asked what he would, told that he was sent
to my lord Greie by the duke of Guise, with offer of a
parlee if it would be harkened vnto. The souldiours
no sooner heard these newes, but forsaking the walles
came all in volot together, & confusedlie speaking to
their chieftaine the said lord Greie, praied him to har-
ken to the message, & to haue consideration of their
lines, which so long as ante hope remained, they wil-
linglie had ventured. The lord Greies answer was,
that he marvelled, either what causelesse mistrust of
his caring for them was now come vpon them, or
what sudden vntowarded faintnesse of mind had so
assailed them, as to cause them in such disorder to for-
sake their places, and leave the walles naked, and he
willed them to returne to the same.

My lord Greie hereof toke comfort, and it was
thought god not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on
euerie side woked. The trumpetter receiuing answer,
accordinglie departed, & without long abode re-
turned againe, requiring in the dukes behalfe hostages
for a truce during the parlee from vs, he minding to
deliuer the like into the castell. From him in fine
monsieur Deslres, and a gentleman of the kings
chamber were sent in: and master Arthur Greie
my lords soane, and master Leues Diue, were put
out. Monsieur Dandelot in the braies receiued
them, and caried them ouer the vnfortunate bul-
wark, being come vpon naked and new slaine car-
cases, some of them spalling yet and groning vnder
their feet, were onlie the earth they stood on. So
passing downe the breach somewhat to the east of the
former heauie fight, they saw it, and the ditch little
lesse fraught with the enimies corpses. Then to the
campe they came, and were lodged in the said Dan-
delots tent.

The next daie in the morning, the lord Greie was
to meet the duke abroad: betwene them willinglie
one houre was spent in talking without agreement,
onlie vpon this point, that the lord Greie would
haue his bands depart with their ensignes displayed,

Arthur Greie
now lord
Greie.The enimie
dallied him, and
his weapons
notwithstanding.

Rich. Grafton.

A trumpetter
from the duke
of Guise to the
lord Greie.Hostages re-
quired on the
dukes part
from the lord
Greie during
the time of
the parlee, &c.The duke and
the lord Greie
haue come to
an agreement
and have
departed.

which would not be yielded unto: so he returned, & the hostages also thereupon were sent in. Monsieur Desfrés not being yet come forth, my lord was no longer entered againe, but that the souldiers oftentimes for taking the walles, willingly & to the present cutting of all their owne throates (if monsieur Desfrés himselfe had not bene, with a few captiues & gentlemen of the lord Greie alone retinued) came and met him, crying upon him to haue pitie vpon them. The lord Greie herewith staied, and pausing a while, had

the onlie pitie (if fond I cannot saie) that I haue of you, hath caused me this daie to make such offers of composition, as neither your honesties, nor my honour, nor either of our duties in my thought maie well beare, which refused to take harder to the bitter defacing of our credits, sith the best would blot it. If I would, souldiers, your selues (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof should turne your weapons vpon me, and sacrifice so hartelie a captiue, rather than to take it as a token of a pittifull captiue ouer you, and to yield thanks for the same. We haue been, as becommen vs: we haue yet held on as dutie doth bind vs: let vs end then as honest dutie and same doth will vs. Neither is there anie such extremitie of despair in our case, but that we maie yet dearelie enough sell our skins yet we lose them. Let vs then either march out vnder our ensignes displayed, or else herewith die vnder them displayed. The souldiers herewith in a mutinie flatlie answered, that they for his daungeloy would not sell their liues. The desperatenesse of their case was not unknowne unto them (said they) and that their liues in other seruice might yet auaille their prince and countrie. In this now further to venture, was but like oren to be thrust to the butcher. That his lordship was not to expect anie one blow at their hands.

Herewith in hast came one from monsieur Desfrés that stood at the rampier, aduising him to send his souldiers to the wals, otherwise that the Swisses would assuredlie enter. So constrained, his lordship promised them to compound, and so he got them to the wals. Then my lord going to counsell, at length agreed vpon these conditions. First, that the castell with all the furniture therein as well vittells as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, should be whole rentred without waisting, hiding, or munishment thereof. Secondarilie, that the lord Greie with all the captiues, officers and others, hauing charge there, should remaine prisoners at the dukes pleasure, to be ransomed after the manner of warre. Thirddie, that all the rest, as well souldiers as others, should depart with their armors, and baggage to what parties it seemed them best: neuertheless to passe without sound of drum or trumpet, or ensigne, and to leaue them behind. These articles sent by monsieur Desfrés to the duke were accepted, & so in the after noone, the duke himselfe came & receiued the keys of my lord Greie, who presentlie went out, and was giuen to the marshall Strozzi, and from him sold to monsieur de Randan, by whom he came into his brother the counte de Rochefoucault his hands, and there rested, till he was redeemed for foure and twentie thousand crownes.

The daie following, that is saie the two and twentieth of Ianuarie, all the souldiers of the said fortreffe of Guisnes, as well English as strangers, with all the rest of the inhabitants, and other (excepted the lord Greie himselfe, maister Arthur Greie his son, Sir Henrie Palmer knight, Pontdragon captiue of the Spaniards, and other men of charge referred by the composition) departed with their bag and baggage from thence towards Flanders. At whose issuing forth, there were esteemed to the number of

eight or nine hundred able men for the warre, part English & part Burgogmians. Of Spaniards so few were left, as no account is to be made of them, in maner the whole number of them being slaine, and selling their liues right dearelie, according to the order of god & hardie souldiers. Thus endeth this siege, wherein for breuities sake we haue left to saie anie thing of the provisions that the lord Greie made against the same, of the aduertisements that from time to time he sent to king Philip and queene Marie, and of their answers, of the sundrie adventures which they of Guisnes had with the enimie during their being about Calis, and of the great and manie booties that were there taken. Onlie in a word or two will I ad what bands of strangers were within the péce, because thereof as in another thing or two, I doe find maister Grafon in his chronicle speake at rouers. First came in Pontdragon, with two Spaniards more, verie valiant men, whome did follow within a daie or two, about foure or five and thirtie other Spaniards, all shot, of which (as I haue heard) there went not five out of the castell.

There came one captiue Desguie a Burgognian, with two hundred souldiers, pikes most. This band was appointed to the Marie bulworke, whose captiue being full of the gout, and an impotent man, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulworke. And so of this enough. But now after the winning of this towne and castell, the duke aduising well vpon the place, and considering that if it should happen to be regained by Englishmen, what a noisome neighbor the same might be to Calis, now being French; and speciallie what impeachment should come thereby for the passage thither from France, considering also the nere standing thereof to the French kings fortreffe of Ard: so that to keepe two garrisons so nigh together should be but a double charge, and not onlie needlesse, but also dangerous for the cause afore rehearsed. Vpon these considerations (as the Frenchmen write) he took order for all the great artillerie, vittells and other munition, to be taken forth, and the castell with all the bulworkes and other fortifications there, with all speed to be razed and throwne downe, and the stasse to be caried awaie, and employed in other more necessarie places.

Then rested nothing within all the English pale on that side unconquered, but the little castell or pile called Hammes, which though it were but of small force, made by art and industrie of mans hand, and being altogether of old workemanship without rampiers or bulworkes: yet neuertheless, by the natural situation thereof, being on all sides inuironed with fens and marshy grounds, it could not easilie be approached vnto, either with great ordinance for the batterie, or else with anie armie to incampe there for a siege: but hauing one streit passage thereto by a narrow causeie, trauesed and cut through in diuerse places, with deepe ditches, alwaies full of water. Which thing being well forcelene by Edward lord Dupleie then captiue there, hauing as god canse to suspect a siege there, as his neighbors had afore the Frenchmens comming to Guisnes, caused all the bridges of the said causeie bring of wood to be broken, to giue thereby the more impeachment to the French, if they should attempt to approach the same, as they did after they did, and kept diuerse of the passages.

But to deliuer the duke and his souldiers from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that had charge to watch the said causeie, how the captiue hauing intelligence of the rendering of Guisnes, secretlie the same night had conuied himselfe,

What bands of strangers were within the péce.

Rich. Grafon.

Hammes castell could not be easilie approached vnto, and why.

The lord Edward Dupleie.

It is now of
advantage for
the duke.

This was a
marvellous
rich bootie for
the enimie,
and a great
losse to the
partie contra-
rie.

Triumphs in
France for the
getting a
game of Cal-
lis.

A. Fl. ex opere
historico Sebar-
di collectio.
pag. 197.

D. Powell in
hist. Camb. pag.
41.

selfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage o-
uer the marsh into Flanders. Whereby the duke be-
ing now past care of anie further siege to be laid in
all the frontier, took order forthwith to seize the said
little fort into his own hands, as it was easie to do,
when there was no resistance. When this place
was once seized by the French, then remained there
none other place of defense nor strength of the Eng-
lish on all that side the sea, for the safeguard of the rest
of the countrie. Whereby the French king became
wholie and thoughtie lord & master of all the Eng-
lish pale: for now (as ye haue heard) there was nei-
ther towne, castell, or other fortresse, more or lesse
on that side (sauing Bots bulwark next to Graue-
ling, which after king Philip kept as his) but that it
was either taken awaite by force, or else abandoned,
and left open to the enimie. And (as the French
men write) besides the great treasure of gold and sil-
uer, coine, jewels, plate, wools, and other merchan-
dize (which was inestimable) there were found three
hundred peeces of brasse mounted on wheeles, and as
manie of iron, with such furniture of powder, pel-
lets, armour, vittels, and other munitions of war
scarcelie credible.

Thus haue you heard the whole discourse of the
conquest of the noble towne of Calis, with all the
English fortresses and countrie adjoining made by
the duke of Guise. The news whereof when they
came to the French king, no need to aske how soful-
lie they were receiued, not onelie of him and all his
court, but also vniuersallie through the whole realme
of France. For the which victorie, there was (as
the manner is) *Te Deum* sung, and beneficers made
euerie where, as it is wont to be in cases of common
joy and gladnesse, for some rare benefit of God. In
so much that shortly upon the conquest, there was a
publike assemblee at Paris of all the estates of
France, who franklie in recompense of the kings
charges employed in the winning of Calis, and the
places aforesaid, and for maintenance of his wars to
be continued afterwards, granted vnto him three
millians of French crowns: whereof the clergie of
France contributed one millian, besides their dis-
mies. And no maruell though the French did high-
lie reioise at the recouerie of Calis out of the Eng-
lishmens hands: for it is constantlie affirmed of
manie, that be acquainted with the affaires of
France, that ever since the same towne was first
wonne by Englishmen, in all solempne counsels as-
sembled to treat vpon the state of France, there
was a speciall person appointed to put them in re-
membrence from time to time of Calis: as it were
to be wished that the like were vsed in England, un-
till it were regained from the French.

And here because thus much is said of the French
by waie of discourse concerning their exulting, and
immoderat ioyfulnesse manie waies testified, some-
what being alreadie written thereof before: it is note-
worthy, either for the increase of wit in vs, if it
were the fault of our folkie; or the aggravating of
their impudencie, if they blush not to publish a most
lowd and lewd lie; to remember what I haue read
in verses set forth by a Frenchman; wherein a-
mong manie words & terms vied touching this con-
quest of Calis & Guisnes (wherein also a prophesie of
Merline (of which name there were two, and both pro-
phets) is introduced, foretelling the reuolution of the
same to be rather fatal to that nation, than recoue-
uerable by prowesse martiall (for thus he saith):

*Namque erat in fatis redditurum haud ante Caletum
Ad veteres dominos, quam se regina marito
Traderet externo, veterumque propagine regum
Posthabita, nouus hic succederet advena regnis:
Ipse Valensia venturum à stirpe nepotem*

*Merlinus vates multo pradiixerat ante,
Sanguinis vltorem nostri claudique futurum.)*

But this is not the matter that I meant (though
it conteine somewhat thereat men may muse) but a
further reach to the rebuke of rashnesse in some, if it
were their deed; and to the shame of others, if the re-
port be false. For thus saith the same author, whose
verses euen now I rehearsed, speaking of the Eng-
lishmen, whose former victories (saith he) made be-
rie venterous, confident, and full of heart; and be-
sides that, so disdainfull and scornfull towards the
French, that they caused to be grauen in hard mar-
bell aloft at the entrie of the castell or fortresse in le-
gible letters (but he telleth not in what language,
no more than which of the Merlins prophesie it was;
howbeit (saith he) thus much in effect in Latine:

*Tim demum Francus premet obsidione Caletum,
Cum ferrum plumbumque natabit suberis instar.*

Then shall the Frenchmen Calis win,
When iron and lead like corke shall swim.

Thus report the French, but how trulie, let them
saie that are able (vpon their owne knowledge) to
iudge: and thus much shall suffice for that matter.]
Now seemed euerie daie a yeare to the French king
vntill he personallie had visited Calis, and his new
conquered countrie. Wherefore about the end of Ja-
nuarie he took his viage thither, accompanied with
no small number of his nobilitie: and immediatlie
vpon his arriual there, he perused the whole towne
and euerie part thereof from place to place, deuising
with the duke of Guise for the better fortification
thereof, what should be added vnto the old, and what
should be made new, and what should be taken a-
waite. And after order taken for that businesse, he
placed there a noble man, & no lesse valiant knight
of the order, called monsieur de Thermes to be cap-
taine of the towne, and so departed he againe into
France.

After the French kings departure from Calis, he
made great hast for the accomplishment of the mar-
riage, moued betwene Francis his eldest sonne,
called the Dolphin, and Marie Steward daughter
& sole heire of James the first late king of Scotland:
which princeesse, if the Scots had bin faithfull of pro-
mise, as they seldome be) should haue married king
Edward the first. For the breach of which promise be-
gan all the warre betwene England & Scotland, as
you heard in the latter end of the life of king Hen-
rie the eight, and in the beginning of king Edward
the first. This marriage (saith Grafton) though it be not
of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that manie
things were meant thereby, which thanks be to God
neuer came to effect. But one speciall point was
not hidden to the world, that by meanes of the same,
the realme of Scotland should for euermore haue
remained as bruted and incorporat to the crowne of
France: and that as the sonne and heire of euerie
French king doth succede to the inheritance and pos-
session of a countrie called the Dolphin, & is therfore
called Dolphin; & like as the principallitie of Wales
appertineth to the eldest son of the king of England,
who therefore is called the prince of Wales: euen
so the Dolphin heire of France should thereby haue
bene king of Scotland for euermore: which name
and title vpon this marriage was accordingly giuen
to Francis Dolphin and heire apparant of France,
to be called king Dolphin. The meaning whereof
was bitterlie to exclude for euermore ante to be king
of Scotland, but onelie the eldest sonne of France.

This memorabile marriage was solemnized in
the citie of Paris the foure & twentieth daie of A-
prill, in the yeere of Christ 1558, with most magni-
ficall pompe and triumph, and honored with the pre-
sence of the most part of the princes, prelates, lords
and

The French
king goeth to
visit and see
Calis.

Monsieur de
Thermes
made captain
of Calis.

The marriage
betwene the
Dolphin and
the princeesse
of Scots.

why the law
and heire of
euerie French
king is called
the Dolphin.

The marriage
of the great
of Scots
with the
Dolphin.

The queene Dowager of Scotland with what she sent to procure warres against England.

and barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new alliance. Which as it was much to the advantage and benefit of France: so nothing could be more prejudice & derogation to the crowne of Scotland, as a deuile tending to the perpetuall abolishing and extinguishing of the name & state of kings in that realme. In this meane time also the queene Dowager of Scotland had done what in hir laie, to procure the Scottish nobilitie to make warres against England: but they being not willing thereto, monsieur Doffell colonell of certeine bands of Frenchmen came to Almouth within six miles of Berwikke, and fortified that place, making sundrie rodes and inuasions into England. In reuenge whereof the Englishmen made the like inrodes into Scotland, whereupon the Scottishmen in their defense (as some pretend) were drinen to haue warres: and thereupon the earle of Huntlie was made lieutenant of the Scots borders, who remaining there by the helpe of the Frenchmen did manie displeasures to the Englishmen. This warre was begun in the yere last past, and so continued: during the which manie skirmishes and diuerse proper feats of armes were put in practise betwixt the parties (as in the historie of Scotland more at large it doth appeare) where we speake of the doings in the yeares 1557 and 1558.

1557, ex. June 1104. I sent to the same.

I haue written to the same.

I haue written to the same.

A pestil was granted to the queene by the citizens of London, of twentie thousand pounds, which was lent of the companies: for the which summe to be paid againe, the queene bound certeine lands, & also allowed for interest of the monie twelue pounds of enerie hundred for a yere. Also this yere within a mile of Nottingham, was a maruelous tempest of thunder, which as it came through two towne, beat downe all the houses and churches, the bels were cast to the out side of the churchyards, and some webs of lead foure hundred foot into the field, withen like a paire of gloves. The river of Trent running betwene the two towne, the water with the mud in the botome was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against the trees, the trees were pulled vp by the roots and cast twelue score off. Also a child was taken forth of a mans hands two speares length hie, and carried a hundred foot off, and then let fall, where with his arme was broken, & so he died. Five or six men thereabout were slaine, and neither flesh nor skine perished; there fell some hailestones that were sixene inches about, &c. This yere in harnest time the quartane agues continued in like manner, or more vehementlie, than they had done the last yere past, where through died manie old people, and speciallie priests, so that a great number of parishes were vnserved, and no curats to be gotten: and much corne was lost in the field for lacke of worke men & laborers. Whereupon ensued a great scarstie, so that in the beginning of sir Thomas Leighs maiestie, corne rose to fourtene shillings the quarter, and wood wared scant in London, and was sold for thirtene and fouretene shillings the thousand of billets, and coles at ten pence the sacke, by reason of the great death and sicknesse the last summer for lacke of helpe and carriage. And here before we passe the yere 1558, it were a foule oversight, not to make mention of a memorable discourse touching the ladie Katharine late dutchesse of Suffolke, a personage of honor, and worthy of commemoration in chronicles for hir godlinesse to hir high praise: where manie a malefactor is recorded for their outrageous wickednesse to their immortall shame. Concerning the said ladie therefore thus writeth master Fox.

Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, suffering the ladie Katharine baronesse of Willough, bis and Cressie, and duchesse Dowager of Suffolke,

to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserued no better of hir, deuised in the holie time of the first Lent in queen Maries reigne, a holie practise of reuenge, first by touching hir in the person of hir husband master Richard Bertie esquier, for whome he sent an attachment (hauing the great seale at his deuotion) to the shiriffe of Lincolnshire, with a speciall letter, commanding most straitlie the same shiriffe to attach the said Richard immediatlie, and without baile to bring him vp to London to his great lordship. Master Bertie hir husband being cleare in conscience, and free from offense towards the queene, could not coniecture anie cause of this strange proceste, vntill it were some quarrell for religion, which he thought could not be so soze as the proceste pretended.

Master Richard Bertie husband to the dutchesse, attached by the bishop of Winchester.

The shiriffe, notwithstanding the commandement, aduentured onlie to take the bond of master Bertie, with two suerties in a thousand pounds for his apperance, to be made before the bishop on good friday following: at which daie master Bertie appeared; the bishop then lieng at his house by saint Maries Queries. Of whose presence when the bishop vnderstood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into his dining chamber, where he found a prease of letters, saleng he would not that daie heare anie: but came forth onlie to know of master Bertie, how he being a subiect durst so arrogantly set at light two former procestes of the queenes. Master Bertie answered, that albeit my lords words might seeme to the rest somewhat sharpe towards him, yet he conceiued great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremitie to be attached, hauing used no obstinacie or contumacie: now he gathered of those words, that my lord ment not otherwise but to haue used some ordinarie proceste; albeit indeed none came to his hands. Yea Marie, quoth the bishop, I haue sent you two *sub panas*, to appeere immediatlie, and I am sure you receiued them: for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to master solicitor, and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacie. Master Bertie denieng the receipt of anie, humbly praised his lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment, till he had good trial thereof: and then (if it pleased him) to double the paine for the fault, if anie were. Well (quoth the bishop) I haue appointed my selfe this daie (according to the holinesse of the same) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I intioine you in a thousand pounds, not to depart without leave, and to be here againe to morrow at seauen of the clocke.

Master Bertie appeareth before bishop Gardiner.

Take hee twene bishop Gardiner and master Bertie.

The deuotion of bishop Gardiner to good friday.

Master Bertie well obserued the houre, and no fot failed. At the which time the bishop had with him master sergeant Stamford, to whome he moued certeine questions of the said master Bertie, because master sergeant was towards the lord Wriothesley late earle of Southampton, & chancelor of England, with whom the said master Bertie was brought vp. Master sergeant made verie friendly report of master Bertie of his owne knowledge for the time of their conuersation together. Whereupon the bishop caused master Bertie to be brought in; and first making a false traine (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrell of religion, he assaulted him in this manner. The queenes pleasure is (quoth the bishop) that you shall make present payment of foure thousand pounds due to hir father by duke Charles, late husband to the dutchesse your wife, whose executor he was. Pleaseth it your lordship (quoth master Bertie) that debt is effailed, and is according to that effallment trulie answered. Tush (quoth the bishop) the queene will not be bound

Master Bertie attached for debt of foure thousand pounds due to the queene.

But captaine
of the rebels
in Dorsethe
in King Ed-
wards time.

to esfallments, in the time of Kets government, for
so I esdome the late government. The esfallment
(quoth master Bertie) was appointed by king Hen-
rie the eight; besides, the same was by speciall com-
missioners confirmed in King Edwards time, and
the lord treasurer being an executor also to the duke
Charles seie and whole, tooke upon him befoze the
said commissioners to discharge the same.

If it be true that you saie (quoth the bishop) I
will shew you saue. But of an other thing master
Bertie, I will admonish you as mending you well. I
heare enill of your religion; yet I hardlie can think
enill of you, whose mother I know to be as god-
lie and catholike, as anie within this land, your selfe
brought vp with a maister, whose education if I
should disallow, I might be charged as author of his
error. Besides partlie I know you my selfe, and un-
derstand of my friends inough to make me your
friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you, but I praise
you if I maie aske the question of my ladie your
wife; is she now as readie to set vp the masse, as she
was latched to pull it downe, when she caused in hir
progresse, a dog in a rochet to be caried & called by
my name? Wherof she thinke hir lambs now safe
inough, which said to me when I bailed my bonnet
to hir out of my chamber window in the tower, that
it was merie with the lambs now the wolfe was
shut vp? Another time my lord hir husband hauing
inited me and diuerse ladies to dinner, desired eu-
rie ladie to chosse him whome she loued best, and so
place themselves. My ladie your wife taking me by
the hand, for that my lord would not haue hir to take
himselfe, said, that for so much as she could not sit
downe with my lord whome she loued best, she had
chosen me whome she loued worst.

Of the deuile of the dog, quoth master Bertie, she
was neither the author nor the allower. The words,
though in that season they sounded bitter to your
lordship: yet if it should please you without offense
to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the
other. As touching setting vp of masse, which she
learned not onelie by strong persuasions of diuerse
excellent learned men, but by vniuersall consent and
order whole six yeares past inwardlie to abhorre; if
she should outwardlie allow, she should both to Christ
shew hir selfe a false christian, and vnto hir prince a
marking subject. You know my lord, one by iudge-
ment reformed, is more worth than a thousand trans-
formed temporizers. To force a confession of religi-
on by mouth, contrarie to that in the heart, worketh
damnation where saluation is pretended. Pea ma-
rie (quoth the bishop) that deliberation would do
well if she neuer required to come from an old religi-
on to a new. But now she is to returne from a new
to an ancient religion: wherein when she made me
hir gossip, she was as earnest as anie.

For that, my lord (said M. Bertie) not long since,
she answered a friend of hers vsing your lordships
speech, that religion went not by age but by truth:
and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion and
not by commandement. I praise you (quoth the bi-
shop) thinke you it possible to persuade hir? Pea be-
relie (said master Bertie) with the truth: for she is
reasonable inough. The bishop therevnto replieng,
said: It will be a marvellous grieue to the prince of
Spaine, and to all the nobilitie that shall come with
him, when they shall find but two noble personages
of the Spanish race within this land, the queene, and
my ladie your wife, and one of them gone from the
faith. Master Bertie answered, that he trusted they
should find no fruits of infidelitie in hir. So the bi-
shop persuading master Bertie to trauell earnestlie
for the reformation of hir opinion, and offering large
friendship, released him of his band from further ap-

pearance.

The duchesse and hir husband, dastie more and
more, by their friends understanding that the bishop
inrant to call hir to an account of hir faith, whereby
extreamitie might follow, deuised waies how by
the queenes licence they might passe the seas. Ma-
ster Bertie had a redie meane: for there rested great
summes of monie due to the old duke of Suffolke
(one of whose executors the duchesse was) beyond the
seas, the emperor himselfe being one of those deb-
tors. Master Bertie communicated this his purpo-
sed late for licence to passe the seas, and the cause, to
the bishop; adding, that he toke this time most met
to deale with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of
marriage betwene the queene and his sonne. I like
your deuise well (quoth the bishop) but I thinke it
better, that you tarrie the princes coming, and I
will procure you his letters also to his father. Maie
(quoth master Bertie) vnder your lordships correc-
tion & pardon of so liberall speech, I suppose the time
will then be lesse conuenient: for when the marriage
is consummate, the emperor hath his desire; but
till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with vs.

By saint Marie (quoth the bishop, smiling) you
gesse the wordlie. Well, proceed in your sute vnto the
queene, and it shall not lacke my helping hand. Ma-
ster Bertie found so good successe, that he in few
daies obtained the queenes licence, not onlie to passe
the seas, but to passe and repasse them so often as to
him seemed good, till he had finished all his businesse
and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at
Douer about the beginning of June in the first
yeare of hir reigne, leauing the duchesse behind, who
by agreement and consent betwixt hir and hir hus-
band, followed, taking barge at Lion keie, berie ear-
lie in the morning, on the first daie of Januarie next
insuing, not without some perill. There was none
of those that went with hir, made priuite to hir going
till the instant, but an old gentleman called master
Robert Cranwell, whome master Bertie had speci-
allie provided for that purpose. She toke with hir hir
daughter an infant of one yeare, and the meaneest of
hir seruants: for she doubted the best would not ad-
uenture that fortune with hir. They were in number
four men, one a Cræke bozne, which was a rider of
horses, an other a joiner, the third a brewer, the
fourth a sole one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman,
and a landjelle.

As she departed hir house called the Barbican,
betwixt foure and fise of the clocke in the morning,
with hir companie and baggage, one Atkinson an
herald, keeper of hir house, hearing noife about the
house, rose and came forth with a torch in his hand
as she was yet issuing out of the gate: wherewith
being amazed, she was forced to leaue a male with
necessaries for hir young daughter, & a milkepot with
milke in the same gatehouse, commanding all hir
seruants to spæd them befoze awaie to Lion keie:
and taking with hir onelie the two women and hir
childe, so soone as she was out of hir owne house, per-
ceiving the herald to follow, she slept in at Carter-
house hard by. The herald coming out of the du-
chesse house, and seeing no bodie stirring, not assured
(though by the male suspecting) that she was depa-
ted, returned in: and while he staied ransacking par-
cels left in the male, the duchesse issued into the street,
and proceeded in hir iourne, he knowing the place
onelie by name where she should take hir boat, but
not the waie thither, nor none with hir. Likewise hir
seruants hauing diuided themselves, none but one
knew the waie to the said keie.

So she apparelled like a meane merchants wife,
and the rest like meane seruants, walking in the
streets vnknewen, she toke the way that led to st. Mar-
tie

A dog clothed
in a rochet
under the
name of bishop
Wardmer.

It is merie
with lambs
when wolues
be tied.

Purgation of
the ladie du-
chesse for not
conuincing to
guilde.

Religion go-
eth not by age,
but by truth.

Master Ber-
tie released
from his band
of appearing.

water made
sed how to
conuince the
duchesse out
of the seas with
the queenes
licence.

Master Ber-
tie deuised
waies to pass
ouer into
Flanders.

Master Ber-
tie licensed by
the queene to
passe the seas.

Preparacion
made how to
conuince the
duchesse out
of the seas.

M. Cranwell
a truly trust-
worthy man
to master
Bertie.

The duchesse
with hir com-
panie depa-
ted the realm.

The manner
the duchesse
was fleeing out of
hir house.

barie field, and the others walked the citie streets as they laie open before them, till by chance more than discretion, they met all suddenlie together a little within Spore gate, from whence they passed directly to Lion keie, and there toke barge in a morning so mistie, that the steersman was loth to land out, but that they bzged him. So soone as the date permitted, the counsell was informed of hir departure, and some of them came forthwith to hir house to inquire of the maner thereof, and toke an inventory of hir goods, besides further order devised for search and watch to apprehend and staie hir. The same of hir departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the limes end, before hir approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Golling a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Crantwells, whither the said Crantwell brought the duchesse, naming hir mistress White, the daughter of master Golling, for such a daughter he had which neuer was in that countrie. There she repored hir, and made new garments for hir daughter, having lost hir owne in the male at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inne in Leigh (where she was againe almost bewaiced) yet notwithstanding by Gods good working the escaping that hazard, at length as the tide and wind did serue, they went aboard, and being carried twise into the seas, almost into the coast of Zeland, by contrarie wind were driven to the place from whence they came. And at the last recule, certaine persons came to the hope, suspecting she was within that ship: yet having examined one of hir companie that was one land for fresh Aquates, and finding by the simplicitie of his tale, onelie the appearance of a mirane merchants wife to be a shipboard, he ceased anie further search. So be short, so soone as the duchesse had landed in Habant, she and hir women were apparelled like the women of Netherland with hukes, and so she and hir husband toke their iourne towards Cleurland, and being arrived at a towne therein called Santon, toke a house there, untill they might further devise of some sure place where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon is a free towne called Wessell, under the said duke of Cleues dominion, and one of the Hauns townes, privileged with the companie of the Stillard in London, whither diuerse Wallons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Kiners, who had receiued some courtlesse in England at the duchesse hands. Master Bertie being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtaine a protection from the magistrats for his abode and his wiues at Wessell: which was the sooner procured because the state of the duchesse was not discovered but onelie to the chiefe magistrate, earnestlie bent to shew them pleasure, whilst this protection was in seeking.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering, that the duchesse and hir husband were greater personages than they geue themselves forth, and the magistrats not verie well inclined to religion; the bishop of Arras also being deane of the great minster, order was taken, that the dukes and hir husband should be examined of their condition and religion upon the sudden. Which practise discovered by a gentleman of that countrie to master Bertie, he without delay taking no more than the duchesse and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the aire, about three of the clocke in the afternoon in Februarie, on foot, without hiring of horse or wagon for feare of disclosing his purpose, meant priuilie that night to get to Wessell, leaving his other familie still at Santon.

After the dukes and he were one English mile

from the towne, there fell a mightie raine of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice before congealed was thawed, which doubled more the wearinesse of those new lackies. But being now on the waie, and ouertaken with the night, they sent their two seruants (which onelie went with them) to villages, as they passed, to hire some car for their ease: but none could be hired. In the meane time master Bertie was forced to carrie the child, and the dukes his cloke and rapier. At last betwixt six and seauen of the clocke in the darke night, they came to Wessell, and repairing to their innes for lodging and some repose after such a painfull iourne, found hard intertainment: for going from inne to inne, offering large monie for small lodging, they were refused of all the inholders, suspecting master Bertie to be a lanceknight, and the dukes to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pittifullie, the mother wept as fast, and the heauens rained as fast as the clouds could poluze.

Master Bertie destitute of all other succor of hospitalitie, resolved to bring the duchesse to the porch of the great church in the towne, and so to brie coles, victuals and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by Gods helpe he might procure hir better lodging. Master Bertie at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of euill weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon anie that could speake English, French, Italian, or Latine; till at last going towards the church porch, he heard two striplings talking Latine, to whome he approached and offered them two siners to bring him to some Wallons house. By these boies, and Gods good conduct, he chanced at the first upon the house where master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrats of that towne. At the first knocke, the godman of the house himselfe came to the doze, and opening it, asked master Bertie what he was. Master Bertie said, an Englishman, that sought for one master Perusells house. The Wallon willed master Bertie to staie a while, who went backe and told master Perusell that the same English gentleman, of whome they had talked the same supper, had sent, by likelihood his seruant to speake with him. Whereupon master Perusell came to the doze, and beholding master Bertie, the duchesse, and their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so farre from their old forme, deformed with dirt, weather, and heauinesse, could not speake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, God knoweth full sorrowfullie: master Bertie changing of his apparel with the godman, the duchesse with the god wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Within few daies after, by master Perusells means, they hired a verie faire house in the towne, and did not let to shew themselves what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole towne what discourtesie the inholders had shewed vnto them at their entrie, in so much as on the sundate following, a preacher in the pulpit openlie in sharpe termes rebuked that great incivillitie towards strangers; by allegation of sundrie places out of holie scriptures, discoursing how not onelie princes sometime are refused in the image of pinat persons, but angels in the shape of men, and that God of his iustice would make the strangers one day in an other land, to haue more sence of the afflicted heart of a stranger. The time was passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happilie settled, suddenlie a watchword came from sir John Mason, then quene Maries ambassa- dour in Netherland, that my lord Paget had sailed

The hard distress of the duchesse by euill weather.

The hard intertainment of M. Bertie & the duchesse at their entrie into Wessell.

Gods providence in time of distress.

The meeting of M. Perusell & the duchesse at Wessell.

The citizens of Wessell admonished by their preacher of their hardnesse toward strangers.

A friendly part of sir John Mason towards the duchesse.

And an

The ducheſſe laid for ſeuerall dayes by the lord Paget and the duke of Brunſwicke.

M. Bertie & the ducheſſe remoued to Winheim vnder the Pallgrave.

The helping hand of the Lord againe in their neceſſitie. Ioan. Alasco a meane to the king of Pole for the ducheſſe of Suffolke.

The ducheſſe inuited into Poleland by the kings letters.

M. Barlow a meſſenger from the ducheſſe to the king of Pole.

The Palatine of Silua a great friend of the ducheſſe.

The ducheſſe taketh hir iourne toward Pole.

The troubles happening to the ducheſſe in hir iourne to Poleland.

M. Bertie in great danger of his life.

an errant to the bathes that waies: and whereas the duke of Brunſwicke was ſhortly with ten enſignes to paſſe by Meſſell for the ſeruiſe of the houſe of Auſtriche againſt the French king, the ſaid ducheſſe, and hir huſband ſhould be with the ſame charge and companie intercepted. Wherefore to prevent the crueltie of theſe enemies, maſter Bertie with his wiſe and child departed to a place called Winheim in high Dutcland vnder the Pallgraves dominion, where vnder his protection they continued till their neceſſities began to faile them, and they almoſt fainting vnder ſo heauie a burthen, began to faile of hope.

At what time, in the middeſt of their deſpaire, there came ſuddenlie letters to them from the Palatine of Silua and the king of Pole, being inſtrued of their hard eſtate by a baron named Ioannes Alasco, that was ſometime in England, offering them large curteſie. This puruiſon binlooked for greatlie reuiued their heauie ſpirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remoue from manie their countriemen and acquaintance, to a place ſo farre diſtant, a countrie not haunted with the Engliſh, and perhaps vpon their arriual not finding as they looked for, the end of their iourne ſhould be worſe than the beginning: they deuised ther vpon with one maſter Barlow, late biſhop of Chicheſter, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome paines therein, they would make him a fellow of that iourne. So finding him pzoone, they ſent with him letters of great thanks to the king & Palatine, and alſo with a ſeu pmpcipall reuel (which onlie they had left of manie) to ſolicit for them, that the king would vouchſafe vnder his ſeale, to aſſure them of the thing which he ſo honourable by letters offered.

That ſute by the forwardnes of the Palatine was as ſoone granted as vttered. Vpon which aſſurance the ſaid ducheſſe and hir huſband, with their familie, entred the iourne in Aprill 1557, from the caſtell of Winheim, where they before laie, towards Franceford. In the which their iourne, it were long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the waie vpon them, & their whole companie, by reaſon of the Lantgraves capteines, who vnder a quarrell pretended for a ſpannell of maſter Berties, ſet vpon them in the high waie, with his horſemen, thruſting their borespears through the wagon where the children and women were, maſter Bertie hauing but foure horſemen with him. In the which bzauble it happened the capteins horſe to be ſlaine vnder him.

Wherevpon a rumor was ſparged immediatlie through townes and villages about, that the Lantgraves capteine ſhould be ſlaine by ſome Wallons, which incensed the ire of the countriemen there more ſtercklie againſt maſter Bertie, as afterwards it proued. For as he was motioned by his wiſe to ſaue himſelfe by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, and to recouer ſome towne thereby for his reſcue, he ſo doing was in worſe caſe than before: for the townesmen are the capteines brother ſuppoſing no leſſe but that the capteine had bene ſlaine, preſſed ſo egerlie vpon him, that he had bene there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would) ſpieng a ladder leaning to a window, by the ſame got vp into the houſe, and ſo gone vp in to a garret in the top of the houſe, where he with his dag and rapier defended himſelfe for a ſpace: but at length the Burghmaſter coming thither with another magiſtrate, which could ſpeake Latine, he was counſelled to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the order of the law. Maſter Bertie knowing himſelfe cleere, and the capteine to be aliue, was the more bolder to ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the magiſtrate would receiue him vnder ſafe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promiſed, maſter Bertie putteth himſelfe and his weapon in

the magiſtrates hand, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtodie, while the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tried. Then maſter Bertie writing his letters to the Lantgrau and to the earle of Erbagh, the next daie erlie in the morning the earle of Erbagh dwelling within eight miles, came to the towne whither the ducheſſe was brought with hir wagon, maſter Bertie alſo being in the ſame towne vnder cuſtodie.

The earle, who had ſome intelligence of the ducheſſe before, after he was come, & had ſhewed ſuch courteſie as he thought to hir eſtate was ſemelie, the townesmen perceiuing the earle to behaue himſelfe ſo humble vnto hir, began to conſider moze of the matter: and further vnderſtanding the capteine to be aliue, both they, and eſpeciallie the authours of the ſir thynke awate, and made al the friends they could to maſter Bertie and his wiſe, not to report their doings after the woꝝd ſort. And thus maſter Bertie and his wiſe eſcaping that danger, proceeded in their iourne toward Poleland, where in conclaſſe on they were quietlie interined of the king, and placed honozable in the earldome of the ſaid king of Poles in Sanogella, called Crozan, where maſter Bertie with the ducheſſe hauing the kings abſolute power of gouernment ouer the ſaid earldome, continued both in great quietneſſe and honoz, till the death of queene Marie. Whole troubleſome time (ſauozing altogether of bloodſhed & merceleſſe murdering of Goos ſaints, whereof the poet ſaith full trulie,

telus maledicta cruce
Chriſticolim regerit decuſum ſanguinis atros,
Hec carmen mollem puerorum deuorat ignis,
Femina maſque perit, nulla ratione virili
Famine aut ſexu habita)

being expired, and the peaceable reigne of grations queene Elizabeth eſtabliſhed, the ſaid ducheſſe and hir huſband returned into England, where they liued in libertie both of bodie and minde, in which good ſtate we will leaue them. And becauſe we are entred into a diſcourſe of troubles happening to perſonages of god account and name; it is neceſſarie that we adde another narration of like argument vnto the former, concerning the troubles and happie deliuerance of the reuerend father in God doctor Sands, firſt biſhop of Worceſter, next of London, and now archbiſhop of Yorke, as I find it woꝝd for woꝝd in maſter Fox, who beginneth and continueth the ſaid diſcourſe as followeth.

King Edward died, the woꝝld being vnto this of him, the duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge with an armie of men, hauing comiſſion to proclame ladie Jane queene, and by power to ſuppreſſe ladie Marie, who toke vpon hir that dignitie, and was proclaimed queene in Northfolke. The duke ſent for doctor Sands being vicechancellor, for doctor Parker, for doctor Will, and maſter Leauer, to ſup with him. Amongſt other ſpeeches he ſaid, Maſters, praie for vs that we ſped well: if not, you ſhall be made biſhops, and we deacons. And euen ſo it came to paſſe: doctor Parker, and doctor Sands were made biſhops, and he and ſir John Cates, who was then at the table, were made deacons per it was long after on the tcewer hill. Doctor Sands being vicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was ſhort for ſuch an auditoꝝie, and to ſpeake of ſuch a matter: yet he reſuſed not the thing, but went to his chamber, and ſo to bed. He roſe at thꝛee of the clocke in the morning, toke his bible in his hand, and after that he had praied a good ſpace, he ſhut his eyes, and holding his bible before him, earnestlie praied to God that it might fall open where a moſt fit text ſhould be for him to intreat of. The bible (as God would haue it) fell open vpon the firſt chapter of Iofua, where he ſaunt ſo conuenient

M. Bertie with the ducheſſe binlooked vnto the end of the law.

Abſ. Fl. ex. 15. marciologus. D. Sands vicechancellor when the duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge to proclame ladie Jane queene.

ent a peece of scripture for that time, that the like he could not haue chosen in all the bible. His text was thus: *Respondetque ad Iosue, atque dixerunt, Omnia que precepisti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obediimus in cunctis Moysi ita obediemus & tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Moysi, qui contradixit tui, & non obediuit cunctis sermonibus quos precepisti ei, morietur: tu tantum confortare & viriliter age.* Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselves by the state, and withall, the auditors, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easily see that this text most fitly serued for the purpose. And as God gaue the text, so gaue he him such order and utterance, as pulled manie teares out of the eyes of the biggest of them.

In the time of his sermon one of the gard list by to him into the pulpit a masse booke and a grille, which sir George Howard with certeine of the gard had taken that night in master Hurlestons house, where late Marie had bene a little before, & there had masse. The duke with the rest of the nobilitie required doctor Sands to put his sermon in writing; and appointed master Leauer to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Doctor Sands required one daie and a halfe for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it readie, and master Leauer was readie boted to receiue it at his hands, & carie it to London. As he was deliuering of it, one of the bedels named master Adams, came weeping to him, & praied him to shift for himselfe, for the duke was retired, and queene Marie proclaimed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithall, but gaue the sermon written to master Leifield; master Leauer departed home, and he went to dinner to one master Howes a bedell, his great friend. At the dinner, mistresse Howes seeing him merrie and pleasant (for he had euer a mans courage, and could not be terrified) dranke vnto him, saying: Master vicechancellor, I drinke vnto you, for this is the last time that euer I shall see you. And so it was, for shee was dead before doctor Sands returned out of Cermaie. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for doctor Sands to go with him to the market place to proclame queene Marie. The duke cast by his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran downe his cheekes for greefe. He told doctor Sands that queene Marie was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof: declaring, that hee had sent vnto hir to know hir pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Doctor Sands answered; My life is not deare vnto me, neither haue I done or said anie thing that bygeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I haue instructions warranted by the subscription of sixtene counsellors. Neither can speach be treason, neither yet haue I spoken further than the word of God, and lawes of this realme doth warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall neuer escape death: for if shee would saue you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

That night the gard apprehended the duke, and certeine groomes of the stable were as busie with doctor Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But sir John Cates who laie then in doctor Sands his house, sharplie rebuked them, and draue them awaie. Doctor Sands by the aduise of sir John Cates, walhed into the fields. In the meane time the vniuersitie (contrarie to all order) had met together in consultation, and ordered that doctor Howse and doctor Watcher should repaire to doctor Sands lodging, and set aboue the statute booke of the vniuersitie, the keies, and such other things that were in his keeping, and so they did. For doctor Howse being an earnest protestant the daie before, and one whome doctor Sands

had done much for, now was he become a papist, and his great enimie.

Certeine of the vniuersitie had appointed a congregation at afternone. As the bell rang to it, doctor Sands cometh out of the fields, and tending for the bedels, asked what the matter meant, and requireth them to wait vpon him to the scholes, according to their dutie. So they did. And so come as doctor Sands, the bedels going before him, came into the regent house and toke his chaire; one master Spitch with a rabble of vnlearned papists went into a byschoule, and conspired together to pull him out of his chaire, and to vse violence vnto him. Doctor Sands began his oration, expostulating with the vniuersitie, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that hee was readie to iustifie, and that there case was all one with his: for they had not onelie concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

And thus while he remembered vnto them how benedicall he had bene to the vniuersitie, and their thankfulness to him againe, in cometh master Spitch with his conspirators about twentie in number. One laieeth hand vpon the chaire to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Thereat he perceiving how they vsed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as Gods enimies; if doctor Will and doctor Blith had not fallen vpon him, and praied him for Gods sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patientlie to beare that great offered wrong. He was perswaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and hauing some monie of the vniuersities in his hands, he there deliuered the same euerie farthing. He gaue by the books, reckonings & keies pertaining to the vniuersitie, & withall yelded by his office, praieing God to giue to the vniuersitie a better officer, and to giue them better and more thankfull hearts, and so repaired home to his owne college.

On the morrow after, there came vnto him one master Gerningham, and one master Thomas Wildmaie. Gerningham told him, that it was the queens pleasure that two of the gard should attend on him, and that he must be caried prisoner to the tower of London with the duke. Master Wildmaie said he marueled that a learned man would speake so vnaduisedlie against so good a prince, and wilfullie run into such danger. Doctor Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds. But if I could doe as master Wildmaie can, I needed not feare bonds: for he came downe in payment against queene Marie, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in payment for queene Marie: before a traitor, and now a great friend. I can not with one mouth blow hot and cold after this sort.

Upon this, his stable was robbed of foure notable good geldings, the best of them master Hurlestons toke for his owne saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inuentarie was taken of all his goods by master Howes bedell for the vniuersitie. Hee was set vpon a lame horse that halted to the ground, which thing a friend of his perceiving, praied that he might lend him a nag. The yeoman of the gard were content. As he departed out of the townes end, some papists reioyced thither to gaze at him, some of his friends to mourne for him. He came into the ranke to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Bishops gate, one like a milketoise hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the brest with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whome he milke said: Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth it is, that iourneing & euill intreating

A conspiracie of papists against doctor Sands, and their behauior towards him.

D. Sands courageous heart and manhood.

D. Sands resigneth by his office of vice-chancellorship

Master Wildmaie treacherie noted by doctor Sands to his oblique

The misusage of certeine drabs against doctor Sands as he was brought prisoner to the tower.

so mortified him, that he was more readie to die than to lue.

As he came through tower hill street, one woman standing in hir doze, cried: fie on thee thou knaue, thou knaue, thou traitor, thou heretike. Whereat he smiled. Loke; the desperat heretike (saith she) laugheth at this geare. A woman on the other side of the street answered, saing: fie on thee neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing vpon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause whie he is thus intreated. Then she said, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and giue thee strength to stand in Gods cause even to the end. And thus he passed through fire and water into the tower, the first prisoner that entered in that daie, which was saint James daie. The yeoman of the gard took from him his boorded nag, and what else heuer he had. His man one Quintin Swainton brought after him a bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like serued the yeoman of the gard.

The gard offer him some wrong.

After he had bene in the tower three weekes in a bad prison, he was lift vp into Rumes bower, a better prison, where was put to him maister John Badford. At the daie of queene Maries coronation, their prison dore was set open, euer shut before. One maister Pychell his old acquaintance, who had bene prisoner before in the same place, came in to him and said: Maister Sands, there is such a stir in the tower, that neither gates, dozes, nor prisoners are looked to this daie. Take my cloake, my hat and my rapier, and get you gone; you maie go out of the gates with out questioning; saue your selfe, and let me do as I maie. A rare friendship: but he refused the offer, saing: I know no iust cause why I should be in prison. And thus to do were to make my selfe guiltie, I will expect Gods good will, yet must I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you: and so maister Pychell departed.

Maister Pychell counsell to D. Sands to make an escape.

While doctor Sands and maister Badford were thus in close prison together nine and twentie weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a berie peruerse papist, yet by often perswading of him, for he would giue eare, and by the gentle vying of him, at length he began to mislike poperie, and to fauour the gospell, and so perswaded in true religion, that on a sundaie when they had masse in the chappell, he bringeth vp a service booke, a manchete and a glasse of wine, and there doctor Sands ministered the communion to Badford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their some begetten in bonds when Mat was in armes, and the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a power of men to apprehend him, that some might be made in the tower for him and other his complices. Doctor Crammer, doctor Kiddleie, and maister Badford were cast into one prison, and doctor Sands with nine other preachers were sent into the Marshalsea.

D. Sands removed to the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to euerie preacher a man to lead him in the street, he caused them go farre before, and he and doctor Sands came behind, whome he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet doctor Sands was knowne, and the people euerie where prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, poperie began to be vnfausie. After they passed the bridge, the keeper Thomas Wale said to doctor Sands: I perceiue the vaine people would set you forward to the fire, you are as vaine as they, if you being a yong man will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own knowledge before the iudgement of so manie worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and graue men, as be in this reline. If you so do, you shal find me as strict a keeper as one that utterlie misliketh your religion. Doctor

Thomas Wale the keeper pretended to persecute doctor Sands to poperie.

Sands answered; I know my yeares yong, and my learning small, it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing that seeth not the great blasphemie that is in poperie, I will reioice vnto God and not vnto man: I haue read in the scriptures of manie goodlie and courteous keepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will giue me strength and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Saith Thomas Wale: Do you then mind to stand to your religion? Hea saith doctor Sands, by Gods grace. Trilie saith the keeper, I loue you the better, I did but tempt you. What saue? I can shew you, you shall be sure of, and I shal thinke my selfe happie if I may die at the stake with you. The said keeper shewed doctor Sands euer after all friendship: he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with maister Badford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found like fauor of his keeper. He laid him in the best chamber in the house: he would not suffer the knight marshals men to late fetters on him, as others had. And at his request, he put maister Sands in to him, to be his bedfellow, and sundrie times suffered his wife, who was maister Sands daughter of Oser, a gentlewoman, beautifull both in bodie and soule to resort to him. There was great resort vnto doctor Sands, and maister Sanders: they had much monie offered them, but they would receiue none. They had the communion there three or foure times, and a great sort of communicants. Doctor Sands gaue such exhortation to the people, for at that time being yong, he was thought verie eloquent, that he moued manie tears and made the people abhorre the masse, and desie all poperie.

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When Mat with his armie came into Southwiche, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to doctor Sands: saing, that maister Mat would be glad of his companie and aduise, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered: Tell maister Mat, if this his rising be of God it will take place: if not, it will fall. For my part I was committed hither by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will neuer depart hence. So answered maister Sanders, and the rest of the preachers being there prisoners. After that doctor Sands had bene nine weekes prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of sir Thomas Wolcrosse then knight marshall he was set at libertie. Sir Thomas sued earnestlie to the bishop of Winchester, doctor Gardiner for his deliuerance after manie repulses, except doctor Sands would be one of their set, and then he could want nothing. He wrong out of him, that if the queene could like of his deliuerance, he would not be against it: for that was sir Thomas his last request. In the meane time he had procured two ladies of the priue chamber to moue the queene in it: who was contented, if the bishop of Winchester could like of it. The next time that the bishop went into the priue chamber to speake with the queene, maister Wolcrosse followed, and had his warrant for doctor Sands remission readie, and praised the two ladies, when as the bishop should take his leaue, to put the queene in mind of doctor Sands. So they did. And the queene said: Winchester, what thinke you by doctor Sands, is he not sufficientlie punished? As it please your maiestie, saith Winchester. That he spake, remembering his former promise to maister Wolcrosse, that he would not be against Sands, if the queene should like to discharge him. Saith the queene: Then trilie, we would that he were set at libertie. Immediatlie maister Wolcrosse offered the queene the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was giuen to the knight

The friendship that doctor Sands found at his keepers hands.

Mat was sent to doctor Sands and his answer was quick.

Doctor Sands set at libertie by the means of sir Thomas Wolcrosse.

How queene Maries is disposed to let doctor Sands at large, and for what his warrant was giuen.

the night marshall againe, for Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the priuie chamber doore, he called maister Holcroft to him: commanding him not to let doctor Sands at libertie, untill he had taken suerties of two gentlemen of his countrie with him, euerie one bound in five hundred pounds, that doctor Sands should not depart out of the realme without licence. Maister Holcroft immediatlie after met with two gentlemen of the north, friends & confins to doctor Sands, who offered to be bound in

At after dinner the same daie, maister Holcroft sent for doctor Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompanie with him. He came accordingly, finding maister Holcroft alone, walking in his garden: maister Holcroft imparted his long sute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to doctor Sands: much reioysing that it was his good hap to doe him good, & to procure his libertie, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two suerties, for not departing out of the realme. Doctor Sands answered: I giue God thanks, who hath moued your hart to mind me so well, & I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you, God shall requite, and I shall neuer be found vnthankfull. But as you haue dealt frendlie with me, I will also deale plainlie with you. I came a free man into prison, I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefitt my friends, so will I not hurt them: and if I be set at libertie, I will not tarie six daies in this realme if I may get out. If therefore I may not go free forth, send me to the Marshalsea againe, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answer much misliked maister Holcroft, who told doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come: the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake awaie; and that his cousin sir Edward Biae would gladlie receiue him and his wife into his house, where he should neuer need to come at church, and how the ladie Biae was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated poperie: adding that he would not so deale with him to lose all his labor. When doctor Sands could not be removed from his former saying, maister Holcroft said: Seeing you can not be altered, I will change my purpose, and yeld vnto you, come of it what will, I will set you at libertie: and seeing you mind ouer sea, get you gone so quicklie as you can. One thing I requite of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for so ye may vndoe me. He frendlie kissed doctor Sands, bad him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him: saying, Let me answer Winchester as I may. Doctor Sands returned with the keeper to the Marshalsea and taried all night. There on the morrow gaue a dinner to all the prisoners, bad his bedfellow and sworne stakefellow, if it had so pleased God, maister Saunders farewell, with manie teares and kissings, the one falling on the others necke, and so departed, clearelie belueued without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with maister Wadford, and maister Farrar bishop of S. Davids, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, & they praised God for his happy deliuerance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boate, and came to a friends house in London called William Banks, and taried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to an other friends house, and there he learned that search was made for him.

Doctor Watson and maister Christopherson, coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at libertie the greatest heretike in England,

and one that had of all other most corrupted the vniuersitie of Cambridge, doctor Sands. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, being chancelor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for doctor Sands, who was then within the citie, and to apprehend him; and who so eace of them should take him and bring him to him, he should haue five pounds for his labor. Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, conuied himselfe by night to one maister Bartles house a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea with him prisoner a while, he was a good protestant and dwelt in Marke lane. There he was six daies, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone a skinner, dwelling in Cornhill, he caused his man Martin to prouide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex to maister Sands his father in law, where his wife was.

At his going to bed in Hurlestone's house, he had a paire of hose newlie made that were too long for him. For while he was in the tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a paire of hose. One came vnto him whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant, dwelling in Birch lane: he might not speake to him, or come vnto him, to take measure of him, but onelie looke vpon his leg, he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he prayed the good wife of the house to send to some tailor to cut his hose two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carie them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so prouided) to go to the next tailor, which was Benjamin that made them, which also was a constable, and acquainted with the lord chancellors commandement. The boy requited him to cut the hose. He said I am not thy maisters tailor. Saith the boy, Because ye are our next neighbor, and my maisters tailor dwelleth far off, I come to you, for it is far

At midnight the goodwife of the house, and Benjamin the tailor, commeth into doctor Sands chamber. The wife praieeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answereth: Nothing can be amisse, what God will, that shall be done. Then Benjamin telleth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands, God vnderstand the meane th if he might foretell him of his perill, & aduise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, & some were so greedilie set, that they praied him (if he took him) to let them haue the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should haue the five pounds. Saith Benjamin, It is knownen that your man hath prouided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Algate to morrow, and there then ye are sure to be taken. Follow mine aduise, and by Gods grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your man walke all the daie to morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and readie to ride. The goodmans seruant of the house shall take the horses and carrie them to Bednoll graine. The goodman shall be booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the clocke; it is both terme and parliament time, here we will breake our fast, and when the street is full we will go forth. Loke willetie, and

Cardiners commandement to search and ward for doctor Sands, and to apprehend him, with a reward promised to the taker of him.

Note Gods prouidence in giuing a way to doctor Sands for his late escape out of danger.

At the mischiefs intended against doctor Sands disclosed by a constable, who telleth him how to escape.

Doctor
Sands dis-
guiseth him-
selfe like a
gentleman,
and escapeth.

if you meet your brother in the street, thin him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordinglie doctor Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wilde as one that had bene long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birching lane, and from one lane to another till he came at Horse gate: there they went forth untill they came to Bednoll greene, where the horses were ready, and maister Hurleston to ride with him as his man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leaue of his friend Benjamin, with teares they kissed ech other, he put his hand in his purse, and would haue giuen Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet since doctor Sands hath remembred him thankfullie. He rode that night to his father in law maister Sands where his wife was, he had not ben there two houres, but it was told maister Sands that there was two of the gard which would that night apprehend doctor Sands, and so they were appointed.

God stirreth
by the hearts
of the mari-
ners to fante
doctor Sands
&c.

Doctor
Sands his
prophetical
blessing to his
hostesse at his
departing.

Doctor
Sands and
doctor Cox go
by wagon into
Cleveland.

That night doctor Sands was guided to an honest farmer nere the sea, where he tarried two daies and two nights in a chamber without all companie. After that he shifted to one James Spower a ship-maister, who dwelt at Milton Thore, where he expected wind for the English fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Spower brought to him fortye or fiftie mariners, to whom he gaue an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, yet that he should be apprehended. The first of Maie, being sundaie the wind serued: he took his leaue of his host and hostesse, and went towards the ship. In taking leaue of his hostesse who was barren, and had bene married eight yeares, he gaue hir a fine handkercher and also an old roiall of gold in it, thanking hir much, and said: Be of god comfort, per that an whole yere be past God shall giue you a child a boie. And it came to passe, for that daie twelue moneths lacking one daie, God gaue hir a faire sonne.

At the thore doctor Sands met with maister Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest sonne there, who by the liking he had to doctor Sands, sent his sonne with him, who afterward died in his fathers house in Frankford. Doctor Sands and doctor Cox were both in one ship, being one Cockels ship. They were within the kenning when two of the gard came thither to apprehend doctor Sands. They arrived at Antwerpe, being bid to dinner to maister Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin being secretarie to the English house, and kinsman to doctor Sands, came to him and rounded him in his care, and said; King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rose from their dinner in a marvellous great shouer, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleue; there they found a wagon and hasted awaie, and came safe to Aupsurge in Cleveland, where doctor Sands tarried foureteene daies, and then iournied towards Strasborough, where after he had liued one yere, his wife came vnto him. He fell soe sicke of a flux which kept him nine moneths, and brought him to deaths doore. He had a child which fell sicke of the plague and died. His wife at length fell sicke of a consumption and died in his armes; no man had a more goodlie woman to his wife.

After this, maister Samson went awaie to Emmanuel, a man skillfull in the Hebrew. Maister Spindall went into the countrie to leaue the Dutch tong. Doctor Sands still remained in Strasborough, whose sustentation then was chieslie from one maister Isaac, who loued him most dearelie, and was ever more ready to helpe than he to take. He gaue him in that space about one hundred marks,

which sum the said doctor Sands paid him againe, and by his other gifts and friendlinesse shewed himselfe to be a thankfull man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Partys house for the space of five weekes. Being there as they sate at dinner, word suddenlie came that queene Marie was dead, and doctor Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasborough. That newes made maister Partys and maister Jarret then there verie ioyfull: but doctor Sands could not reioice, it smote into his hart that he should be called to miserie. Maister Bullinger and the ministers sealed him, and he took his leaue and returned into Strasborough, where he preached, and so maister Crinball and he came towards England, and then to London the same daie that queene Elizabeth was crowned.

This is the true storie of such accidents as befell doctor Sands, a reuerend father, and constant in the truth; whereof if anie part had bene false, likelie it is that one or other would haue barked against it per now. But the report being common, and hauing bene thus long extant in print, the silence of men is a sufficient profe & confirmation of the truth. Here therefore we will leaue doctor Sands in his archiepiscopall see of Porke; and after this long (but yet needfull) digression fall againe to the discourse of Calis; which being lost (as you haue heard) in a verie short time after so long possession, tidings thereof were carried to and fro, farre and nere, by word of mouth and by writing. In so much that the same newes likewise being made notorious and knowne to the French were not so ioyfullie receiued in France, as they were generallie grieuous and displeasing to the whole relme of England: but speciallie to queene Marie, who being a princeesse of hart and courage, more than commonlie is in womankind, thought hir selfe so much touched in honour by the losse of hir said towne and possessions on that side the sea, as she counted hir life irksome, untill the same were either recovered againe, or the losse redoubled with some like victorie against the French elsewhere.

In respect whereof she ceased not to trauell after with king Philip hir husband, as with hir owne priuie counsell, and the lords of the realme, which waie should be best to reuenge this iniurie: and speciallie now whilst the French king was occupied in wars with king Philip, to in damage some of his countries by waie of inuasion, & to surpriue some of his townes upon the sudden. And among sundrie deuises, none was thought so fit to be attempted as an haue towne in Britaine called Brest, which in the time of king Richard the second was kept and maintained with an English garrison, untill the said king rendered the same to the French king againe by composition. This towne as well for the conuenient situation alwaies ready to receiue fresh succors and vittellings out of England by sea, as also for that it was knowne to the queene and hir counsell at that present, not to be furnished with anie garrison of soldiers, sufficient to repell the power of a prince by on the sudden, was thought to be the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherefore upon this case well debated, there was immediatlie order giuen to Edward lord Clinton then high admerall of England, with all expedition to prepare himselfe with all the queenes ships of warre, furnished with soldiers, munition & vittells, to ioine with the admerall of king Philip, who had like order from the said king to ioine with the nauie of England for the atchinging of this enterprize.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of these two great nauiies by sea, it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidents in the meane time by land.

Appoyntment
of quene Maries
death.
Whereupon
doctor Sands
returneth into
England.

with which
indignation
queene Marie
reioiceth the
losse of Calis.

Howe much
doe we stand
in neede of
peace.

The lord
Clinton ad-
merall of En-
gland sent
against Philip.

land. While king Philip being absent from the low
country, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his
wa res in France, monsieur de Thermes the new
captaine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the
wars (whose propretie is neuer to neglect anie time
of aduantage) cast in his mind, how (during king
Philip's absence) to do some singular seruice to the
French king his maister. And espioning well the neg-
ligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little
they vnderstood the great weakening of their coun-
trie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no
new provision made for the defense thereof, more
than was before, whilest Calis was English, by the
losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open
for the French at all times to enter. He therefore
taking vpon of Calis so manie of his soldiers as
might be spared from thence, adioining to them all
the forces of the French garrisons in Arthois, Bul-
longnois, and Picardie, wherof together with the
soldiers of Calis, being to the number of seuen hun-
dred footmen, and three hundred light horsemen Sco-
tish, there were assembled foureteene ensignes of the
French footmen, eightene vanlins of Almans,
four or five hundred men at armes of France, be-
side the light horsemen Scots, amounting in the
whole to the number at the least of nine thousand
footmen, and fiftene hundred horsemen, entered in-
to Flanders, with full determination to spoile and
waste all king Philips country along the sea coast,
and to make a proper haven towne called Dun-
kirke, and with like purpose to haue surpris'd the
towne of Graueling, if occasion would so serue.

This captaine following his enterprize, of a poli-
cie passing by the towne of Graueling, laid siege to
a little towne not farre from thence called Werghs,
which he won in a small time, and with small resis-
tance, leaving the sackage of the same vnto his sol-
diers, where they found manie good booties. And with-
out long staing they marched forth to Dunkirke be-
cause said, and planting a siege in like maner there,
battered the same so sharplie with the cannon, that
within lesse than foure daies he became master of
the towne, which he in like maner put to the sacke,
where was found more plentie of spoile and good bo-
ties, than in anie place before, so farre forth as the
meanest slaues and lachies came awaie rich. And af-
ter setting the towne on fire (whereby all in the coun-
trie about were maruellouslie put in feare) and the
French spreading further abroad, wasted the most
fruitfull quarter of all that part of Flanders, euen
almost vnto Belpoort. But yet because that mon-
sieur de Thermes fell diseased of the gout, the armie
withdrew and incamped within halfe a mile of Gra-
ueling, & for his more ease, he himselfe laie in Dun-
kirke, and in the meane time diuerse skirmishes fell
out betwene the Frenchmen, and them of the garr-
ison within Graueling.

During which pastime, the countie de Aiguemont
(or as he is commonlie called Egmond) lieutenant
generall for king Philip in the low country, with all
best possible assembled all the power as well of king
Philip's garrisons, as also of men of warre in the
low country, to the number of foureteene or fiftene
thousand footmen, and two or three thousand horse-
men, wherof there were fiftene hundred swart Kut-
ters, determining so to affront the French, that ei-
ther they should passe no further in to the country, or
at the least waite to impeach them from the siege of
Graueling, wherof there was great appearance.
Monsieur de Thermes hearing of this power assem-
bled (though fearfullie well recovered) made all possi-
ble hast toward Graueling, where he was no sooner
arrived, but that he saw his enemies readie ranged
in the field. By reason wherof his studie was now

nothing else but how he might bring home his armie
in safetie to Calis.

The countie de Egmond espioning the Frenchmen
bent to march awaie with the spoile of the country,
cut betwene them and home, placing his battels in
such order, that the Frenchmen had no waie to passe,
but vpon the sands betwene the towne and the sea.
Whereas by good chance laie a great fleet of quene
Maries ships of warre, within the danger of whose
gunshot the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as
their iournie laie. And so being forced either to sa-
fely or to fight at disaduantage, monsieur de Ther-
mes without staing anie longer, caused his vant-
gard to passe ouer the riuer somewhat nare the
towne, to auoid the shot of the English ships. And
staing vpon the further side for the residue of his
battels, there came such thicke haile shot of artillerie
out of the towne on the one side, and from the Eng-
lish ships on the other side, that there was a full
batterie made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides,
which they neuertheless abode, without breaking or-
der for the time, when suddenly appeared before them
two great troops of horsemen, of fiftene hundred
a peece, part swart Cutters, and part Burgognians,
wherof the one in front, and the other in flanke,
gaue strong charges vpon the French vanguard,
who being well backed with their other battels (wher-
of the most part then had passed the riuer) stoutly re-
pelled these two first troops, though not without losse
of manie their best soldiers.

So thus both parties being at a staie, and seuered
somewhat asunder, the countie de Egmond himselfe
with eightene hundred men of armes, and his fol-
lowing battels following, before the French had well re-
covered breath, recharged vpon them with all his for-
ces together, so terrible that he choked all their bat-
tell, and the number took them to flight, without fur-
ther triall. So by that time that the footmen on ei-
ther side came to the push of the pike, the victorie
was sone had, by reason (as the Frenchmen report)
that the Almans beaten back with artillerie, as well
of the towne as of the ships before said, brake their
order, and came not to the thicke, whereby the whole
charge of the battell rested vpon the French bands
onely. This field was fought the thirtenth of Ju-
lie 1558, vpon the sea sands nare to Graueling,
where besides those that were slaine, being esteemed
to the number of five thousand fighting men, there
were taken prisoners the marshall de Thermes cap-
taine of Calis, monsieur Senerpoint gouernour of
Bullongne, monsieur Villebou gouernour of Pi-
cardie, monsieur Annebault sonne to the late admi-
rall Annebault, knight of the order, monsieur de
Bozuilliers gouernour of Abulle, monsieur de
Channe gouernour of Corbie, beside a great num-
ber of other gentlemen, haliant captaines & soldiers:
but speciallie the bands of Calis went to wacke, so
as verie few returned home to bring tidings. Which
gaue such a terrour to the soldiers remaining in Ca-
lis, that it is verelie beleued, that if the admerals
of England and Flanders had bene present there
with their nauies, as the said other few ships of
England were, and vpon this sudden had attempt-
ed Calis, with the aid of the countie Egmond ha-
uing his power present: the towne of Calis might
haue bene recovered againe with as little difficul-
tie, and happlie in as short time as it was before gai-
ned by the duke of Guise. But the said admerals (as
it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherefore follow-
ing their prescribed course, & joining together at the
place appointed, they sailed from thence with prospe-
rous wind & weather, & by the nine and twentieth daie
of the same moneth, and in the said yeare, with sea-
uen score ships of warre, appeared by the break of the

The English
ships annoie
the French
with gunshot,
ac.

A haliant on-
set giuen vpon
the French-
men by coun-
tie Egmond.

A recharge
vpon the
French scarce
recovered.

A great victo-
rie.

Certeine
French prisoe-
ners taken,
and what they
were by
name.

Calis might
haue bene re-
covered from
the French.

the daie before the hauē of Cor quett, commonlie called Conquet in Britaine; whereof the poet saith, teaching the seat of the time, abutting vpon the sea:

Nobile Conquetum salis Thetis aluit unda.

At whose arrivall there (as the manner is) they sounded their trumpets, & with a thundering peale of great ordinance gaue a loud salve vnto the Britains: and by eight of the clocke the same morning, mager all the power of the countrie, being assembled there in armes, with manie peeces of great artillery, to defend the entrie of their port, the Englishmen manning forth their shipboats, with manie valiant capteins and soldiers, recovered landing, and within short time became masters of the said towne of Conquet, which they put to the saccage, with a great abbey, and manie pretie townes and villages nere thereabouts, where our men found great store of pillage and good booties. This done, they marched into the countrie, and burned manie villages and houses: and after with drawe downe vnto the sea side, where their ships laie readie to receiue them. But the Flemmings being courteous of spoile, passing further into the land, before they could recover their ships againe, were encountered by the power of the countrie, by whome there were slaine of them to the number of foure or five hundred.

The admerals perceiuing the power of the countrie greatlie to increase, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Champe the French kings lieutenant in Britaine was verie nere, coming on with a great number of horsemen and footmen, esteemed to be about twentie thousand (as the Frenchmen themselves affirme) thought not best to attempte any assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to doe some further exploit elsewhere, they laie there hovering on the coast a while, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Britains: but by this time there was such numbers of people raised in all those parts for defense of the same coasts, that the admerals afterward attempting in diuers places to land their men, and finding ech where more appearance of losse than of gaine, returned home without atchieving any further enterprise. In this meane time, while king Philip and the French king, with two most puissant armies affronted ech other, nere vnto the water of Some, either of them was obstinate bent to bzieve the other out of the field, for which cause they intrenched their camps.

During which time there was nothing done betwene them worthie memorie, more than daile skirmishes of no great account. Neuerthelesse, the countrie of France could not but susteine extreme damage, so long sustaining such a maine multitude, speciallie of men of warre, which those two mightie kings had assembled. And daie by daie came fresh companies to either partie; so as it was thought a thing impossible that such two princes being so nere, could depart without some cruell bloudie battell to determine their quarrels. But God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate minds from warre to peace, which came chieflie to passe by the mediation of the duchesse of Lorraine, who had bene a long and earnest traveller to that end; and neuer ceased, untill by his intercession, both the said kings appointed speciall commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after diuerse conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies, except the matter of Calis, wherof quene Marie by her ambassadours required restitution: but the French partie would in no wise heare thereof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to any good conclusion. King Philip thinking himselfe bound in honour to stand in

that case with the quene his wife, who for his sake had entered into a needlesse warre against France, and thereby lost her said towne, with all the countrie adjoining (as you haue heard before) did therefore staie a long time before he concluded peace with the French king.

Quene Marie seeing no likelihood, nor hauing any hope of the restitution of Calis, and considering also that most of her affaires had but hard successe, conceived an inward sorrow of mind: by reason wherof about September next she fell sicke of a hot burning feauer, which sickness was common that yere through all the realme, and consumed a marvellous number, as well noblemen, as bishops, judges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers: but most of the cleargie, and other ancient and graue persons. In which while the quene laie languishing of a long sickness, and so continued untill the seventeenth of Nouember next betwene the houres of five or six in the morning, and then ended her life in this world, at her house of saint James besides Westminster, when she had reigned five yeres, foure moneths, and eleyen daies, and in the thye and fortie yere of her bodilie age. The death of this said quene made a marvellous alteration in this realme, namelie in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the first it suffered a change from the establishment of his time: so by the death of this quene it returned into the former estate againe. So that we see the vncertaintie of the world, and what changes doe come in times by their revolutions, and that euery thing is subject to vncoustantie, and nothing free from variableness; as the poet saith:

nihil est quā

Perpetuum solet in terris fixumque manere:

Humanis quā nulla subest constantia rebus!

And here, because we are come to the knitting up of quene Maries reigne, I cannot ouerskip with silence that notable and needfull discourse of master Fox concerning our blessed souereigne, quene Elizabeth, whose maiestie the Lord of his mercie inuiron with friends as in number manie, so in seruice true; and whose enemies the same Lord in iustice rot out from the land of the liuing, heaping vpon them plague after plague, to their bitter confusion, because they haue reiected the gracious means of their conuersion. Thus therefore writeth master Fox concerning the mischievous persecution and miraculous preservation of ladie Elizabeth, now quene of England, from extreme calamitie and danger of life, in the time of quene Marie her sister.

But (saith master Fox) when all hath bene said and told, what soeuer can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present hand in defending and deliuering any one person out of thraldome, neuer was there since the memorie of our fathers, any example to be shewed, where in the Lords mightie power hath more admirable and blessing shewed it selfe, to the glorie of his owne name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publike felicitie of this whole realme, than in the miraculous custodie and outscap of this our souereigne ladie, now quene, then ladie Elizabeth, in the strict time of quene Marie her sister. In which storie, first we haue to consider in what extreme miserie, sickness, feare, and perill her highnesse was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought. First with great routs and bands of armed men (and happy was he that might haue the carrying of her) being fetched by as the greatest traitour in the world, clapped in the tower, and againe tossed from thence, from house to house, from prison to prison, from pest to piller, at length also prisoner in her owne house, and garded with a sort of cut-throats, which ever

Conquest of
Conquet taken and burned.

A great
slaughter of
the Flemmings occasioned by their
owne conuincence.

The admerals remane
for feare of
losse.

Anno Reg. 6.

No memorie
at done
by either of
the kings during the
affronting of
their armies.

Hence is procured
between
both kings
at the suite and
sacking of the
duchess of
Lorraine.

Where
publick for
losse of Calis.

The death
of quene Marie.

The blessed
protection of
almightie
God in preserv-
ing the life
of Elizabeth
her maiestie
from danger and
troubles.

The treacherie
of ladie Elizabeth
in the
Tower.

gaped for the spoile, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Secondlie, we haue againe to consider, all this notwithstanding, how strangelie, or rather miraculouſlie from danger she was deliuered: what fauour and grace she found with the almightie, who when all helpe of man, and hope of recouerie was paſt, ſtretched out his mightie protection, and preſerued hir highneſſe, and placed hir in this princelie ſeat of reſt and quietneſſe, wherein now ſhe ſitteth, and long maie ſhe ſit, the lord of his glorious mercie grant, we beſeech him. In which ſtorie, if I ſhould ſet forth at large and at full, all the particulars and circumſtances thereto belonging, and as iuſt occaſion of the hiſtorie requirerh, beſides the impoſſunate length of the ſtorie diſcourſed, peraduenture it might moue offence to ſome being yet aliue, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to be ſuch breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the glorie of God, the diſcharge of the ſtorie, the profit of the reader, & hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whome here althoughe I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, than the queene hath bene mercifull in pardoning their liues.

Therefore now to enter into the diſcourſe of this tragicall matter, firſt here is to be noted, that queene Marie when ſhe was firſt queene, before ſhe was crowned, would go no whither, but would haue hir by the hand, and ſend for hir to dinner and ſupper: but after ſhe was crowned, ſhe neuer dined nor ſupped with hir, but kept hir aloſe from hir, &c. After this it happened, immediatlie vpon the riſing of ſir Thomas Wyatt (as before was mentioned, pag. 1418, 1419) that the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtenie were charged with falſe ſuſpicion of ſir Thomas Wyatts riſing. Wherevpon queene Marie, whether for that ſuſpicion, or for what other cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſaid Elizabeth hir ſiſter, at that time lieng in hir houſe at Aſhydige, the next daie after the riſing of Wyatt, ſent to hir three of hir counſellors, to wit, ſir Richard Southwell, ſir Edward Hastings, then maſter of the hoſtelle, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troupe of horſemen, to the number of two hundred & ſiftie. Who at their ſudden and vnprovidid comming, found hir at the ſame time ſore ſicke in hir bed, and verie feeble and weake of bodie. Withir when they came, aſcending vp to hir graces priue chamber, they willed one of hir ladies, whome they met, to declare vnto hir grace, that there were certeine come from the court, which had a meſſage from the queene.

Hir grace hearing knowledge thereof, was right glad of their comming: howbeit, being then verie ſicke, and the night farre ſpent (which was at ten of the clocke) ſhe requeſted them by the meſſenger, that they would reſort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the ſaid meſſenger ſent word againe, that they muſt needs ſee hir, and would ſo do, in what caſe ſoever the were. Whereat the ladie being againſt, went to ſhew hir grace their words: but ſhe haſtily following hir, came ruſhing as ſoone as ſhe into hir graces chamber vnbiſſiden. At whoſe ſudden comming into hir bed chamber, hir grace being not a little amazed, ſaid vnto them: Is the haſt ſuch, that it might not haue pleaſed you to come to morrow in the morning? They made answer, that they were right ſorie to ſee hir in that caſe. And I (quoth ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of the night. Wherevnto they answered, that they came from the queene to do their meſſage and dutie: which was to this effect, that the queens pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at London the ſeuenth daie of that preſent month. Wherevnto ſhe ſaid; Certes,

no creature more glad than I to come to hir maieſtie, being right ſorie that I am not in caſe at this time to wait on hir, as you your ſelues do ſee and can well teſtifie.

In daie we ſee it true (quoth they) that you do ſaie: For which we are verie ſorie: albeit we let you to vnderſtand, that our commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraightly vs, that we muſt needs bring you with vs, either quicke or dead. Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſo ſoone ſullie ſaid, that their commiſſion was verie ſore: but yet notwithstanding ſhe hoped it to be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtrid. Des verelie, ſaid they. Wherevpon they called for two phyſicians, doctor Owen and doctor Wendie, demanding of them, whether ſhe might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whole answer and iudgement was, that there was no impediment (in their iudgement) to the contrarie, but that ſhe might trauell without danger of life. In concluſion, they willed hir to prepare againſt the morning at nine of the clocke to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queens litter for hir. After much talke, the meſſengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and daies, ſo departed to their chamber, being interteined and cheered as appertained to their worſhips.

On the next morrow at the time preſcribed, they had hir forth as ſhe was, verie faint and feeble, and in ſuch caſe that ſhe was readie to ſound three or foure times betwene them. What ſhould I ſpeake here that cannot well be expreſſed, what an heauie houſe there was to behold the vntreuerend and dolefull dealing of theſe men, but eſpeciallie the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent ladie and miſtreſſe: How to proceed in hir ſoznie from Aſhydige all ſicke in the litter, ſhe came to Redborne, where ſhe was garded all night: from thence to St. Albons, to ſir Raſe Kotolets houſe, where ſhe tarried that night, both feeble in bodie, and comfortleſſe in mind. From that place they paſſed to maſter Wods houſe at Wims, where alſo they remained that night: and ſo from thence ſhe came to Highgate: where ſhe being verie ſicke, tarried that night and the next daie. During which time of hir abode there, came manie purſeuants and meſſengers from the court: but for what purpoſe I cannot tell.

From that place ſhe was conueied to the court: where (by the waie) came to meet hir manie gentle- men, to accompanie hir highneſſe, which were verie ſorie to ſee hir in that caſe. But eſpeciallie a great multitude of people there were ſtanding by the way, who then ſticking about hir litter, lamented and bewailed greatlie hir eſtate. Now, when ſhe came to the court, hir grace was there ſtraightwaies ſhut vp, and kept as cloſe priſoner a fortnight, which was till Palmſundate, ſeing neither king nor queene, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but onelie then the lord chamberlaine, ſir John Coge, and the vicechamberlaine which were attendant vnto the doores. About which time ſir William Sentlow was called before the counsell, vnto whoſe charge it was laid, that he knew of Wyatts rebellion. Which he ſtoutlie denied, proteſting that he was a true man, both to God and his prince, deſſeng all traitors and rebels: but being ſtrialie examined, he was in concluſion committed to the tower.

The fridaie before Palmſundate, the biſhop of Wincheſter, with nineteene others of the counsell (who ſhall be here nameleſſe) came vnto hir grace from the queens maieſtie, and burdened hir with Wyatts conſpiracie: which ſhe utterlie denied, aſſuring that ſhe was altogether guiltleſſe therein. They being not contented with this, charged hir grace with buſineſſe made by ſir Peter Carew, and the reſt of the gentlemen of the weſt countrie: which alſo ſhe

I ſtraight commiſſion from the queene to bring the ladie Elizabeth either quicke or dead.

The gentle- neſſe of queene Marie to ſend hir horſelitter to bring hir ſiſter to trou- ble.

Ladie Eliza- beth taketh hir iournie toward the queene.

Ladie Eliza- beth brought vp to London.

Sir William Sentlow committed to the tower.

Ladie Eliza- beth charged with ſir Thomas Wyatts conſpiracie. Ladie Eliza- beth charged with the buſi- neſſe of Peter Carew.

Elizabeth
Elizabeth

Interre-
ments by the
queene
where they
were
buried
of
Elizabeth
remains of
interre-
ments
1533
Richard
Southwell,
Edward
Hastings, and
Thomas
Cornwallis,
and ſuch
other
which
were
all
buried
in the
church of
St. Margaret,
London.

Thomas
Wyatt
conſpiracie.

Ladie Elizabeth
both threatned
to go to the
tower.

Ladie Elizabeth
both purgeth
his scile to the
lords.

the bitterlie denieng, cleared his innocencie therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto him, that it was the quenes will and pleasure that he should go vnto the tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat he being agast, said, that he trusted the quenes maiestie would be more gracious ladie vnto him, and that his highnesse would not otherwise conceiue of him, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened him; and desired them therefore to be a further meane to the quene his sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed towards his maiestie, might not be committed to so notorious & dolefull a place: protesting that he would request no mercie at his hand, if she should be proued to haue consented vnto anye such kind of matter, as they had laid vnto his charge: and therefore in fine desired their lordships to thinke of him what she was, and that she might not so extremelie be dealt withall for his truth.

Wherevnto the lords answered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the quenes maiestie was fullie determined that she should go vnto the tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging ouer their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an houre or little more, came foure of the foresaid lords of the counsell, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earle of Sussex, with the gard, who warding the next chamber to him, secluded all his gentlemen and poemen, ladies and gentlewomen, sauing that for one gentleman vsier, three gentlewomen, and two groomes of his chamber, were appointed in their rooms three other men of the quenes, and three waiting women to giue attendance vpon him, that none should haue access to his grace. At which time there were an hundred of northerne souldiers in white cotes, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certeine lords watching there also with their bands and companie.

Upon saturday following, two lords of the counsell (the one was the earle of Sussex, the other shall be namelesse) came and certified his grace, that forthwith he must go vnto the tower, the barge being prepared for him, and the tide now readie, which tarieth for no bodie. In heauie mood his grace requested the lords that he might tarie another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that nether tide nor time was to be delaied. And when his grace requested him that he might be suffered to write to the quenes maiestie, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding that in his iudgement it would rather hurt, than profit his grace in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and fauorable (who was the earle of Sussex) kneeling downe, said he should haue libertie to write; and as he was a true man, he would deliuer it to the quenes highnesse, & bring an answer of the same, what soeuer came thereof. Wherevpon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the quene to his great discomfort, being no offender against the quenes maiestie.

And thus the tide and time passed awaie for that season, they priuillie appointing all things readie that he should go the next tide which fell about midnight: but for feare she should be taken by the waie, they durst not. So they staid till the next date, being Palmesundate, when about nine of the clocke these two returned againe, declaring that it was time for his grace to depart, she answering: If there be no remedie, I must be content, willing the lords to go before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast

up his eyes toward the window, thinking to haue seene the quene, which she could not. Whereat she said she marvelled much what the nobilitie of the realme meant, which in that sort would suffer him to be led into captiuitie, the Lord knew whether, for she did not. In the meane time commandement was giuen in all London, that euerie one should keepe the church and carie their palmes, while in the meane season she might be conueied without all recourse of people into the tower.

After all this, she toke his barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the quenes gentlewomen, and three of his owne, his gentleman vsier, and two of his groomes, lieng & houering vpon the water a certeine space, for that they could not shot the bidge, the bargemen being verie vnwilling to shot the same so sone as they had, because of the danger thereof: for the sterne of the boat strooke vpon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being vnder the bidge, there staid againe a while. At landing, she first staid, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offenders customablie vsed to land, neiether well could she vntil she should go ouer his thum. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went backe againe to him, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords which shall be namelesse, that she should not chuse: and because it did then raine, he offered to him his cloke, which she (putting it backe with his hand with a good dally) refused. So she comming out, hauing one foot vpon the staire, said: Here landeth as true a subject being prisoner, as euer landed at these staires: and before she God I speake it, hauing none other frends but she alone.

To whom the same lord answered againe, that if it were so, it was the better for him. At his landing there was a great multitude of their seruants and warders standing in their order; What needed all this said she: It is the vse (said some) so to be when a prisoner came thither. And if it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poore men kneeled downe, and with one voice desired God to preserve his grace, who the next daie were released of their cold coats. After this passing a little further, she sat downe vpon a cold stone, and there rested his selfe. To whom the lieutenant then being, said: Madame, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnto hole some. She then replieng, answered againe: Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, I know not whether you will bring me. With that his gentleman vsier wept: the demanding of him what he meant so vncomfortable to vse him, seeing she toke him to be his comforter, and not to dismaie him, especially for that she knew his truth to be such, that no man should haue cause to weepe for him. But forth she went into the prison.

The doores were locked and bolted vpon him: which did not a little discomfort and dismaie his grace. At what time she called to his gentlewoman for his booke, desiring God not to suffer him to build his foundation vpon the sands but vpon the rocke, whereby all the blasts of blustering weather should haue no power against him. The doores being thus locked, and the close shut vp, the lords had great conference how to keepe ward and watch, euerie man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing striatly and circumspectly to keepe him. Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex swearing, said: App lords, let vs take heed, and doe no more than our commission will beare vs, what soeuer shall happen hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the king our maisters daughter, and therefore let vs vse such

Ladie Elizabeth
both sent to
the tower.

The woman
Ladie Elizabeth
both entering
the tower.

The chamber
prince of Wales
Elizabeth.

The lord of
Sussex spake
with the lord
Elizabeth.

The hard dealing of a certeine lord
with the ladie Elizabeth.
The earle of Sussex gentle to the ladie Elizabeth.
Ladie Elizabeth writeth to the quene but it would not serue.

dealing, that we may answer unto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for thus dealing (quoth he) is alwaies answerable. Whereunto the other lordes agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two daies, commandement was that the should haue masse within hir house. One maister Pong was then hir chapleine: and because there was none of hir men so well learned to helpe the priest to saie masse, the masse staid for that daie.

The next daie two of hir peomen, who had gone long to shole before, and were learned, had two abbies provided and deliuered them, so that vpon the abbies they should helpe the priest. One of the said peomen, holding the abbie in his hand, pretending ignorance at his eleison, let the priest, making as though he could answer that no further. It would make a pittifull and a strange storie, here by the waie to touch and recite what examinations and rackings of poore men there were, to find out that kniue which should cut hir throte: what gaping among my lordes of the cleargie, to see the daie wherein they might wash their godlie white rochetes in hir innocent blood, but especiallye the bishop of Winchester Stephan Gardiner, then lord chancelor, ruler of the roff, who then within five daies after came vnto hir, with diuerse others of the counsell, and examined hir of the talke that was at Alhydge, betwixt hir and sir James Acroft, touching hir removing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring hir to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first, she being so suddenlie asked, did not well remember anie such house: but within a while, well aduising hir selfe, she said: In deed (quoth she) I do now remember that I haue such a place, but I neuer laie in it in all my life. And as for anie that hath moued me therevnto, I do not remember. When to enforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of hir what she said to that man: she answered, that she had little to saie to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the tower. But my lordes (quoth she) you do examine euerie meane prisoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great iniurie. If they haue done euill and offended the quenes maiestie, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you my lordes, to lene not me in this sort with anie of these offenders. And as concerning my going vnto Dunnington castle, I do remember that maister Hobbie and mine officers and you sir James Acroft, had such talke: but what is that to the purpose, my lordes, but that I may go to mine owne houses at all times?

The lord of Arundell kneeling downe, said: Your grace saith true, & certeinlie we are verie sorie that we haue so troubled you about so vaine matters. She then said: My lordes, you do sit me verie narrowlie, but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgive you all. At their departure, sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorie to see the daie in which he should be brought as a witness against hir grace. But I assure your grace (said he) I haue bene maruellouslie tossed and examined touching your highnesse, which the lord knoweth is verie strange to me. For I take God to record before all your honors, I do not know anie thing of that crime that you haue laid to my charge, and will therupon take my death, if I should be driuen to so strict a triall.

That daie, or thereabouts, diuerse of hir owne officers, who had made provision for hir diet, brought the same to the vtter gate of the tower, the common rascall soldiers receiving it: which was no small greafe vnto the gentlemen the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to speake with the lord cham-

berleine, being then constable of the tower. Who comming before his presence, declared vnto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring hir graces diet, and to deliuer it to such common and desperat persons as they were which did receiue it: beseeching his honor to consider hir grace, and to giue such order, that hir viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed therevnto.

Pea sirs (said he) who appointed you this office? They answered, hir graces counsell. Counsell (quoth he?) There is none of them which hath to do, either in that case, or anie thing else within this place: and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be serued with the lieutenants men, as other the prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more fauor at his hands, considering hir personage, saing; that they mistrusted not, but that the quene and hir counsell would be better to hir grace than so, and therewith shewed themselves to be offended at the vngratefull words of the lord chamberleine to, wards their ladie and mistresse.

At this he swore by God, striking himselfe vpon the breast, that if they did either frowne or thug at him, he would let them where they should neither see sunne nor mone. Thus taking their leaue, they desired God to bring him in a better mind towards hir grace, and so departed from him. Vpon the occasion whereof, hir graces officers made great lute vnto the quenes counsell, that some might be appointed to bring hir diet to hir, & that it might no more be deliuered in to the common soldiers of the tower. Which being reasonable considered, was by them granted. Whereupon were appointed one of hir gentlemen, hir cleerke of hir kitchin, and hir two purueors to bring in hir provision once a day; all which was done the warders euer waiting vpon the bringers thereof. The lord chamberleine himselfe being alwaies with them, circumspectie and narrowlie watched, and searched what they brought: and gaue heed that they should haue no talke with anie of hir graces waiting seruants, and so wardeed them both in and out. At the said lute of hir officers were sent by the commandement of the counsell, to wait vpon hir grace, two peomen of hir chamber, one of hir robes, two of hir pantrie and etwrie, one of hir buttrie, another of hir cellar, two of hir kitchin, and one of hir larder, all which continued with hir the time of hir trouble.

Where the constable, being at the first not verie well pleased with the comming in of such a compagnie against his will, would haue had his men still to haue serued with hir graces men. Which hir seruants at no hand would suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented: for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being so displeased, he brake out into these threatening words: Well (said he) I will handle you well enough. Then went he into the kitchin, and there would needs haue his meat roasted with hir graces meat, & said that his cooke should come thither and dresse it. To that hir graces cooke answered; My lord, I will neuer suffer anie stranger to come about hir diet, but hir owne two me men, so long as I liue. He said they shuld. But the cooke said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble hir poore seruants verie stoutlie: though afterwards he were otherwise aduised, and they more courteously vsed at his hands. And good cause why, for he had good cheare, and fared of the best; and hir grace paid well for it. Wherefore he vsed himselfe afterwards more reuerentlie toward hir grace.

After this sort, hanning lien a whole moneth there in close prison, and being verie euill at ease therewith all, she sent for the lord chamberleine, and the lord

Ladie Elisabetha
betha seruants
restrained for
bringing hir
diet to the
tower.

Displeasure
betwene the
lord chamber-
leine and ladie
Elisabetha
men.

Ladie Elisabetha
betha waiting
men in
the tower.

Striance
betwene the
lord chamber-
leine & ladie
Elisabetha
seruants.

The bishop of
Winchester
came to ladie
Elizabeth.

Ladie Elisabetha
betha
waiting
men.

The lord
chamberleine
of the
tower
was the
ladie
Elizabeth.

James
Acroft
was
brought
to
the
tower.

The
lord
chamberleine
of the
tower
was
the
ladie
Elizabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth denied the libertie of the tower.

Shandois, to come and speake with hir. Who comming, she requested them that she might haue libertie to walke in some place, for that she felt hirselfe not well. To the which they answered, that they were right forie that they could not satisfie hir graces request, for that they had commandement to the contrary, which they durst not in anie wise breake. Furthermore, she desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walke but into the quenes lodging. So no yet that (they answered) could by anie means be obtained without a further sute to the quene and hir counsell. Well said she my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me: and so they departed, she remaining in hir old dungeon still, without anie kind of comfort but onlie God.

The next daie after, the lord Shandois came againe unto hir grace, declaring unto hir that he had sued unto the counsell for further libertie. Some of them contented thereunto, diuerse other dissented, for that there were so manie prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion they did all agree, that hir grace might walke into those lodgings, so that he & the lord chamberleine, and thre of the quenes gentlewomen did accompanie hir, the windowes being thut, and she not suffered to looke out at anie of them: wherewith she contented hirselfe, and gaue him thanks for his good will in that behalfe. Afterwards there was libertie granted to hir grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being thut vp, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort unto hir, as the walke in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of hir walking there, the prisoners on that side stridlie were commanded not to speake or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till hir grace were gone out againe, hauing in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus hir grace with this small libertie contented hir selfe in God, to whome be praise therefore.

Libertie granted to ladie Elisabeth to walke in a little garden.

Suspicious heads.

A young child examined for bringing flowers to the ladie Elisabeth.

During this time, there vsed a little boie, a mans child in the tower to resort unto their chambers, and manie times to bring hir grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon naughtie and suspicious heads thinking to make and wyng out some matter thereof, called on a time the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had bene with the earle of Deuonshire, not ignorant of the childs wonted frequenting unto him. The boy answered that he would go by and by thither. Further they demanded of him, when he was with the ladie Elisabeths grace? He answered: Euerie daie. Furthermore they examined him, what the lord of Deuonshire sent by him to hir grace? The child said: I will go know what he will giue to carle to hir. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but foure years of age. This same is a craftie boy, quoth the lord chamberleine, how saie you my lord Shandois? I praye you my lord (quoth the boy) giue me the figs you promised me. So marie (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped if thou come anie more to the ladie Elisabeth, or the lord Courtneie. The boy answered: I will bring my ladie and mistresse more flowers. Whereupon the childs father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come vp into their chambers.

The next daie, as hir grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the doore, cried unto hir, saieing: Mistresse, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberleine rebuked highlie his father, commanding him to put him out of the house,

Alas poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knaue (quoth the lord chamberleine) let me see him here no more. The first of spaie the constable was discharged of his office of the tower, & one sir Henrie Benesfield placed in his room, a man unknowne to hir grace, and therefore the more feared: which so sudden mutation was unto hir no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred soldiors in blein cotes, wherewith she was maruellouslie discomforted, and demanded of such as were about hir, whether the ladie Janes scaffold were taken awaie or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue plaied hir part. To whome answer was made, that the scaffold was taken awaie, and that hir grace needed not to doubt of anie such tyrannie: for God would not suffer anie such treason against hir person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what sir Henrie Benesfield was, and whether he was of that conscience or no, that if hir murdering were secretlie committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof? She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Whobeit they perswaded hir that God would not suffer such wickednesse to proceed: Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou O God canst mollifie all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruell purposes: and I beseech thee to heare me thy creature, which am thy seruant, and at thy commandement, trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine.

About which time it was spread abroad, that hir grace should be caried from the nise by this new solle capteine and his soldiors: but whether, it could not be learned. Which was unto hir a great griefe, especially for that such a companie was appointed to hir gard, requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. At last plaine answer was made by the lord Shandois, that there was no remedie, but from thence she must needs depart to the manour of Woodstocke, as he thought. Being demanded of hir for what cause? For that (quoth he) the tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded where with? He answered, with such matter as the quene and counsell were determined in that behalfe, whereof he had no knowledge: and so departed. In conclusion, on Trinitie Sunday being the nineteenth daie of spaie, she was removed from the tower, the lord treasurer being then there for the lading of hir carts, and discharging the place of the same. Where sir Henrie Benesfield (being appointed hir gailor) did receive hir with a companie of rakehels to gard hir, beside the lord of Warbies hand, waiting in the countrie about for the mooneshine in the water. Unto whom at length came my lord of Tame, ioined in commission with the said sir Henrie, for the safe guiding of hir to prison: and they together conueied hir grace to Woodstocke, as hereafter followeth. The first daie they conducted hir to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restrained of hir owne men, which were lodged in outchambers, and sir Henrie Benesfields soldiors appointed in their roomes to giue attendance on hir person. Whereat the being marvellouslie dismayed, thinking verelie some secret mischief to be a working towards hir, called hir gentleman thither, and desired him, with the rest of his companie, to praye for hir. For this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said: God forbid that anie such wickednesse should be pretended against your grace. So comforting hir as well as he could, at last he burst out into teares, & went from hir doorne into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame and sir Henrie

The constable of the tower discharged of his office. Sir Henrie Benesfield with his cotes, pane, placed about the lady Elisabeth. Ladie Elisabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

Ladie Elisabeth in doubt of her life.

Ladie Elisabeth removed from the tower to Woodstocke. Ladie Elisabeth being secured from her servants.

ric Benefield.

Then he comming to the lord of Tame (who had proffered to him much friendship) desired to speake with him a word or two. Unto whome he familiarly said, he should with all his heart. Which when sir Henrie standing by heard, he asked what the matter was: To whome the gentleman vther answered: No great matter sir (said he) but to speake with my lord a word or two. When the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: My lord (quoth he) you haue bene alwaies my god lord, and so I beseech you to remaine. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor, vnsolicited to declare vnto me whether anie danger is meant towards my mistresse this night, or no, that I and my poore fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certeinlie we will rather die, than the should secretlie and innocentlie miscarie. Marie (said the lord of Tame) God forbid that anie such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at his foot also: and (so praised be God) they passed that dofull night, with no little beauintesse of heart. Afterwards passing ouer the water at Richmond; going towards Windsoze, hir grace espied certein of hir poore seruants standing on the other side, which were verie desirous to see hir. Whome when she beheld, turning to one of hir men standing by, she said; Ponder I see certein of my men, go to them and say these words from me: *I anquam ouis.*

So the passing forward to Windsoze, was lodged there that night in the deane of Windsoz house, a place more meet in deed for a priest than for a prince. And from thence hir grace was garded and brought the next night to maister Doymers house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to hir one gift, and some another: so that sir Henrie was greatly moued therewith, and troubled the poore people verie sore, for shewing their louing hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words. Besides, as the passed thorough the villages, the townesmen rang the bells, as being ioyfull of hir comming, thinking verelie it had bene otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequele proued after to the said poore men. For immediatlie the said sir Henrie hearing the same, sent his souldiours thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise vncourteouslie misusing other some for their good will.

On the morrow hir grace passing from maister Doymers (where was for the time of hir abode there a strict watch kept) came to the lord of Tames house where she laie all night, being verie princelie interteined, both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat sir Henrie Benefield grunted, and was higlye offended, saing vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer to their doings in that behalfe; letting them to vnderstand that she was the queens maiesties prisoner, and no otherwise: aduising them therfore to take heed & beware of afterclaps. Where vnto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was well aduised of his doings, being ioined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that hir grace might and should in his house be merrie. The next daie as she should take hir iournie from Richmond towards Woodstocke, the lord of Tame, with an other gentleman being at tables, plaing, and dropping vie crownes, the ladie Elizabeth passing by, staied & said she would see the game plaied out, which sir Henrie Benefield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they plaing drop vie crownes; Come on saith he: I will

tarie saith she, and will see this game out.

After this, sir Henrie went by into a chamber, where was appointed for hir grace a chaire, two cushions, and a foot carpet verie faire and princelike, wherein presumptuouslie he sat, and called one Warwick his man to pull off his boots. Which as some as it was known among the ladies and gentles, euerie one mused thereat, & laughed him to scozne, obseruing his vndiscreet maners in that behalfe, as they might verie well. When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraue themselves euerie one to his lodging, maruelling much that he would permit there such a companie, considering so great a charge committed to him. Sir Henrie (quoth my lord) content your selfe, all shall be voided, your men and all. Pay my souldiours (quoth sir Henrie) shall watch all night. The lord of Tame answered, It shall not need. Well said he, need or need not, they shall so do: mistrusting belike the companie, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next daie hir grace took hir iournie from thence to Woodstocke, where she was inclosed, as before in the tower of London, the souldiours guarding and warding both within & without the wals, euerie daie to the number of thre score, and in the night without the wals fortie, during the time of hir imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for hir walke, which was verie comfortable to hir grace. But alwaies when she did recreate hir selfe therein, the doores were fast locked by, in as strict maner as they were in the tower, being at the least fise or six locks betwene hir lodging and hir walks: sir Henrie himselfe keeping the keies, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him hir gallo: and he kneeling downe, desired hir grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of hir officers. From such officers (quoth she) god Lord deliuer me. And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recite a matter incident, & yet not impertinent to the same: occasion here moueth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefelie what happened in the same place and time by a certein merie conceited man, being then about hir grace: who noting the strict & strange keeping of his ladie & mistres by the said sir Henrie Benefield, with so manie locks & doores, with such watch and ward about hir, as was strange and wonder-

full, spied a goat in the ward where hir grace was. And whether to refresh hir oppressed mind, or to notifie hir strict handling by sir Henrie, either else both; he took it by on his necke, and followed hir grace therewith as she was going into hir lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing to let it alone. Unto whome the said partie answered: No by saint Marie (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the queens friends or no. I will carie him to sir Henrie Benefield (God willing) to know what he is. So leauing hir grace, he went with the goat on his necke, and caried it to sir Henrie Benefield. Who when he saw him comming with it, asked him halfe angerlie what he had there. Unto whome the partie answered, saing: Sir (quoth he) I can not tell what he is, I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my ladies grace was walking, and what talke they had I can not tell. For I vnderstand him not, but he should seeme to me to be some stranger, & I thinke verelie a Welshman, for he hath a white freese coat on his backe. And forso much as I being the queens subiect, and perceiving the strict charge committed to you of hir keeping, that no stranger should haue access to hir without

Ladie Elizabeth
beth garded
and warded
for starting as
wale.

A merie storie
concerning
the strict keep-
ing of the la-
die Elizabeth.

The strictnes
of sir Henrie
Benefield
merilie noted.

sufficient licence, I have here found a stranger (what he is I can not tell) in place where his grace was talking; and therefore for the necessarie discharge of my dutie, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause: and so he let him do some. At which his words sir Henrie seemed much displeased, and said: Well, well, you will never leave this geare I see: and so they departed.

Now to returne to the matter from whence we have digressed. After his grace had bene there a time he made sute to the counsell that he might be suffered to write to the queene, which at last was permitted. So that sir Henrie Benefield brought his pen, ink, and paper; and standing by his while he wrote (which he stricly observed) alwaies the being wearie, he would carie awaie his letters, and bring them againe when she called for them: In the finishing thereof, he would have bene messenger to the queene of the same. Whose request his grace denied, saying one of his owne men should carie them, and that she would neither trust him nor none of his therein. Then he answering againe said; None of them durst be so bold (he trusted) to carie his letters, being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I have none so dishonest that would denie my request in that behalfe, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well (said he) my commission is to the contrary, and I maie not so suffer it. His grace replying againe said; You charge me verie often with your commission, I praye God you maie tustle answer the cruell dealing you use towards me.

Then he kneeling downe, desired his grace to thinke and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queene to serve his maiestie, protesting that if the case were his, he would as willingly serve his grace, as now he did the queenes highnesse. For the which his answer his grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards him were not god nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henrie replied & said, that there was no remedie but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make god account thereof. The cause which moved his grace so to saie, was for that he would not permit his letters to be caried foure or five daies after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for his gentleman from the towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of his graces letters to the queene or no. And he answered; Yes sir, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Whereupon sir Henrie halfe against his stomach took them into him. Then about the eight of June came downe doctor Dwert & doctor Wensie, sent by the queene to his grace, for that she was sicklie; who ministering to him, and letting his blood, tarried there and attended on his grace five or six daies. Then she being well amended, they returned againe to the court, making their good report to the queene and the counsell of his graces behavior and humblenesse towards the queenes highnesse. Which his maiestie hearing, took verie thankfullie: but the bishops thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and told the queene, they marvelled that he submitted not his selfe to his maiesties mercie, considering that he had offended his highnesse.

About this time his grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit his selfe to the queenes maiestie, which would be verie well taken, and to his great quiet and commoditie. Unto whome she answered, that she would never submit his selfe to them whome she never offended. For quoth she if I have offended and am guiltie, I then craue no

mercie, but the law, which I am certaine (quoth she) I should have had per this, if it could be proved by me. For I know my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as cleare out of the perill of mine enemies, & then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted by without wals and dores as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him. About this time was there a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen touching a marriage for his grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realme with his portion; some saying one thing, and some another.

A lord (who shall be here namelesse) being there at last said, that the king should never have any quiet common wealth in England, unless his head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered saying; God forbid that the king and maister should have that mind to consent to such a mischance. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their owne countrie. From that daie the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should never obtaine, as he should in deliivering the ladie Elizabeths grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plaine and evident example of the god clemencie and nature of the king and his counsellors towards his grace (passed be God therefore) who moved their harts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton court.

But before his removing awaie from Woodstocke, we will a little staie to declare in what dangers his life was during this time she there remained. First thorough fire, which began to kindle betwene the boards & seeking under the chamber where she laye, whether by a sparke of fire, gotten into a cranie, or whether of purpose by some that meant him no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipfull knight of Oxfordshire, which was there toined the same time with sir Henrie Benefield in keeping that ladie (who then took by the boards and quenched the fire) verelie supposed it to be done of purpose. Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Penie a keeper of Woodstocke; a notorious ruffian and a butcherlie wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said ladie Elizabeth, who both saw the man being often in his sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time one of the priuie chamber, a great man about the queene, and chiefe darling of Stephan Gardiner, named maister James Walsell came to Bladenbyrge a mile from Woodstocke, with twenty or thirtie priuie cotes, and sent for sir Henrie Benefield to come and speake with him. But as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will; so it happened, that a little before the said sir Henrie Benefield was sent for by post to the counsell, leaving strait word behind him with his brother, that no man that soeuer he were, though coming with a bill of the queenes hand, or any other warrant, should have access to him before his returne againe. By reason whereof it so fell out, that maister Wensieles brother coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case approach in, who other wise (as is supposed) was appointed violentlie to murder the innocent ladie. In the life of Stephan Gardiner we declared before, pag. 1787, how that the ladie Elizabeth, being in the tower, a writ came downe subscribed with certaine hands of the counsell for his execution. Which if it were certaine (as it is reported) Winchester no doubt was deuiser of that mischeuous dytt. And doubtlesse the same

Counsell at the popes request, to marry the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

wicked counsell given of the Lord Paule against the ladie Elizabeth.

Spaniards more favourable to ladie Elizabeth than some Englishmen.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of fire.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of killing.

Another conspiracie & murder against ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth preferred by the lords penitence from execution to the tower.

The cruell dealing of sir Henrie Benefield to the ladie Elizabeth reproved.

The letters of the ladie Elizabeth sent to the queene.

Doctor Dwert and doctor Wensie, quene Maryes physicians sent to the ladie Elizabeth.

The popish prelates repined against the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth requested to submit his selfe to the queene.

Winchester
sent downe
the next
daye 1797

Achtshell had brought his impious purpose that day to passe, had not the fatherlie providence of almighty God (who is ever stronger than the diuell) stirred up master Wylkes lieutenant at that time of the tower, to come in hast to the queene, to give certifi-
10 therof, & to know further hir consent touching hir sisters death. Whereupon it folowed, that all that denie was disappointed, & Winchester's diuillish plotforme which he said he had cast, thorough the Lords great goodnes came to no effect. Where moreover is to be noted, that during the prisonment of this ladie and
princeesse, one maister Edmund Tremaine was on the racke, and maister Smithwicke, and diuerse o-
ther in the tower were examined, and diuerse offers made to them to accuse the guiltlesse ladie, being in
hir captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proued by all examinations, as
the the same time lieng at Widdoske had certeine intelligence, by the meanes of one John Gaier, who
vnder a colosable pntense of a letter vnto mistress
Cleme from hir father, was let in, and so gaue them
secretlie to vnderstand of all this matter. Where
upon the ladie Elizabeth at hir departing out from
Widdoske, wrote these verses with hir diamond in
a glasse window herie legible as here folloiweth:

Much suspected by me,
Nothing proued can be;

Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.

Winches-
ter sent
downe
the next
daye 1797

Winches-
ter sent
downe
the next
daye 1797

Winches-
ter sent
downe
the next
daye 1797

Winches-
ter sent
downe
the next
daye 1797

And thus much touching the troubles of ladie Elizabeth at Widdoske. Wherevnto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of
Taine had labored to the queene, and became suretie
for hir, to haue hir from Widdoske to his house, and
had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparati-
on was made accordingly, and all things readie in
expectation of hir coming. But through the pro-
curement either of maister Benefield, or by the
doing of Winchester hir mortall enemie, letters
came ouer night to the contrarie: whereby hir iour-
ney was stopped. Thus this worthy ladie oppressed with
40 continual sorow, could not be permitted to haue re-
course to ante friends she had; but still in the hands
of hir enemies was left desolate, and bitterlie des-
tute of all that might refresh a dolefull hart, fraught
full of terror, and thraldome. Whereupon no mar-
uell, if she hearing vpon a time out of hir garden at
Widdoske, a certeine milkmaid singing pleasant-
lie, wished hir selfe to be a milkmaid as she was,
saying that hir case was better, and life more meri-
er than was hers in that state as she was.

Now after these things thus declared, to pro-
ceed further: where we left before, sir Henrie Be-
necfield and his soldiers, with the lord of Taine,
and sir Rafe Chau'ereine, garding and waiting
vpon hir, the first night from Widdoske she came
to Kioot. In which iourneie such a mightie wind
did blow, that hir seruants were faine to hold down
hir clothes about hir: in so much that hir hood was
twice or thrise blown from hir head. Whereupon
the desirous to returne to a certeine gentlemans
house there nere, could not be suffered by sir Hen-
rie Benecfield so to do: but was constrained vnder
an hedge to trim hir head as well as she could. After
this, the next night they tourneied to maister Dor-
mers, & so to Colbroke, where she laie all that night
at the George: and by the waie comming to Col-
broke, certeine of hir graces gentlemen and peo-
men met hir to the number of thre scoze, much to all
their comforts, which had not sene hir grace of long
season before: notwithstanding they were comman-
ded in the queenes name immediatlie to depart the
towne, to both their and hir graces no little heaui-
nesse, who could not be suffered once to speake with
them. So that night all hir men were taken from

hir sauing hir gentleman vsher, & six gentlewomen,
two grames, and one of hir wardrobe, the soldiers
watching and warding about the house, and the close
that by within hir prison.

The next daie following, hir grace entred Hamp-
ton court on the backe side, into the princes lodging,
the doores being that to hir: and she garded with sol-
diers, as before, laie there a fortnight at the least, per-
euer ante had recourse vnto hir. At length came the
lord William Howard, who marvellous honoura-
ble vied hir grace. Whereat she toke much comfort,
& requested him to be a meane that she might speake
with some of the counsell. To whom (not long after)
came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundell,
the lord of Shrewsbury, and secretarie Peter, and
with great humilitie humbled themselves vnto hir
grace. She againe likewise saluting them, said: my
lords (quoth she) I am glad to see you: for me thinke
I haue bene kept a great tible from you desolatelle
alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a meane
to the king and queene: mates, that I maie be
deliuered from prison, wherein I haue bene kept a
long space, as to you my lords it is not vnknowne.

When she had spoken, Stephan Gardiner the bi-
shop of Winchester kneled downe, & requested
that she would submit hir selfe to the queenes grace,
and in so doing he had no doubt but that hir maiestie
would be good vnto hir. She making answer that fa-
ther than she would so do, she would lie in prison all
the daies of hir life, adding that she craued no mer-
cie at hir maiesties hand, but rather desired the law,
if euer she did offend hir maiestie in thought, word,
or deed. And besides this, in pelding (quoth she) I
should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe
to be an offender, which neuer was towards hir ma-
iestie: by occasion whereof the king and the queene
might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion:
and therefore I saie my lords, it were better for me
to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and su-
spected of my prince. And so they departed, promising
to declare hir message to the queene.

On the next daie the bishop of Winchester came
againe vnto hir grace, and kneling downe, decla-
red that the queene marvelled that she would so stout-
lie vse hir selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so
that it should seme the queenes maiestie wrongfel-
lie to haue imprisoned hir grace. Saie (quoth the la-
die Elizabeth) it pleaseth hir to punish me as she thin-
keth good. Well quoth Gardiner, hir maiestie willet
50 me to tell you, that you must tell an other tale per
that you be set libertie. Hir grace answered, that she
had as leise be in prison with honestie and truth, as to
be abroad suspected of hir maiestie: and this that I
haue said, I will (saie she) stand vnto, for I will ne-
uer belie my selfe. Winchester againe kneled downe
and said: When your grace hath the vantage of me
and other the lords for your long and wrong impris-
onment. What vantage I haue (quoth she) you
know, taking God to record I seeke no vantage at
60 your hands for your so dealing with me, but God
forgiue you and me also. With that the rest kneled,
desiring hir grace that all might be forgotten, and so
departed, she being fast locked vp againe. A season
nights after, the queene sent for hir grace at ten of
the clocke in the night to speake with hir: for she had
not sene hir in two yeares before. Yet for all that
she was amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking
it had bene worse than after wards it proued, and
desired hir gentlemen and gentlewomen to praie for
hir, for that she could not tell whether euer she should
see them againe or no.

At which time sir Henrie Benecfield with mistress
Clarencius comming in, hir grace was brought in-
to the garden vnto a staires set that went into the
queenes
chamber.

Lord William
Howard gentle-
man and famou-
rable to ladie
Elizabeth.

Ladie Eliza-
beth requested
by Winchester
to submit hir
selfe to the
queenes mer-
cie.

Ladie Eliza-
beth desired
to be tried by
the law.

She saie againe
betweene
Winchester &
ladie Eliza-
beth.

Ladie Eliza-
beth desired to
confesse ante
fauli done to
the queene.

Ladie Eliza-
beth sent for
to the queene.
Ladie Eliza-
beth brought
to the queene's
bedchamber.

Take be-
tweene the
queene and
ladie Elisa-
beth.

Small com-
fort at the
queenes hand
toward hir la-
ber.

King Philip
thought to be
a friend to
ladie Elisa-
beth.
Ladie Elisa-
beth by Gods
prouidence set
at libertie.
Sir Henrie
Benefield
discharged.

Mistresse
Athele sent
to the flact.
Three gentle-
women of
ladie Elisa-
beths sent to
the tower.
Note the
wonderfull
working of
the Lords
prouidence in
sparing of ladie
Elisabeth.
Ladie Elisa-
beth delivered
by the death of
Stephan
Gardiner.

How the Lord
here began to
worke for
ladie Elisa-
beth.

queenes lodging, hir graces gentlewomen waiting
vpon hir, hir gentleman vther and hir gromes go-
ing before with torches, where hir gentlemen and
gentlewomen being commanded to staie all sauing
one woman, mistresse Clarencius conducted hir to
the queenes bedchamber where hir maiestie was. At
the sight of whome hir grace knoled downe, and de-
sired God to pferue hir maiestie, not mistrusting
but that she should trie hir selfe as true a subiect to-
wards hir maiestie, as euer did anie, and desired hir
maiestie euen so to iudge of hir: and said that she
should not find hir to the contrarie, whatsoeuer re-
port otherwise had gone of hir. To whome the queene
answered: You will not confesse your offense, but
stand stoutlie to your truth: I praye God it maie so
fall out. If it doth not, quoth the ladie Elisabeth, I
request neither fauour nor pardon at your maiesties
hands. Well said the queene, you shall still perseuere
in your truth. Welike you will not confesse but that
you haue bene wrongfullie punished. I must not
saie so (if it please your maiestie) to you.

Why then (said the queene) belike you will to o-
thers. So, if it please your maiestie (quoth she) I haue
borne the burthen, and must beare it; I humble be-
sech your maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, and
to thinke me to be your true subiect, not onlie from
the beginning hitherto, but for euer, as long as life
lasteth: and so they departed with verie fete comfo-
table words of the queene, in English: but what she
said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that
king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not sene,
and that he shewed himselfe a verie friend in that
matter, &c. Thus hir grace departing, went vnto hir
lodging againe, and the seauenth night after was
released of sir Henrie Benefield hir gailor: (as she
fearmed him) and his soldiors, and so hir grace being
set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the
countrie, and had appointed to go with hir sir Tho-
mas pope, one of queene Maries counsellors, and
one of hir gentlemen vthers, master Coge, and thus
striclie was she looked vnto all queene Maries time.
And this is the discourse of hir highnesse imprison-
ment.

Then there came to Lambeste, master Cerning-
ham, and master Morris gentleman vther, queene
Maries men, who toke awaie from hir grace mi-
stresse Athele to the flact, and three other of hir gen-
tlewomen to the tower: which thing was no little
trouble to hir grace, sauing: that she thought they
would fetch all awaie at the end. But God be prai-
sed, shortly after was fetched awaie Gardiner tho-
rough the mercifull prouidence of the Lords god-
nesse, by occasion of whose opportune decesse (as is
partlie touched in this storie before, pag. 170.) the
life of this excellent princeesse, the wealth of all Eng-
land, was pferued. For this is crediblie to be suppo-
sed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester
had long laboured his wits, and to this onelie most
principall marke bent all his deuises, to hying this
our happie and deere souereigne out of the waie, as
both by his words and doings before notified maie
sufficientlie appeare.

But such was the gracious and fauonrable prou-
idence of the Lord, to the pferuation not onlie of hir
rollall maiestie, but also the miserable and woofull
state of this whole Island, and poore subiects of the
same, whereby the proud platfoims and pœuist prac-
tises of this wretched Achitophell preuailed not: but
contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of
his pernicious counsell laid against an other, were
turned to a net to catch himselfe, according to the
prouerbe: *Malum consilium consiliorum pessimum*. After
the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also
and dropping awaie of other hir enemies, whereby by

little and little hir leopardie decreased, feare dimi-
shed, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a
darke cloud. And albe it as yet hir grace had no full
assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle inter-
tainment daily did grow vnto hir, till at length to
the moneth of November, and seauententh daie of
the same, thre yeares after the death of Stephan
Gardiner, followed the death of queene Marie, as
heretofore at large hath bene trulie declared. Al-
though this historie following be not directlie apper-
teining to the former matter, yet the same maie here
not vnaptlie be inserted, for that it doth discover and
shew forth the malicious hearts of the papists to-
wards this vertuous queene our souereigne ladie in
the time of queene Maries hir sister, which is reported
as a truth crediblie told by sundrie honest persons, of
whome some are yet aliue, and do testifie the same.
The matter thereof is this.

Some after the death of What and the troubles
that happened to this queene for that cause: it fortu-
ned one Robert Farrer a haberdasher of London,
dwelling nere vnto Pettogate market, in a certeine
morning to be at the Rose tauerne (from whence he
was seldome absent) and falling to his common
drinke, as he was euer accustomed, and hauing in
his companie three other companions like vnto him-
selfe, it chanced the same time one Laurence Shirriff
grocer, dwelling also not farre from thence, to come
into the said tauerne, and finding there the said far-
rer (to whome of long time he had borne good will)
sat downe in the seat to drinke with him, and Farrer
hauing in his full cups, and not hauing considerati-
on who were present began to talke at large, and
namelie against the ladie Elisabeth, and said: That
gill hath bene one of the chiefe doers of this rebelli-
on of What, and before all be done, she and all the
heretikes hir partakers shall well vnderstand of it.
Some of them hope that she shall haue the crowne,
but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop head-
lesse, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

The aforesaid Laurence Shirriff grocer, being
then seruant vnto the said ladie Elisabeth, & swoone
vnto hir grace, could no longer forbear his old ac-
quaintance and neighbo: Farrer in speaking so vi-
reuerentlie of his mistresse, but said to him: Far-
rer, I haue loued the as a neighboir, and haue had
a good opinion of the, but hearing of the that I now
heare, I desie the: and I tell the I am hir graces
swoone seruant, and she is a princeesse, and the dange-
ter of a noble king, and it euill becommeth the to
call hir a gill, and for thy so sauing, I saie thou art a
knaue, & I will complaine vpon the. Do thy worst
said Farrer, for that I said, I will saie againe: and
so Shirriff came from his companie. Shortly after,
the said Shirriff taking an honest neighboir with
him, went before the commissioners to complaine:
the which commissioners sat then at Woner the bi-
shop of Londons house beside Pauls, and there were
present Woner then being the chiefe commissioner,
the lord Spordant, sir John Baker, doctor Werbishire
chancelor to the bishop, doctor Storie, doctor Warys-
field, and others. The aforesaid Shirriff comming
before them, declared the manner of the said Robert
Farrers talke against the ladie Elisabeth. Woner
answered, Peradventure you toke him worse than
he meant. Pea my lord (said doctor Storie) if you
knew the man as I do, you would saie that there is
not a better catholike, nor an honestier man in the ci-
tie of London.

Well, said Shirriff, my lord, she is my grations
ladie and mistresse, and it is not to be suffered that
such a varlet as he is, should call so honorable a prin-
cesse by the name of a gill: and I saue pesser date in
the court that my lord cardinall Pole meeting hir in
the

Note of a
stone deca-
ring the mar-
riage of the
queene to
cardinal Pole
Elisabeth.

Robert Far-
rer of London
a poore crime
to ladie Eli-
sabeth.

Laurence
Shirriff,
swoone from
and seruante
ladie Elisa-
beth his mis-
treffe.

Robert Far-
rer railing at
cardinal Pole
Elisabeth.

The part of
god trulie
seruant.

Robert Far-
rer complai-
ned of to the
commissioners,
but no redress
had.

I knowe.

the chamber of presence, kneeled downe on his knees and kissed his hand: and I saw also that king Philip making his, made his such obsequence that his knee touched the ground: and then (me thinketh) it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call his gill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall with his grace to insiole the possession of the crowne when God shall send it vnto him as in the right of his inheritance. Peca! Staie there (quoth Boner.) When God sendeth it vnto him, let him insiole it. But trulie (said he) the man that spake the words that you haue reported, meant nothing against the ladie Elisabeth your mistresse, and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which euery good man ought to feare: and therefore (said Boner) good man go your waies home and report well of vs towards your mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like againe. And thus Shriste came awaie, and Farrer had a flap with a foxe's taile. Now that ye maie be fully informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whome doctor Storie praised for so good a man, ye shall vnderstand that the same Farrer, hauing two daughters, being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a summe of monie he himselfe deliuered vnto sir Richard Cholmeie to be at his commandement; the other he sold to a knight called sir William Goddolphin to be at his commandement: whome he made his lackie and so carried him with him, being apparelled in mans apparell to Wallongne, and the said Farrer followed the campe. He also was a great and a horrible blasphemour of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I referre the life of these catholiks to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you please.

But of this matter enough and too much. Now let vs returne where we left before, which was at the death of queene Marie. After whose deceasse succeeded his foresaid sister ladie Elisabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after so long restraintment, so great dangers escaped, such blustering stormes ouerblowne, so manie injuries digested and wrongs sustained by the mightie protection of our mercifull God, to our no small comfort and commoditie, hath bene exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietnesse, from bread to dignitie, from miserie to matelike, from mourning to ruling; byedie, of a prisoner made a princeesse, and placed in his throne royal, proclaimed now queene, with as manie glad hearts of his subiects, as euer was any king or queene in this realme before him, or euer shall be (I dare saie) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, his princelie reigne and peaceable gouernement, with other things diuerse and sundrie incident to the same, and especiallie touching the great stirres and alterations which haue happened in other foaren nations, and also partlie among our selues here at home, so much as the tractation hereof requireth an huge volume by it selfe, I shall therefore deferre the reader to the next booke or section ensuing: wherein (if the Lord so please to susteine me with leaue and life) I maie haue to discourse of all and singular such matters done and atchued in these our latter daies and memorie, more at large.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling vpon this realme, from the first beginning of queene Maries reigne, wherein so manie men, women, and children were burned, manie imprisoned and in prisons starued, diuerse criled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house to house, so manie weeping eyes, so manie sobbing hearts, so manie children made fatherlesse, so manie

fathers bereft of their wiues and children, so manie bereft in conscience, and diuerse against conscience constrained to recant; and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloudie persecution: after all this (I saie) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the seventeenth of Nouember, which daie as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ, rest from their carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death I meane of queene Marie, who being long sicke before vpon the said seventeenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare aboue said, about three or foure of the clocke in the morning, yielded his life to nature, and his kingdome to queene Elisabeth his sister.

As touching the manner of whose death, some saie that he died of a timplie, some by his much sighing before his death supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Wherevpon his counsell seeing his sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation vnto him, feared (as they said) that he took some thought for the kings maiestie his husband, which was gone from him. To whome he answering againe; In deed (said he) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth mine oppressed mind: but that that was the wound not expresse to them. Albeit afterward he opened the matter more plainlie to mistresse Kise and mistresse Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of mistresse Kise himselfe) who then being most familiar with him, and most bold about him, told him that they feared he took thought for king Philips departing from him. Not that onelie (said he) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lieng in my hart, &c. Which one supposing to be true, hath left this report:

*Hispani * oppidulo amisso contabuit vxor,
Quam cruciatu agro confecerat anxio cura.*

And here an end of queene Marie, and of his persecution, during the time of his misgouernment. Of which queene this trulie may be affirmed and left in storie for a perpetuall memorie: all or epitaph for all kings and queenes that shall succeed him to be noted, that before him neuer was read in storie of any king or queene of England since the time of king Lucius, vnder whom in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and prisoning: so much christian blood, so manie Englishmens liues were spilled within this realme, as vnder the said queene Marie for the space of foure yeares was to be scene, and I beseech the Lord neuer may be scene hereafter.

Now, so much as queene Marie, during all the time of his reigne, was such a vehement aduersarie and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Iesus and his gospell: for the which there be manie which do highlie magnifie and approue his doings therein, reputing his religion to be sound and catholike, and his proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of almighty God: to the intent therefore that all men may vnderstand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not onelie not proceed with his proceedings; but contrarie, rather how his manifest displeasure euer wrought against him, in plaging both him and his realme, and in subverting all his counsels and attempts, what sooner he took in hand: we will bestow a litle time therein, to perpend and surueie the whole course of his doings and chetances: and consider what successe he had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall find neuer no reigne of any prince in this land, or any other, which had euer to shew in it (for the proportion of time) so manie arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be scene in the reigne of this queene Marie, & so forth, &c.

Nouemb 17.
queene Marie
endeth.

Queene Elisabeth
beginneth
her reigne.

The manner of
queene Maries
death.

Marie
took thought
for the losse of
Calis.

* Caletto.

More Eng-
lish blood spilled
in queene
Maries time,
than euer was
in any kings
reigne before
him.

The reigne of
queene Marie
how vnpros-
perous it was
both to him &
his realme in
all respects.

Queene Marie
never had
god successe
in any thing
the went a-
bout.

A good king
alwaies ma-
keth a flourish-
ing realme.

Comparison
betweene the
reigne of Q.
Marie and
queene Eli-
zabeth.

Samuel's
reason,
Acts.

Queene Ma-
rie prospered
so long as she
went not a-
gainst the
Lord.

Q. Maries
promise to the
gospellers
broken.

The ship cal-
led the great
Barrie bur-
ned.

Q. Maries
marriage with
a stranger.
Q. Marie
disappointed
of her purpose
in crowning
king Philip.
Q. Marie
stopped of her
will in resto-
ring abbey
lands.

whether we behold the shortnesse of his time, or the
unfortunate event of all his purposes: Who seemed
never to purpose any thing that came luckilie to
passe, neither did any thing frame to his purpose,
whatsoever he took in hand touching his owne pri-
vate affaires.

Of good kings we read in the scripture, in shew-
ing merite and pittie, in seeking Gods will in his
word, and subverting the monuments of idolatrie,
how God blessed their waies, increased their honors,
and mightie prospered all their proceedings: as we
see in king David, Salomon, Josias, Josaphat, E-
zechias, with such others. Manasses made the streets
of Hierusalem to swim with the blood of his sub-
jects, but what came of it the text doth testifie. Of
queene Elizabeth, which now reigneth among vs,
this we must needs saie, which we see, that she in spa-
ring the blood, not onelie of Gods servants, but also
of Gods enemies, hath doubled now the reigne of
queene Marie her sister, with such abundance of
peace and prosperitie, that it is hard to saie, whether
the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in
queene Maries time, or of Gods fauour and mercie
in these so blessed and peaceable daies of queene E-
lizabeth.

Samuel speaking his mind in the councill of
the Phariseis concerning Christs religion, gaue this
reason, that if it were of God, it should continue, who
former said naie: if it were not, it could not stand.
So may it be said of queene Marie and her Romish
religion, that if it were so perfect and catholike as
they pretend, and the contrarie faith of the gospellers
were so detestable and hereticall as they make it,
how cometh it then, that this so catholike a queene,
such a necessarie pillar of his spouse the church conti-
nued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the
land this hereticall generation? Yea how chanced it
rather, that almightie God, to spare these poore here-
tiques, rooted out queene Marie so soone from her
throne, after she had reigned but onelie five yeares
and five moneths?

How further more, how God blessed her waies and
endeuors in the meane time, while she thus persecu-
ted the true servants of God, remaineth to be discus-
sed. Where first this is to be noted, that when she first
began to stand for the title of the crowne, and yet had
brought no resistance against Christ and his gospel,
but had promised her faith to the Suffolke men, to
mainteine the religion left by king Edward her bro-
ther, so long God went with her, advanced her, and
by the means of the gospellers brought her to the pos-
session of the realme. But after that she breaking her
promise with God and man, began to take part with
Stephen Gardiner, and had giuen ouer her suppe-
rastic vnto the pope, by and by Gods blessing left
her, neither did any thing well thriue with her after-
ward during the whole time of her regiment. For
first incontinentlie the fairest and greatest ship he
had, called great Barrie, was burned: such a vessel
as in all these parts of all Europe was not to be
matched.

Then would she needs bring in king Philip, and by
his strange marriage with him, make the whole
realme of England subject vnto a stranger. And all
that notwithstanding, either that she did or was able
to do, she could not bring to passe to set the crowne of
England vpon his head. With king Philip also came
in the pope and his popish masse: with whom also
her purpose was to restore againe the monks and
nunnies vnto their places, neither lacked there all
kind of attempts to the uttermost of her abilitie: and
yet therein also God stopt her of her will, that it came
not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in her
time here in her land, the like wherof hath not light-

lie in England bene scene, in so much that in sun-
dry places her poore subjects were faine to feed of a-
corns for want of coine.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be
renowned by some worthy victorie and prouesse by
them achieved, let vs now see what valiant victorie
was gotten in queene Maries daies. King Edward
the first his blessed brother, how many rebellions did
he suppress in Devonshire, in Dorset, in Wiltshire,
in Herefordshire, and else where: What a famous victorie in his
time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular wo-
king (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand rather than by
any expectation of man? King Edward the third
(which was the eleventh king from the conquest) by
princelie puissance purchased Calis vnto England,
which hath bene kept English ever since, till at
length came queene Marie, the eleventh likewise
from the said king Edward, which lost Calis from
England againe: so that the winnings of this queene
were verie small, what the losses were, let other men
iudge.

Whereto the affaires of queene Marie haue had
no great god successe, as you haue heard. But neuer
woyfull successe had any woman, than had she in her
childbirth. For seeing one of these two must needs be
granted, that either she was with child or not with
child; if she were with child and did trauele, why was
it not scene: if she were not, how was all the realme
deluded: And in the meane while where were all the
psalters, the solemn pprocessions, the devout masses
of the catholike cleargie? Why did they not preuaile
with God, if their religion were so godlie as they pre-
tended? If their masses *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch
Christ from heauen, & to reach downe to purgatorie,
how chanced then they could not reach to the queens
chamber, to helpe her in her trauele, if she had bene
with child in deed? If not, how then came it to passe,
that all the catholike church of Engl and did so erre,
and was so depelie deceived? Queene Marie, after
these manifold plagues and corrections, which might
sufficientlie admonish her of Gods disfauor, prouoked
against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but
still continued more & more to reuenge her catholike
zeale vpon the lords faithfull people, setting fire to
their poore bodies by dozens & halfe dozens together.
Wherupon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing
more and more against her, ceased not to touch her
more neare with priuate misfortunes and calamities.

For after that he had taken from her the fruit of
children (which chiefe and aboue all things she desir-
ed) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthlie
things should haue bene her chiefe state of honour,
and staffe of comfort: that is, withdrew from her the
affection and companie euen of her owne husband,
by whose marriage she had promised before to hirselfe
whole heapes of such ioy and felicitie. But now the
omnipotent gouernour of all things, so turned the
wheele of her owne spinning against her, that her high
buildings of such toies and felicities came all to a ca-
stell come downe, her hopes being confounded, her
purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desola-
tion: who seemed neither to haue the fauour of
God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the loue of
her husband: who neither had fruit by him while she
had him, neither could now inioy him whome she had
married, neither yet was in libertie to marrie any
other whome she might inioy. Marke here (Christian
reader) the woollfull aduersitie of this queene, & learne
withall, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulness
will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these sadre admonitions monb
take no place with the queene, nor moue her to re-
uoke her bloudie lawes, nor to staie the tyrannie of
her priests, nor yet to spare her owne subjects; but
that

The battie
of king E-
dward the
third in
Scotland.

The ill lucke
of Q. Marie
in losing of
Calis.

The eleventh
king from the
conquest got
Calis, and the
eleventh after
him lost it.

The ill lucke
of queene
Marie in her
childbirth.

Q. Maries
desolate of
her husband.

The ill lucke
of Q. Marie
in losing of
her husband.

The finall
end and
death of
Q. Marie.

Queene Marie
was a true
Christian.
The doctors
of the law
were
reuerent.

Queene
Marie
was a true
Christian.
The doctors
of the law
were
reuerent.

Queene Marie
was a true
Christian.
The doctors
of the law
were
reuerent.

Queene Marie
was a true
Christian.
The doctors
of the law
were
reuerent.

Queene Marie
was a true
Christian.
The doctors
of the law
were
reuerent.

Queene Marie
was a true
Christian.
The doctors
of the law
were
reuerent.

that the poore seruants of God were byatone daile by heapes most pittifullie as shepe to the slaught-
er, it so pleased the heauenlie maiestie of almightie
God, when no other remedie would serue, by death
to cut hir off, which in hir life so little regarded the
life of others: giuing hir throne, which she abused to
the destruction of Christs church and people, to ano-
ther, who more temperatlie and quietlie could guide
the same, after she had reigned here the space of five
yeares and five moneths. The thortnesse of which
yeares and reigne, vneth we find in anie other storie
of king or queene since the conquest or before (being
come to their owne gouernement) sau onelie in
king Richard the third. Which reigne was so rough
and rigorous, notwithstanding the thortnesse of the
same, that it became a verie spectacle to all christen
dom; and the maner of dealing vnder hir go-
uernment was so detestable, that as it was rare,
so it raised by a rare report, even among strangers,
whose heads being fuller of matter than their pens
full of inke, wrote in tearmes vnder enough of the ter-
rours and slaughters hapening in hir unhappie
daies: among whome I will set downe for a saie a
few verses drawne out of an hundred and od, pre-
sented to Henrie the French king of that name the
second, touching the conquest of Calis, whereat for
ioy the French were raiued. Thus therfore he saith:

*Regina pacem nescia perperit,
Iam preta meret fœdera iam Dei
Iram patet sibi imminuentem,
Indicis & furie flagellum.
Cives & hostes iam pariter suos
Odio patetq; & ciuium & hostium
Hirudo communis, cruorem
Aequè amide sitiens utrinque.
Huic luce terror Martius assonat,
Diraq; cadis mens sibi conscia
Vmbra; nocturnæ quietem
Terrificis agitant figuris.*

These short verses were thus subscribed. La. B. Te.

And thus much here, as in the closing vp of this
storie, I thought to insinuat, touching the vnluckie
and rufull reigne of queene Marie: not for anie de-
traction to hir place and state roiall, whereunto she
was called of the Lord: but to this onlie intent and
effect, that forsomuch as she would needs set hirselfe
so confidentlie to worke and strue against the Lord
and his proceedings, all readers and rulers not on-
lie maie see how the Lord did worke against hir ther-
fore, but also by hir maie be aduertised and learne
what a perillous thing it is for men and women in
authoritie, vpon blind zeale and opinion, to stirre vp
persecution in Christs church, to the effusion of chri-
stian blood, least it proue in the end with them (as
it did here) that while they thinke to persecute here-
tiques, they stumble at the same stone as did the
Iewes in persecuting Christ and his true members
to death, to their owne confusion and destruction.]

Leauing queene Marie being dead & gone, you are
to vnderstand and note, that the same euening, or (as
some haue written) the next daie after the said queens
death, Cardinall Pole the bishop of Romes legat
departed out of this life, hauing bene not long afore
made archbishop of Canturburie: he died at his
house ouer against Westminster commonlie called
Lambeth, and was buried in Christs church at Can-
turburie. This cardinall was descended of the noble
house of Clarence, that is to saie, of one of the youn-
ger sones of Margaret countesse of Salisburie,
daughter of George duke of Clarence, brother to
H. Edward the fourth. So that hereby you haue a
prooof of the noblenesse of his birth, but how barba-
rous he was of behaviour, and how vnnaturall in
the course of his life (which blemished the honour of

his descent) it maie appeare by the order and maner
of his visitation in Cambridge, with the condem-
ning, taking vp, and burning both the bones and
bookes of Bucer and Paulus Iragins, as also by the
despitefull handling and madnesse of the papists to-
wards Peter Martyrs wife at Wyford, taken vp
from hir graue at the commandement of the said
cardinall, and after buried in a dunghill: so that in
his actions he shewed himselfe (as he is noted) ear-
nest in burning the bodie of the dead. And for fur-
ther testimonie of his crueltie, it shall not be impertie-
nent out of maister Fox, here to aduise and set forth
to the eyes of the world, the blind and bloudie arti-
cles set out by cardinall Pole, to be inquired vpon
within his diocess of Canturburie. Whereby it maie
the better appeare what pokes and snarres of fond
and fruitlesse traditions were laid vpon the poore
stocke of Christ, to intangle and oppresse them with
losse of life and libertie. By the which wise men haue
to see what gobbie fruits proceeded from that catho-
like church and see of Rome. In which albeit thou seest
(good reader) some good articles inspersed withall, let
that nothing moue thee: for else how could such poi-
son be ministered, but it must haue some honie to re-
lish the readers tast:

Here follow the articles set forth by cardinall

Pole, to be inquired in his ordinarie visitation, with-
in his diocess of Canturburie,

Touching the cleargie.



1st, whether the diuine seruice in the
church at times, daies and houres, be ob-
serued and kept due or no.

2 Item, whether the parsons, vicars,
and curats, do comlie and decentlie in their maners
and doings behaue themselves or no.

3 Item, whether they do reuerentlie and due mi-
nister the sacraments or sacramentals or no.

4 Item, whether anie of their parishioners do die
without ministration of the sacraments, through the
negligence of their curats or no.

5 Item, whether the said parsons, vicars or curats,
do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby
infamie and slander or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the
midwines how to christen children in time of neces-
sity, according to the canons of the church or no.

7 Item, whether they see that the font be comelie
kept, and haue holie water alwaies readie for chil-
dren to be christened.

8 Item, if they do keepe a booke of all the names of
them that be reconciled to the dutie of the church.

9 Item, whether there be anie priests, that late vni-
lawfullie had women vnder pretended marriage, and
hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their
names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they do diligentlie teach their
parishioners the articles of the faith, & the ten com-
mandements.

11 Item, whether they do decentlie obserue those
things that do concerne the seruice of the church, and
all those thinges that tend to a good and christian life,
according to the canons of the church.

12 Item, whether they do deuoutlie in their praiers
praise for the prosperous estate of the king and queens
maiesties.

13 Item, whether the said parsons and vicars do
sufficientlie repaire their chancels, rectories, and vi-
carages, and do keepe and mainteine them suffici-
entlie repared and amended.

14 Item, whether anie of them do preach or teach
anie erroneous doctrine, contrarie to the catholike
faith and vnitie of the church.

15 Item,

Cardinall
Pole earnest
in burning the
bones of the
dead.

Articles of
the cardinall
to be inquired
in his visita-
tion of Kent.

15 Item, whether anie of them do saie the diuine seruice, or do minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrarie to the vsuall order of the church.

16 Item, whether anie of them do suspiciouſlie keepe anie women in their houses, or do keepe companie with men suspected of heresies, or of euill opinions.

17 Item, whether anie of them that were vnder pretense of lawfull matrimonte married, and now reconciled, do priuile reſort to their pretended wiues, or that the said women do priuile reſort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they go decentlie apparelled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discret ministers, and whether they haue their crowns and beards shauen.

19 Item, whether anie of them do vse anie vnlawfull games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and euill report.

20 Item, whether they do keepe residence and hospitalitie vpon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the lawes ecclesiasticall.

21 Item, whether they do keepe the booke or register of christening, burying, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the laie people.

Articles of
cardinal Pole
to be inquired
vpon touching
the laitie.

E Item, whether anie maner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soeuer he be, do hold, mainteine, or affirme anie heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrarie to the lawes ecclesiasticall, and the vnitie of the catholike church.

2 Item, whether anie person do hold, affirme, or saie, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the reall and substantiall presence of Christ: or that by anie maner of meanes do contemne and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reuerence or worship therevnto.

3 Item, whether they do contemne or despise by anie maner of means anie other of the sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or denie auricular confession.

4 Item, whether anie do absent or reſtaine, with out vrgent and lawfull impediment, to come to the church, and reuerentlie to heare diuine seruice vpon sundais and holie daies.

5 Item, whether being in the church, they do not applie themselves to heare the diuine seruice, and to be contemplatiue in holie praier, and not to walke, fangle or talke in the time of the diuine seruice.

6 Item, whether anie be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds and receiuers of euill persons, or be vehementlie suspected of anie of them.

7 Item, whether anie do blasphemie and take the name of God in vaine, or be common swearers.

8 Item, whether anie be pertured, or haue committed simonie or vſurie, or do still remaine in the same.

9 Item, whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestlie repaired and inclosed.

10 Item, whether the churches be sufficientlie garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessarie, & whether they haue a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Marie and John, and an image of the patrone of the same church.

11 Item, whether anie do withhold, or doth draw from the church anie maner of monie or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

12 Item, whether anie be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of euill liuing, or do exercise anie lewd pastimes, especiallie in the time of diuine seruice.

13 Item, if there be anie that do practise or exer-

cise anie arts of magike, or necromancie, or do vse or practise anie incantations, sozceries, or witchcraft, or be vehementlie suspected thereof.

14 Item, whether anie be married in the degrees of affinity, or consanguinitie, prohibited by the lawes of holie church, or that do marrye, the banns not asked, or do make anie priuile contracts.

15 Item, whether in the time of Easter last, anie were not confessed, or did not receiue the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did vnreuerentlie behaue themselves in the receiuing thereof.

16 Item, whether anie do keepe anie secret conuenticles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion contrarie to the lawes.

17 Item, whether anie do now not duellie keepe the fasting and emburyng daies.

18 Item, whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the sacrament be caried deuoutlie to them that fall sicke, with light and with a little sacring bell.

20 Item, whether the common scholes be well kept, and that the scholemaisters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholike, and men of god and by right iudgement, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinarie.

21 Item, whether anie do take vpon them to minister the goods of those that be dead, without authoritie from the ordinarie.

22 Item, whether the poore people in euerie parish be charitable provided for.

23 Item, whether there do burne a lampe or a candle before the sacrament: and if there do not, that then it be provided for, with expedition.

24 Item, whether infants and childzen be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25 Item, whether anie do keepe or haue in their custodie anie erronious or vnlawfull books.

26 Item, whether anie do withhold anie monie or goods bequeathed to the amending of the high waies, or anie other charitable deed.

27 Item, whether anie haue put away their wiues, or anie wiues do withhold themselves from their husbands, being not lawfullie diuorced.

28 Item, whether anie do violat or breake the sundais and holie daies, doing their daillie labors and exercises vpon the same.

29 Item, whether the tanerns or alehouses, vpon the sundais and holie daies, in the time of masse, matins, and euenſong, do keepe open their doores, and do receiue people into their houses to drinke and eate, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to church.

30 Item, whether anie haue, or do depaue or contemne the authoritie or iurisdiction of the popes holinesse, or the see of Rome.

31 Item, whether anie minstrels, or anie other persons do vse to sing anie songs against the holie sacraments, or anie other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32 Item, whether there be anie hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and trulie obserued and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

33 Item, whether anie goods, plate, Jewels, or possessions be taken auaite, or withholden from the said hospitals, and by whome.]

Thus you see of what a malignant nature the cardinal was: neuertheless, of more lenitie than manie other popelings, fauoring of the like lewd leuener of antichristianisme. For at what time two and twentie prisoners for their conscience were apprehended

banded and sent by all together to London from Colchester (as maister Fox reporteth in his martyrologe) and conuicted before Boner then bishop of that see, the said Boner himselfe wrote to cardinall Pole concerning them, as you shall heare.

¶ A letter of bishop Boner to cardinall Pole.

Bishop Boner
wrote letter to
cardinall
Pole, concern-
ing the two
hereticks
preachers a-
gainst him.

May it please your god grace with my most humble obedience, reuerence and dutie, to vnderstand that going to London vpon thursdaie last, and thinking to be troubled with maister Germaines matter one lie, and such other common matters as are accustomed, inough to werte a right strong bodie, I had the daie following to comfort my stomach withall, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following I should haue sent thence two and twentie hereticks, indicted before the commissioners, and in deed so I had, and compelled to heare their charges as I did of the other, which both God me in aboue twentie nobles, a summe of monie that I thought full euill bestowed. And these hereticks, notwithstanding they had honest catholike keepers to conduct and bring them vp to me, and in all the waie from Colchester to Stratford of the bow, did go quietly, and obediently, yet coming to Stratford, they began to take heart of grace, & to do as pleased themselves, for there they began to haue their gard, which generallie increased till they came to Algate, where they were lodged friday night.

And albeit I toke order, that the said hereticks should be with me vntill earlie on saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me: yet it was betwene ten and eleven of the clocke before they would come, and no waie would they take, but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I toke verie strange, and spake to sir John Wresham then being with me, to tell the maior and the shiriffes that this thing was not well suffered in the citie. These naughty hereticks all the waie they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort. *A promissa plebe*, and being entred into my house and talked withall, they shewed themselves desperat and verie obstinat: yet I used all the honest meanes I could, both by my selfe and other, to haue twome them, causing discret learned men to talke with them: and finding nothing in them but pride & wilfulnesse, I thought to haue had them all hither to Fulham, and here to giue sentence against them. *Speuerthelesse*, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my dutie before I anie thing further proceeded herein, to aduertise first your grace hereof, and know your god pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trustie bearer. And thus most humble I take my leaue of your god grace, beseeching almighty God allwaies to preferre the same. At Fulham, *Postbridie* *Natus* 1556.

Your graces most bounden bedesman
and seruant Edmund Boner.

By this letter of bishop Boner to the cardinall (saith maister Fox) is to be vnderstood, what goodwill was in this bishop, to haue the blood of these men, and to haue past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinall somewhat (as it seemed) haue staied his feruent headnesse. Concerning the which cardinall, although it can not be

denied by his ads and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist: yet againe it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloudie and cruell sort of papists, as may appeare, not by raising the rage of this bishop: but also by his sollicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certaine papists, accusing him to the pope to be a bearer with the hereticks, and by the popes letters sent to him vpon the same, calling him vp to Rome, and setting friser Weto in his place, had not queene Marie by speciall intreatie made, kept him out of the popes danger. All which letters I haue (if need be) to shew: besides also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to sorrow the doctrine of Luther, and was no lesse suspected at Rome: yea, and furthermore did there at Rome connect a certaine learned Spaniard from papistrie to Wuthers doe: notwithstanding the pompe and glorie of the world afterward caried him a waie to plaie the papist thus as he did.

¶ And sth I haue waied thus far in portraising the said cardinall, I am willing to make you communicants of a report concerning him, offered by Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, in a sermon which he made vpon Palmesunday, in the yeare of our Lord 1539, before king Henrie the eight, treating vpon these words of saint Paule to the Philipians, Cap. 2. *Hic sentie in vobis, quod & in Christo Iesu, &c.* See the same minde in you, that was in Iesu Christ, &c. The ground of whose sermon standing vpon obedience and disobedience, after he had discoursed at large ther vpon, he fell into these words in presence of the king, the nobles, and people.

And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realme Reginald Pole, come of a noble blood, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from countrie to countrie, to stir them to warre against this realme, and to destroye the same, being his native countrie. Whose pestilent purpose albeit the princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abhominacion, both for that the bishop of Rome (who being a bishop should procure peace) is a stirrer of warre, and because this most arrant and unkind traitor is his minister to so diuillish a purpose to destroye the countrie that he was borne in, which anie heathen man would abhorre to do. But for all that without shame he still goeth on, exhorting ther vnto all princes that will heare him; who do abhorre to see such unnaturalnesse in anie man, as he shamelesse doth set forwards, whose pernicious treasons late secretlie wrought against this realme, haue bene, by the worke of almighty God so maruellouslie detected, and by his owne brother, without looking therefore so disclosed, and condigne punishment infused, that hereafter (God willing) they shall not take anie more such root to the nuisance of this realme.

¶ And where all nations of gentiles by reason & law of nature preferre their countrie before their parents, so that for their countrie they will die against their parents being traitors: this pestilent man worse than a pagan, is not ashamed to destroye if he could his native countrie. And whereas Curtius a heathen man was content for sauing of the citie of Rome where he was borne, to leape into a gaping of the earth, which by the illusions of the diuell it was answered should not be shut, but that it must first haue one; this pernicious man is content to run headlong into hell: so that he maie destroye thereby his native countrie of England, being in that behalfe incomparable worse than anie pagan. And besides

Cardinall
Pole a papist
but no bloudie
papist.

Cardinall
Pole halfe
suspected for
a Lutheran at
Rome.

Ab. Fl. ex
concione Cut.
Tunstalli coram
Hen. 8.

Cardinall
Pole an ar-
rant traitor.

Cardinall
Pole a scil-
lions fellow
and an impu-
dent.

Cardinall
Poles trea-
sons detected
by his owne
brother.

Cardinall
Pole no chris-
tian, but
worse than a
pagan.

Cardinall
Wolles vn-
kindnesse to
king Henrie
that brought
him vp.

See more
therof before
pag. 1134.

A traitor he
liued, a traitor
he died.

The distribu-
tion of his
goods.

Touching di-
spidations.

He is desir-
ous that
queene Marie
should haue
knowledge of
this his last
will.

* See pa. 865.

* See pa. 1069.

besides his pestilent treason, his unkindnesse against the kings maiestie, who brought him vp of a child, and promoted both him, and restored his blood being attainted, to be of the partes of this realme, and gaue him monie yerele out of his coffers, to find him honorable at studie, maketh his treason much more detestable to all the world, and him to be reputed more wilde and cruell than anie tiger.

Thus much out of Cutbert Tunstals sermon printed *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, by Thomas Berthelet, the yeare aboue named. Now it resteth to conclude this discourse concerning cardinall Wolle with a brieffe epitome of his last will and testament, which he made not long before he let his life, wherein he professeth him selfe resolute to die in the same faith and obedience of the Romish church wherein he liued; willing & ordeining his bodie to be buried in his cathedrall church of Canturburie (as he termeth it) in the same chappell where the head of the most blessed martyr Thomas Becket, whilome archbishop of the said church was kept: with masses & dirges, &c. to be said for his soule, the soules of his parents, and of all the faithfull departed out of this life, &c.

As for patrimoniall goods, sith he had none where by he ought to haue had regard of his kindred; therefore such goods as he had he willed to be distributed among such persons as had well deserved of him, and vpon godlie vles. He made one Aloisius Priolus a Venetian his heire and executor of all his goods and chattels, as well within England as without, in Spaine, Italie, Rome, Venice, or elsewhere, &c. And for disapidations, there is no reason (saith he) whie my successor in the see of Canturburie should demand anie thing, because I haue bestowed more than a thousand pounds within these few yeres, in repairing & making better such houses as belonged to the said see, since I came to it (which was no long time by our computation.) The ouerscers and defenders of this his last will he made Nicholas archbishop of Yorke chancelor of England, Thomas bishop of Ely, his consine the lord Edward Hastings the kings chamberleine, sir John Borall the queenes secretarie, sir Edward Cordall master of the rolles, and master Henrie Cole his vicar generall in his spiritualties. All these he besought to giue queene Marie knowledge of this his last will, and with all reuerence to beseech hir, that what good will and fauor she shewed him in all causes and affaires whiles he was aliue; the same she would vouchsafe to exhibit and bestow vpon him being dead, and gratioulie prouide that all lets and impediments to the execution of this his last will & testament might be removed and vtterlie taken awaie: and to euerie one of his ouerscers for their paines taking herein, he gaue fiftie pounds a peece by will. This testament was subscribed with his owne hand, and signed with his owne seale, in presence of a number of witnesses there vndernamed. All which, with the tenor of his said last will at large, are remembred by Scharidius in epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando imperatore. And thus much of cardinall Wolle.

Vpon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath bene done in the treatise of high constables at the duke of Buckinghamns beheading, and of the lord protectors at the duke of Summerseis suffering (in which two honorable personages those two offices had their end) so here we are to infer a collection of English cardinals, which order ceased when Reginald Wolle died. After which treatise ended, according to the purposed order, and a catalog of writers at the end of this queenes reigne annered, it remaineth that queene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir triumphs at hir gracious and glorious coronation.

The cardinals of England collected
by Francis Thin, in the yeare of our
Lord, 1585.



His cardinall Wolle being the last cardinall in England, and so likelie to be, as the state of our present time doth earnestlie wish; doth here offer occasion to treat of all such Englishmen as haue possessed that honoz. Which I onelie doe, for that I would haue all whatsoever monuments of antiquitie preserved, least. *Perdat memoria eorum cum saniti.* Wherefore thus I begin.

Adrian the fourth of that name bishop of Rome (called before that time Nicholas Breakespeare) being borne in England about saint Albons (whome Onuphrius affirmeth to be borne in the towne of Malmesberie, in the dominions of saint Albons, in the diocess of Bath, somewhat like a stranger mistaking the names of places and persons, as he often doth) was for the pouertie of his father (who after became a monk in saint Albons) not able to be maintained here at learning. Whereupon he goeth into Province to the monasterie of saint Rufus, whereof in time he was made a canon, and after abbat of that house; but in the end misliked of the convent, they appealed him to Rome before Eugenius the third then pope: who for that time pacifying the matter betwene them, they did after fall at variance againe, and so called him before the pope the second time. Eugenius seeing these continuall bzales, wearie to heare them, and fauoring this Nicholas, made them chose an other abbat, and appointed Nicholas to the bishopricke of Alba, and to the honoz of a cardinall, sending him legat into Denmarke and Portweie: where he remained some yeares. But at length returning to Rome after the death of Eugenius and his successor Anastasius, this Nicholas was aduanced from a cardinall to a pope, and called Adrian the fourth. Who died in the first yeare of Henrie the second king of England, in the yeare of Christ 1159.

Wolfe, an Englishman and cardinall, was not that Wolfe which was bishop of Yorke, of whome Bede maketh mention, lib. 4. cap. 13. and cap. 22. of his ecclesiasticall historie, where he saith that the same Wolfe was made bishop of the same see, in the yeare of Christ 678. And therefore being long before this Wolfe, our cardinall could not be the same man, as some vnconsideratie haue fittie maintained. For this our Wolfe was a cardinall deacon, and the nephew to pope Adrian the fourth before named; and intituled a deacon cardinall of the title of Cosma and Damian, in the yeare of Christ 1155, being after made a priest cardinall of the title of saint Prudentian, by pope Alexander the third, in the yeare of Christ 1163, before which he was chamberleine to the church of Rome, being created to his first cardinallship and office of chamberleine by his uncle the said pope Adrian the fourth.

Robert Curson, a man excellentlie learned both in diuine & humane letters, coming from Rome, grew in such estimation, that in the end he became a cardinall, of whom we find recored in this sort. At the taking of Dameta in Egypt, there was with Pelagius the popes legat, maister Robert Curson an Englishman a most famous cleark, borne of a noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.

Stephan Langhton made priest cardinall, in the yeare of Christ 1213, and the sixteenth yeare of pope Innocent the third, of the title of saint Chyppogon, was archbishop of Canturburie, for whose cause and contention betwene king John and him, the realme

Adrian the
fourth pope
Rome.
Hist. Paro-
lib. 2. cap. 26.
Onuphrius,
Mart. Patres,
Ranulph Hig-
den.

Wolfe.
Mart. Patres,
Onuphrius.

Robert Cur-
son.
Mart. Patres,
Mart. Paris,
Mart. Well,
Holmsted.

Stephan
Langhton.
Mart. Patres,
Mart. Paris,
Holmsted,
Onuphrius.

of England was long interdicted, the nobilitie was
dame, the king deposed, his kingdome made feo-
darie to Rome, and Pandolph the cardinall sent hi-
ther to receive the crowne of St. John. This Stephan
departed the world, in the twelfth yeare of Henrie
the third, and in the yeare of our redemption 1228.

Robert Somerest a cardinall, a man well este-
med for his vertue and learning, a graine writer, and
well beloved of all men, departed from the vanities
of this life, in the yeare of our saluation 1241, being
the five and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king
Henrie the third.

Ancherus citizen and archdeacon of London, was
made priest cardinall of the title of saint Praxedis,
by pope Urban the second, in the yeare that the world
became fleshy 1262, and the yeare of the long reigne
of king Henrie the third, the four and fortieth.

Robert de Kilwardie, whome Onuphrius calleth
Robert Wilberie frier preacher, doctor of divinitie
was removed from the archbishopricke of Can-
turburie to be bishop of Dornia, and afterward was
made cardinall of saint Rufinian by pope Nicholas
the third, in the yeare of Christ as some saie 1277,
and as others haue 1278, or 1273: being a-
bout the first yeare of Edward the first of that
name king of England; who died vnder the same
pope Nicholas, in the yeare of Christ 1280, as hath
Onuphrius.

Bernard de Anguiscelle was removed from the
archbishopricke of Arras, and made bishop of Boz-
tina and cardinall of saint Rufinian, being a bishop
cardinall, and advanced to that principalltie by pope
Martin the fourth of that name, in the yeare of our
redemption 1291, being about the nineteenth yeare
of the said Edward the first: whome Onuphrius
much mistaking himselfe maketh a Frenchman:
and Matthew Parker rightlie setteth him downe
as an Englishman.

Hugh Attrat priest cardinall, of the title of saint
Laurence in Lucina was created cardinall by
pope Martin the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord
1291: he was also called Hugh of Cuesham, and di-
ed at Rome in the yeare of Christ 1287, whilest the see
was vacant, being about the fiftieth yeare of Ed-
ward the first.

Bernard or rather Bernard a cardinall of Pre-
stina was advanced to the dignitie of a cardinall by
Nicholas the fourth of that name bishop of Rome in
the yeare (as I suppose) 1298, though some saie in the
yeare 1288, the error wherof I gather to be in the
printer.

Leonard Guercine bishop, cardinall of Alba
was recetued to the scarlet hat and robe by pope Bo-
nifacius the eighth, in the yeare of Christ 1300, being
the eight and twentieth of Edward the first.

William one of the order of the frier preachers
doctor of divinitie in Oxford, priest cardinall of the
title of saint Sabina, to which place he was adopted
by pope Benedict the eleventh, in the yeare 1303, be-
ing the one and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, in
which yeare he died in England.

Walter Wintborne (that came in place of
William last before named) doctor of divinitie of the
order of frier preachers, confessor to Edward the
first, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabi-
na, was by the said Benedict the eleventh admit-
ted to the college of cardinals in the yeare of Christ
1304, being the one and thirtieth yeare of Edward the
first, which Walter small time inioined that place, for
going with other cardinals into France, & so in-
to Italie, he died at Senoa or Gene, whose bodie be-
ing carried into England, was buried in the church
of the frier preachers in the yeare of Christ 1305, be-
ing the thre and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first.

Thomas Fozze a frier preacher doctor of divinitie
of Oxford, confessor to Edward the first, priest
cardinall of the title of saint Sabina was created by
pope Clement the fift in the yeare of Christ 1305, be-
ing the thre and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, or
(as saith Walsingham) a little before Christmasse in
the yeare of Christ 1306, who by him is also named
Fozza. This man (as hath Onuphrius) died in the
iornie he made as ambassador into Italie to Hen-
rie the seventh of that name emperor in the yeare
1311, & the seventh yeare of the pope dome of Cle-
ment the fift, who sent him in that ambassage: his
bodie was carried into England, and buried at Ox-
ford in a monasterie of the frier preachers.

Simon Langham abbat of Westminster, trea-
surer of England, bishop of Ely and of Canturbu-
rie, and chancelor of England, was elected to the
honor of the purple hat and cardinall dignitie, in the
yeare of our redemption 1368, being the two and
fortieth yeare of king Edward the third. And here be-
cause I would not set it downe in a distinct place, as
receivning it for truth, sith by search I find it not so,
that authoritie fouer they that wrote the same had
to lead them to it: I will note an oversight passed
the fingers of Fabian, Holinshed, and Gratton, all
writers of our age, who affirme that the bishop of
Winchester, in the five and fortieth yeare of king Ed-
ward the third, being a cardinall (for so I gather by
the words and circumstance of the storie) with the bi-
shop of Beaucotis likewise a cardinall, were put in
commission by pope Gregorie the eleventh to treat
betwixt the king of England and France. But be-
cause I can not find in Onuphrius nor in Matthew
Parker any such cardinall set downe, I do not at
this time embrace it, untill I may find better proofe
therof than the authoritie of Gratton, Fabian, and
those before named; especiallie sith that he which
was then bishop of Winchester in the said five and
fortieth yeare of Edward the third, and all they which
were bishops of Winchester from the first yeare of
the reigne of Edward the third, untill the yeare of
Christ 1404, in which Henrie Beaufort was bishop of
Winchester, were neuer cardinals: the said bishops
in orderlie succession thus named: Adam Diletie,
William de Edington, William Wickham, and
then Henrie Beaufort, who was a cardinall. But
these writers mistaking perchance the yeare of the
king, and the name of the bishops six, in the five and
fortieth yeare of Edward the third (in which yeare
John Thorsbie was cardinall as after followeth)
haue (in setting downe Winchester for Worcester
committed a fault) so casie it is for the printer or any
other to misplace and misname the one bishopricke for
the other.

John Thorsbie bishop of saint Davids in Wales
chancelor of England, bishop of Worcester, and af-
ter bishop of Poike, was made cardinall by Urban
the fift then bishop of Rome (as I suppose) before
the five and fortieth yeare of Edward the third. His
man surrendred his life in the yeare of our redem-
tion 1374, being the eight and fortieth yeare of king
Edward the third.

Adam priest cardinall of the title of saint Cle-
lia, was inuested with the dignitie of a scarlet hat in
the yeare of our redemption 1378, about the first
yeare of Richard the second. Holinshed mentioneth
one Adam Elton to be a cardinall, who (considering
the time when he lived) must needs be this man, of
whome he writeth in this sort: Adam Elton well
sene in all the tongs, was made a cardinall by pope
Gregorie the eleventh, but by pope Urban the first he
was committed to prison in Senoa (in the yeare
of our redemption 1383, being about the sea-
uenth yeare of Richard the second) and by contem-
plation

Thomas
Fozze.
Walsingham,
Nic. Trivet,
Matthew
Parker.
Onuphrius.

Simon
Langham.

John Thors-
bie.
Holinshed
and other
authors.

Adam.
Onuphrius.
Matthew
Parker.
Holinshed.
Matthew
Parker.
Holinshed.

plation of the said king Richard, was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered, untill the daies of Boniface the ninth, who (in the yeare of our redemption 1389, about the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second) restored the said Adam to his former dignitie: all which Holinshed speaketh of him amongst the writers of England, except the yeares of the Lord which I haue added out of Onuphrius, and the yeares of the king which I haue ioined of my selfe. Which Onuphrius maketh this Adam to be bishop of London, and to die in Rome the third calends of Maie, in the yeare of our sauiour 1397, being the one and twentieth of Richard the second, under Boniface the ninth pope of that name, and was buried in the place whereof he was intituled to the hono^r of a cardinal.

Philip de Repindone.
Onuphrius.
Matthew Parker.

Thomas.
Onuphrius.
Matthew Parker.
Liber Duncel.

Philip de Repindone bishop of Lincoln and doctor of diuinitie, was by pope Gregorie the twelfth, then bishop of Rome, in the yeare of Christ 1408, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth created cardinal of the title of saint Pereus and Achilleus.

Thomas bishop of Durham was made (as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our redemption 1411 by John the two and twentieth, commonlie called John the thre and twentieth) priest cardinal. Touching which matter there is no mention made in the life of Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham, and lining at this time that this Langleie was a cardinal: for this Thomas Langleie was made bishop of Durham in the yeare of our Lord 1406, and continued in that see one and thirte yeares, departing the world 1437, and so the creation of this Thomas bishop of Durham mentioned by Onuphrius and Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1411 must needs fall in the life of this Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Robert.
Onuphrius.
Matthew Parker.

Robert bishop of Salisbury priest cardinal (although it be not shewed of what title) was preferred to that place by pope John the thre and twentieth in the yeare of our redemption 1411, being about the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, of whom Onuphrius writteth in this sort: *Roberti episcopi Sarisburiensis presbyteri cardinalis, & Egidij de campis presbyteri cardinalis gesta & exitus, quod nunquam Romanam curiam adierint, incerti & obscuri omnino sunt. Satis tamen constat, eos ante papae Martini electionem mortuos fuisse.*

Henrie Beaufort.

Henrie Beaufort, sonne unto John of Gant and Batharine Swineford, being bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, toke the state of a cardinal (of the title of saint Eusebius) at Calis, being absent (as hath Matthew Parker) in the yeare of our redemption 1426: in the first yeare of king Henrie the first. He was called the rich cardinal of Winchester, being aduanced to that hono^r by Martine the third, commonlie called Martine the first then pope of Rome. This Henrie died under pope Nicholas the first in the yeare of Christ 1447: being about the first & twentieth yeare of the miserable reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Stafford.
Onuphrius.
Matthew Parker.

John Stafford bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, after bishop of Canturburie, was created priest cardinal by Eugenius then bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the world became flesh 1454: being the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Kempe.
Holinshed.
Polydor.
Onuphrius.

John Kempe bishop of London, twise lord chancellor of England, bishop of Exeter, and after that archbishop of Canturburie, was by Eugenius the fourth then archbishop of Rome, made cardinal of the title of saint Sabina, as saith Holinshed, or therwise by Onuphrius called Sabina: contrarie to Polydor, who in his thre and twentieth booke of the histoye of England, affirmeth him to be cardinal:

ted by pope Nicholas the first. He died (as saith Onuphrius) in the yeare that the godhead was united to the manhood, to wit, one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, under pope Nicholas the first, which yeare of our Lord met with the five and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

Thomas Bourcher (borne of the noble house of the earles of Essex, being chancellor of England, bishop of Worcester, from thence remoued to Exeter, from that he aduanced to the metropolitan see of Canturburie, and priest cardinal of the title of saint Satriacus in Theremis or the Baths) was honored with the scarlet hat and siluer pillars, by pope Paule the second of that name, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie toke vpon him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred fiftie & five, being the first yeare of the reigne of the noble prince king Edward the fourth.

John Morton bishop of Elye chancellor of England & archbishop of Canturburie, being priest cardinal of the title of saint Anastasius, was honored with a scarlet hat by Alexander the first of that name (then gouernour of the seat of Peter at Rome) in the yeare from the birth of Christ 1493, being the ninth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seauenth. He died as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred, being about the eight yeare of Alexander the first still pope of Rome, and the sixteenth yeare of the said Henrie the seauenth then king of England.

Christopher Bemydage a gentleman borne, was archbishop of Exeter, & priest cardinal of the title of S. Maribus, was aduanced to that scarlet dignitie by pope Julius the second, in the yeare that the virgin was deliuered of our sauiour one thousand five hundred & eleuen, being the third yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight. He died at Rome, (as saith Onuphrius) by poison, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie yeares (being the eleuenth yeare, when Leo the tenth did hold the sterne of the Romane bishopricke, & the first yeare when the said Henrie the eight did rule the scepter of England) and was buried at Rome in the church of the holie trinitie of the English nation.

Thomas Wolleie the kings almoner, deane of Exeter, abbat of saint Albons, and of saint Austins, bishop of Lincoln, Winchester, and Exeter, chancellor of England: all which he saue two he held at one time in his owne hands, was made priest cardinal of the title of saint Cecilia, whereunto he was promoted by pope Leo the tenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and fiftene, being the seauenth yeare of the reigne of the famous king Henrie the eight, of whom Onuphrius somethat mistaking the pronuntiation of his name thus writteth: *Thomas Wlcer ex oppido Sufforth diocesis Nordaensis, &c.* wherein like a stranger to our countreim he mistaketh both name, toborne, place, and the prouince of Suffolke for the towne of Ipswich. For this cardinal Wolleie being descended of meane parentage, was borne in the towne of Ipswich now called Ipswich in the prouince or countrie of Suffolke in the diocesse of the bishopricke of Exeter.

John Fisher bishop of Rochester priest cardinal of the title of saint Vitalis, was (although he neuer came at Rome, nor for any thing that I can learne was euer out of England) created cardinal at Rome, by Paule the third of that name, then wearing the triple crownd miter, and being bishop of Rome. But this Fisher neuer wore his scarlet hat: for after this high dignitie and before he might couer his priestlie crowne with the same, he lost his head, in the yeare from which the angels sang at the birth of the Christas one thousand five hundred thirtie and five.

Thomas Bourcher.
Onuphrius.
Matthew Parker.
Holinshed.
Polydor.

John Morton.
Onuphrius.
Matthew Parker.
Polydor.
Holinshed.

Christopher Bemydage.
Matthew Parker.
Onuphrius.

Thomas Wolleie.

John Fisher.

five, being the seaven and twentieth of the reigne of that king Henrie the eight, which deliuered his kingdome from all subiection to the bishop of Rome Clement the seauenth of that name.

Reginald Pole.

Reginald Pole, noble borne, a yong sonne to sir Richard Pole knight of the garter, by his wife Margaret countesse of Salisbury, daughter to George duke of Clarence brother to K. Edward the fourth, was made deacon cardinall of the title of saint Saviour in Cosmeden, by pope Paule the third of that name, in the yeare that the mother of God brought forth the sonne of man 1536, being the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. This man legat of pope Julius the third, comming into England in the yeare of our Lord 1554, being the second yeare of queene Maries reigne, was after made bishop of Canturburie, on the five and twentieth of March, in the yeare of Christ 1556, being the third yeare of the reigne of the said queene Marie, and died the seauententh daie of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ 1558, being the last daie of the reigne of the said queene Marie, or rather the next daie erlie in the morning, at his house at Lambeth, and was honorable conueied to Canturburie, where he was buried. This man was the last English cardinall that liued and intioied that title of honour in England. For although the English cardinall which folloiweth were created after him, yet I suppose that he died much before him: but he liued not in England at the same time that cardinall Pole died, as farre as I can learne. Therefore I still make this cardinall Pole the last English cardinall that was liuing in England.

Herbert.

Peter Peto, borne of an ancient familie, and one of the order of the frier minors obseruants (whome Onuphrius calleth *Anglialegatus*) was created cardinall by Paule the fourth of that name, chiefe bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1557, being the fift yeare of queene Marie. Besides this number of thirtie cardinals, there haue been manie other to the number of ten or more, before the time that pope Innocent the first of that name did weald the charge of the Romane bishopricke, as Matthew Parker late bishop of Canturburie a worshipfull antiquarie doth witnesse, and I my selfe haue obserued, besides those which Onuphrius and the said Matthew Parker (in the Latine booke of the archbishops of his owne see) haue recited. But because neither they nor I haue yet attained to their names, we must and doe omit them: and yet it may be that these three which follow, named by Onuphrius being English names, were Englishmen, and part of the said number of ten cardinals, whose names we doe not know, which three cardinals were Hugh Foliot, Peter Poxtmer, and Simon Bate. But because I cannot certainlie gather out of Onuphrius that they were Englishmen, I dare not presume so to make them; though in mine owne conceit I verelie suppose that they were borne in England: for in vncertaine matters I dare not set downe anie certaintie.

Therefore to set end to this cardinals discourse, I will knit by this matter with one onelie note drawne out of Matthew Parkers befozenamed booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, which is as folloiweth: That this number and remembrance of our cardinals is not so wonderfull as is that computation of the Romane bishops, which pope John the two and twentieth of that name hath gathered of his predecessors. For he doth recite that out of the order of saint Benet or Benedict (whereof himselfe was) there haue issued foure and twentie popes, 183 cardinals, 1464 archbishops, 3502 bishops, and abbats innumerable. Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke

intituled the Pantographie of England, containing the vniuersall description of all memoizable places and persons, aswell temporall as spiritual) I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much Francis Thin, who with the whele of George Ripley canon of Bridlington, after the order of circulation in alchymicall art, and by a geometrickall circle in naturall philosophie doth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Pole, the last liuing cardinall in England, by whose death the said Francis took occasion to passe about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme.]

Of such learned men as had written and did liue in the reigne of queene Marie there were manie, of whome no small number ended their liues also during that short time of hir reigne, some by fire, and others in exile. John Rogers borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises, translated the bible into English with notes, and published the same vnder the name of Thomas Mattheu, he suffered in Smithfield the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare 1555. Nicholas Ridley bishop first of Rochester, and after of London, suffered at Wyndesore in the said yeare 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leicestershire, sometime bishop of Worcester, a notable preacher, and a most reuerend father, suffered at the same place, and in the same daie and yeare with bishop Ridley. John Hooper borne in Summersetshire, bishop first of Gloucester, and after of Worcester, suffered at Gloucester in the yeare of our Lord 1555. John Bradford, borne in Manchester, a notable towne in Lancashire, a sober, mild, and discret learned man, suffered at London the first of Iulie in the said yeare 1555.

Learned men
in queene
Maries
reigne.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester borne in the towne of saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke, of king Henrie the eighths counsell, and in king Edwards daies committed to ward within the towre, released by queene Marie, made lord chancellor, and so died a stout champion in defence of the popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the professours of the gospell. John Hilpot borne in Hamshire, sonne to sir Peter Hilpot knight, was archdeacon of Winchester, ended his life by fire in the yeare aforesaid 1555, the 18 of December, going then on the foure & fortieth yeare of his age. Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghamshire, archbishop of Canturburie, a worshipfull prelat, in sundrie vertues right commendable, suffered at Wyndesore the one and twentieth of March, one thousand, five hundred, fiftie and six. Richard Foxton knight, borne in Wyndesore, wrote diuerse treatises, and deceased at Strausburge the 17 of March 1556. John Poinet borne in Kent, bishop of Rochester first, & after of Winchester, deceased likewise at Strausburgh, about the tenth or eleuenth of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1556.

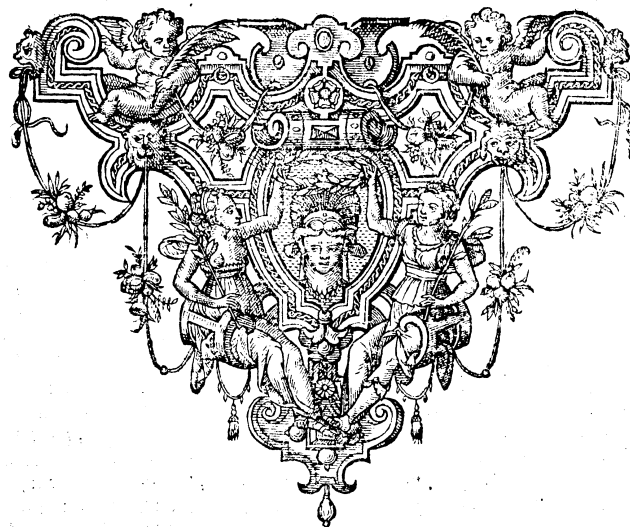
Robert Recorde a doctor of physike, and an excellent philosopher, in arithmetike, astrologie, cosmographie, and geometrie most skillfull, he was borne in Wales, descended of a good familie, and finally departed this life in the daies of queene Marie. Bartholomew Traheron descended of a worshipfull house in the west parts of England, drane of Chichester, departed this life in Germanie, where he liued in exile, about the latter end of queene Maries reigne. Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop first of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancashire of a right worshipfull familie, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it may appeare, doctor of both the laies, departed this life in the yeare 1559. Richard Sampson bishop of Couentrie & Lichfield wrote certieue treatises, & departed this life 1555. Lucas Shepherd borne in Colchester in Essex, an English poet. Jane Doublet daughter

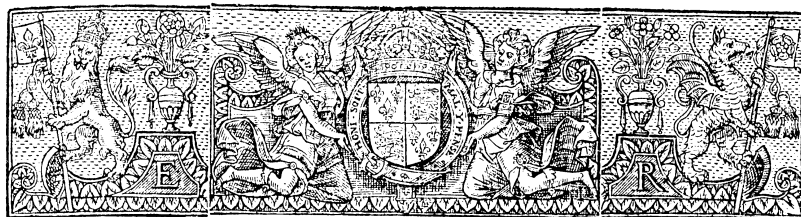
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daughter unto Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, wrote diuerse things highlie to hir commendation, of whome yee haue heard moze before here in this historie; William Thomas a Welshman borne, of whome yee haue likewise heard how he suffered for treason, wrote the historie of Italie, and other things verie eloquentlie; James Hookes a doctoꝝ of diuinitie, John Standish a doctoꝝ likewise of the same profession, great defenders of the popes doctrine, as by their woꝝkes appeareth; William Perine a blacke frier by profession, and a doctoꝝ also of diuinitie, wrote in defense of the masse, and preached sermons which were printed of like stasse; John Baret borne in Lin, a doctoꝝ of diuinitie, and sometime a Car-

melit frier, but reuolting from the popes religion, he became an earnest setter foꝝth of the gospell, but euenly he fell off, and returned to his former opinions now in the daies of queene Marie; Henrie lord Stafford, sonne to Edward duke of Buckingham, amongst other things which he wrote, he translated a booke out of Latine into English, intituled *Finis que potestatis differentia*, that is, The difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as some thinke) was first compiled and set foꝝth by Edward Fox bishop of Hereford; John Hopkins translated diuerse psalmes of the psalter into English meter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the churches of England.

Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight.





The peaceable and prosperous regiment of blessed Queene Elisabeth, second daughter to king Henrie the eight.



After all the stormie, tempestuous, and blustering windie weather of queene Marie was overblowne, the darke some clouds of discontent dispersed, the palpable fogs and mists of most intollerable misery consumed, and the dashing thunders of persecution overpast: it pleased God to send England a caline and quiet season, a cleare and louchie sunshine, a quietest from former broiles of a turbulent estate, and a world of blessings by good queene Elisabeth: into whose gracious reigne we are now to make an happie entrance as followeth.

When true knowledge was had that queene Marie was deceased, who left hir life in this world the seventeenth daie of Nouember, as is before mentioned in the latter end of hir historie in the time of a parlement, the lords that were assembled in the upper house, being resolved according to the lawes of the land, to declare the ladie Elisabeth sister to the said queene to be verie true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatlie to the speaker of the parlement, willing him with the knights and burgesses of the neather house, without delaye to repaire unto them into the upper house, for their assents in a case of great importance. Who being come thither, after silence made (as the manner is) the archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, whose name was Nicholas Weth, doctor in diuinitie, stood up and pronounced in effect these words follow-
ing.

The cause of your calling hither at this time, is to signifie unto you, that all the lords here present are certeinlie certified, that God this present morning hath called to his mercie our late soueraigne ladie queene Marie. Which hap as it is most heauie and grauous unto vs, so haue we no lesse cause another waie to reioice with praise to almighty God; for that he hath left unto vs a true, lawfull and right inheritance to the crowne of this realme, which is the ladie Elisabeth, second daughter to our late soueraigne lord of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and sister to our said late queene, of whose most lawfull right and title in the succession of the crowne (thanks be to God) we need not to doubt. Therefore the lords of this house haue determined with your assents and consente, to passe from hence into the palace, and there to proclaime the said ladie Elisabeth queene of this realme, without further tract of time. Whereunto the whole house answered with euident appearance of joy, God saue queene Elisabeth, long may queene

Elisabeth reigne ouer vs. And so this present parlement being dissolved by the act of God, the said lords immediatlie calling vnto them the kings and principall heralds at armes, went into the palace of Westminster, and directlie before the hall doore in the fore none of the same daie, after seuerall soundings of trumpets made, in most solemne manner, proclaimed the new queene, by this name and title: Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the great comfort and reioicing of the people, as by their maners and countenances well appeared. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the said lords, to wit the duke of Norfolke, the lord treasurer, the earle of Arford, and diuerse other lords and bishops, with all speed repaired into the citie of London, where the like proclamation was made in the presence of them, and also of the lord maiour and aldermen in their scarlet gowns, at the crosse in Cheape, with no lesse vniuersall joy and thanksgiuing to God of all the hearers. And so our most gracious soueraigne ladie queene Elisabeth began hir happie reigne ouer this realme of England, to the great comfort and gladnesse of all estates christianlie minded and disposed, vpon the foresaid seventeenth day of Nouember,

(*lux hac venerabilis Anglis,*

Hæc est illa dies alio signando lapillo

saith the poet) in the yeare after the creation of the world, five thousand, five hundred, twentie and five, after the birth of our saviour one thousand, five hundred, fiftie and eight; of the empire of Ferdinand the first emperor of Rome bearing that name, the first; in the twelue yeare of the reigne of Henrie the second of that name French king; and in the fiftieth yeare of the reigne of Marie queene of Scotland.

On wednesday the thre and twentieth of Nouember, the queenes maiestie removed from Hatfield, vnto the Charter house in London, where she lodged in the lord Poorths house: in which removing, and comming thus to the citie, it might well appeare how comfortable hir presence was to them that went to receiue hir on the waie, and likewise to the great multitudes of people that came abroad to see hir grace, shewing their reioicing hearts in countenance and wordes, with hartie prayers for hir maiesties prosperous estate and preservation: which no doubt were acceptable to God, as by the sequels of things it may certeinlie be believed, sith his diuine maiestie hath so directed hir doings, that if euer the commonwealth of this land hath flourished, it may rightlie be said, that in hir most happie reigne it hath bene most flourishing, in peace, quietnesse, and due administration of iustice, mixed with mercifull clemencie, so as those which cannot content themselves with the present

The ladie Elisabeth proclaimed queene.

The beginning of queene Elisabeths prosperous reigne.

1558

The queenes removing from Hatfield.

The flourishing estate of this land vnder queene Elisabeth.

sent state of things vnder his rule, no doubt they are such famous creatures, as will not rest satisfied with any kind of gouernement, be it neuer so iust and commendable. From the which sort of men the Lord deliver his roiall maiestie, and all his true and louing subiects, and preserve him in long life to all our comforts, and continue him in such happie proceedings as the hath begun, to the end.

On mondaie the eight and twentieth of Nouember, about two of the clocke in the afternone, his grace remoued againe, and taking his chariot, rode from my lord Po:th house alongst Barbican, and entring by Crisplegate into the citie, kept along the wall to Bishops gate, and so by blanch Chapleton vnto Marke lane. At his entring into blanch Chapleton, the artillerie in the towre began to go off, continually shooting for the space almost of halfe an houre, but yet had made an end before his maiestie was aduanced to Werkin church, and so with great ioy and pease of people, of whom all the streets were full as he passed, declaring their inward reioysings by gesture, words, and countenance, he entered the towre, where he continued till the fift of December being mondaie, on the which daie, he remoued by water vnto Summerset place in the Strond, where he arrived about ten of the clocke in the forenone the same daie.

On thursdaie betwene two and thre in the morning the eight of December 1558 in the first yeare of our soueraigne ladie quene Elifabeths reigne died in the towre of London, that honorable man sir Thomas Cheneie knight of the order, treasurer of his maiesties most honorable household, warden of the cinque ports, & of his highnesse priuie counsell, whose pulses by the report of his surgeon laboured more than thre quarters of an houre after his death, so strenght as though life had not bene absent from the bodie. By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the rouest face of death to behold for one of his yeares that euer he saw, and died so quietlie and patientlie, that neither his face, mouth, eyes, hands, or feet were vncomelie vled in the changing of this his life.

For twentie yeares before his departure, he kept in his habite continually winter and summer twentie great hoyle at the least, and eight or nine geldings, besides sixtene or seuentene geldings which were kept at grasse, and had in a readinesse furniture for them all to serue in the field: and no one of the same hoyle or geldings but he was able and readie for any man at armes to serue vpon. Beside this he kept so bountifull a house, and was so liberall and good to his men, that well was that noble mans son, gentlemen sonne, or other that might happen to be preferred into his seruice. And againe, the number of his seruants to whom he gaue liueries were 205, wherof in household were sir scoze, besides strangers that were baillie comming and going. And his seruants had no iust cause, either for lacke of great wages trulie paid them euery quarter, and boordwages euery fundae, or plentie of meat and drinke, & lodging on good featherbeds to lue out of order. And such commoditie as might by chance fall within the iurisdiction of his office of wardenrie, being a thing fit for his men, he neuer turned the same to his owne vse, but alwaies gaue it them. Whether this realme hath not lost a worthe subiect, and speciallie his men a good maister, let all men iudge that knew him.

Before his departure out of this world, he seemed to haue a great care for his men, thinking least without some prouision for them, they would after his death run at randon and lue disorderlie, which like a noble man he prevented after this liberall sort as followeth. In his last will and testament, to some he

gaue annuities during life, and to others a whole yeares wages after his death; but both to the one sort and the other he prouided that all things which he ought them might be paid: and also so long as they vled themselves like honest men, and were not retened in seruice, they should haue meat, drinke, and lodging at his house, till his sonne now lord Cheneie came to his lawfull age, which was the space of thre yeares, in no lesse or worse maner than they were wont and accustomed to haue in his life time. In his last will he also remembred some of his friends, as well those of nobilitie and worship, as others, some with one gift and some with another, desiring them to assist his executors for the performance of his last will.

His wit, experience, courtesie, and valiantnesse in seruice was such, as king Henrie the eight, and his children, to wit, king Edward the first, quene Marie, and quene Elifabeth vled him as one of all their priuie counsell, and was treasurer of all their honorable households during his life. He was brought vp in king Henrie the seuenths house, & was one of his henchmen. So that it appeareth before he died, he had serued thre kings, and two quenes. His truth was such to all these princes, that he euer liued towards them *Sine macula*, seruing in the court thre scoze yeares. And although he bare this great faile, yet prouided he to paie euery man iustlie that he ought them. His bountifullnesse, liberalitie, and courtesie to diuerse noble men, gentlemen and others, attending in the court was such, that they were ever glad to haue him there amongst them; and his stoutnesse & halie courage was such, and so well known to the Frenchmen, as they both feared and loued him wonderfullie. In the end he was so worthe a gentleman, and such a necessarie member in the commonwealth, as his want cannot but be lamented of all good and true English hart. But the almightie must be serued when his god will and pleasure is.

The thirteenth of December being tuesdaie, the corps of quene Marie was right honorable conueied from his manor of St. James, vnto the abbey of Westminster. His picture was laid on the coffin, apparelled in his roiall robes, with a crowne of gold set on the head thereof, after a solemne manner. In the abbey was a rich and sumptuous hearle prepared and set vp with war, and richlie decked with pennons, banners, and scutcheons, of the armes of England and France, vnder which hearle the corpse rested all that night, and the next daie it was brought into the new chappell, where king Henrie the seuenth lieth, and was interred there in the chappell on the north side.

The foure and twentieth of December, being the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a solemne obsequie kept in the abbey church of Westminster, for Charles the seuenth late emperor, who departed this life in September last, the one and twentieth of the same moneth, in the monastrie of St. Iustus in Casile, being then of age about eight and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the empire before he renounced the same a sir and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Casile, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, and others, aboute fortie yeares.

Moreouer in this yeare 1558 there died two of the said emperors sisters, that went with him into Spaine, after he had resigned the empire, to wit, quene Leonor, first married vnto Emmanell king of Portugall, and after his decesse vnto the French king Francis the first of that name: she decessed in Februarie last past. His other sister Marie, quene of Hungarie, late regent of the low countries, decessed on saint Lukes daie, the eighteenth of October last past. And so the one prouenting him, the other

His grace remoued to the tower.

His remouing to Summerset house.

Abr. Flex manuscripto Hen. Tennant. The death of sir Thomas Cheneie lord warden of the cinque ports.

His hoyle for seruice which proued him to be a lover of chianrie.

The like is reported of cardinall wolsey when he was in the flower of his prosperitie.

But how manie be there now that will giue away the profits of their office to their seruants?

The decess of the quene of France.

The decess of the quene of Hungarie.

taried not long after him, in so much that king Philip did celebrate the eueriges in the towne of Brusels, of his father the emperor, of his aunt sparie queene of Hungary, and of his wife sparie queene of England, in this present moneth of December subsequente, after the most pompous and solemne manner.

On sundae the first of Januarie, by vertue of the queenes proclamation, the English letanie was read accordingly as was vsed in hir graces chappell in churches through the citie of London. And likewise the epistle and gospel of the daie began to be read in the same churches at masse time in the English tong, by commandement given by the lord maior, according to the tenour of the same proclamation, published the thirtieth of the last month. On thursdaie the twelue of Januarie, the queenes maiestie removed from hir palace of Westminster by water unto the tower of London, the lord maior and aldermen in their barge, and all the citizens with their barges decked and trimmed with targets and banners of their mysteries accordingly attending on hir grace.

The bacheliers barge of the lord maiors companie, to wit, the mercers had their barge with a foist trimmed with three tops, and artillerie aboard, gallantlie appointed to wait upon them, shooting off lustilie as they went, with great and pleasant melodie of instruments, which plaied in most sweet and beaudent manner. Hir grace that the bidge about two of the clocke in the after none, at the still of the ebbe, the lord maior and the rest following after hir barge, attending the same, till hir maiestie took land at the prime staires at the tower wharfe: and then the said lord maior with the other barges returned, passing through the bidge againe with the fload, and landed at the wharfe of the three cranes in the Chinitie. Upon saturday, which was the fourteenth daie of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1558, about two of the clocke at after none, the most noble and christian princeesse, our most dread souereigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: marched from the tower, to passe thorough the citie of London toward Westminster, richlie furnished, and most honourable accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilitie of this realme, as also with a notable traine of goodlie and beautiful ladies, richlie appointed.

At hir entring the citie, she was of the people received marvellous interlie, as appeared by the assemblies praiers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, and all other signes, which argued a wonderfull earnest loue of most obedient subiects towards their souereigne. And on the other side, hir grace by holding by hir hands, and merrie countenance to such as stood farre off, and most tender and gentle language to those that stood nigh unto hir grace, did declare hirselfe no lesse thankefullie to receiue hir peoples good will, than they longlie offered it unto hir. So all that wished hir grace well, she gaue heartie thanks; & to such as bad God saue hir grace, she said againe God saue them all, and thanked them with all hir hart. So that on the other side there was nothing but gladnesse, nothing but praier, nothing but comfort. The queenes maiestie reioiced marvellouslie to see that so exceedinglie she was towards hir grace, which all good princes have euer desired, & meant so earnest loue of subiects, so euidentlie declared euen to hir graces owne person, being caried in the midst of them.

The people againe were wonderfullie ransied with the louing answers and gestures of their princeesse, like to the which they had before tried at hir first

comming to the tower from Hatfield. This hir graces louing behauiour preconceiued in the peoples heads, upon these considerations was then thoroughlie confirmed, and in deed implanted a wonderfull hope in them touching hir worthie gouernment in the rest of hir reigne. For in all hir passage she did not onelie shew hir most gracious loue toward the people in generall, but also prouidlie if the baser personages had either offered hir grace any flowers, or such like, as a signification of their good will, or moued to hir any sute; she most gentle, to the common reioicing of all the lookers on, and prouidly forsook that partie, staied hir chariot, and heard their requests. So that if a man would saie well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage, wherein was shewed the wonderfull spectacle of a noble hearted princeesse towards hir most loving people, and the peoples exceeding comfort in beholding so worthie a souereigne, & hearing so prince-like a voice, which could not but haue set the entrie on fire, with the vertue is in the entrie alwaie commended, much more could not but inflame hir natural, obedient, and most louing people, whose weale leaneth onelie upon hir grace, and hir gouernment.

Thus therefore the queenes maiestie passed from the tower, till she came to Fanchurch, the people on each side ioyouslie beholding the sight of so gracious a ladie their queene, and hir grace no lesse gladlie noting and obseruing the same. Here unto Fanchurch was erected a scaffold richlie furnished, whereon stood a noyse of instruments, and a child in coslie apparell, which was appointed to welcome the queenes maiestie in the whole cities behalfe. Against which place when hir grace came, of hir owne will she commanded the chariot to be staied, and that the noyse might be appeased, till the child had uttered his welcoming oration, which he spake in English as here followeth:

O peerlesse souereigne queene,
Behold what this thy towne
Hath thee presented with,
at thy first entrance heere:
Behold with how rich hope
she leades thee to thy crowne,
Behold with what two gifts,
she comforteth thy cheere.
The first is blessing toongs,
which manie a welcome saie,
Which praie thou maist doe well,
which praie thee to the skie.
Which wish to thee long life,
which blesse this happie daie,
Which to thy kingdome heapes
all that in toongs can lie.
The second is true hearts,
which loue thee from their root,
Whose sure is triumph now,
and ruleth all the game,
Which faithfullnesse haue woone,
and all verith driven out,
Which skip for ioy, when as
they heare thy happie name.
Welcome therefore o queene,
as much as heart can thinke;
Welcome againe o queene,
as much as toong can tell;
Welcome to ioyous toongs,
and hearts that will not shrink,
God thee preferue we praie,
and with thee euer well.

At which words of the last line, all the people gaue a great shout, wishing with one assent as the child had said. And the queens maiestie thanked most heartilie both the citie for this hir gentle receiving at the first, & also the people for confirming the same.

Tit. liij.

The citie of London a stage for the time of this solemnitie.

A scaffold set up at Fanchurch with melodie, &c.

These verses were uttered by a child to the queene who gaue good eare to them.

Here was noted in the queenes maiesties countenance, during the time that the child spake, besides a perpetuall attentiuensse in his face, a marvellous change in looke, as the childes words either touched his person, or the peoples tongues and hearts. So that the with reioicing visage did euidentlie declare that the words toke no lesse place in his mind, than they were most heartlie pronounced by the child, as from all the hearts of his most heartie citizens. The same verses were fastened vp in a table vpon the scaffold, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses in another table, as herafter insucth:

The verses in Latine which the child uttered to the queene in English.

*Pro tua qua ingressu dedit tibi munera primo,
O regina parem non habitura, vide.
Ad diadema tuum, te spe quam diu te mittat,
Qua aulo latitua des tibi dona, vide.
Munus habes primum, linguas bona multa precantes,
Que te quum laudant, tum pia vota sonant,
Felicemque diem hunc dicunt, tibi sa cula longa
Optant, & quicquid deniq; longa potest.
Alter dona ferens, vera, & tuti amantia corda,
Quorum gens ludum iam reget una tuum.
In quibus est infracta fides, falsumq; perosa,
Quaq; tuo audito nomine lata salit.
Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concepit illum,
Quantum lingua potest dicere, grata venis.
Cordibus infractis, linguasq; per omnia late
Grata venis: saluam te velit esse Dem.*

A great stage erected and verie sumptuous at Gratiuous street.

Now when the child had pronounced his oration, and the queenes highnesse so thankfullie had received it, she marched forward toward Gratiuous street, where at the upper end before the signe of the eagle, the citie had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arch as here followeth. A stage was made which extended from the one side of the street to the other, & ridlie baluted with battlements containing thre ports, and ouer the middlemost was aduanced thre several stages in degrees.

The unitie of the white rose and the red.

Vpon the lowest stage was made one seat rofall, wherein were placed two personages, representing king Henrie the seuenth, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of king Edward the fourth; either of these two princes sitting vnder one cloth of estate in their seates, none otherwise diuided, but that the one of them which was king Henrie the seuenth, proceeded out of the house of Lancaster, was inclosed in a red rose, and the other which was queene Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, inclosed with a white rose, each of them rofallie crowned, and decentlie appareled, as appertineth to princes, with scepters in their hands, and one balut surmounting their heads, wherein aptlie were placed two tables, each containing the title of those two princes. And these personages were so set, that the one of them ioined hands with the other, with the ring of matrimonie perceived on the finger. Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed vppward to the second stage or degree, wherein was placed one representing the valiant & noble prince king Henrie the eight, which sprang out of the former stocke, crowned with a crowne imperall, and by him sat one representing the right worthie ladie queene Anne, wife to the said king Henrie the eight, and mother to our most soueraigne ladie queene Elizabeth that now is, both appareled with scepters and diadems, and other furniture due to the state of a king and queene, and two tables surmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

Vertuous queene Anne mother to gratiuous queene Elizabeth.

From their seat also proceeded vppward one branch, directed to the third and vppermost stage or degree, wherein likewise was planted a seat rofall, in the which was set one representing the queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, now our most

deare soueraigne ladie, crowned and appareled as the other princes were. Out of the fore part of this pageant was made a standing for a child, which at the queens maiesties comming declared vnto him the whole meaning of the said pageant. The two sides of the same were filled with lowd noises of musicke. And all emptie places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning vnitie, and the whole pageant garnished with red roses and white. And in the fore front of the same pageant, in a faire wreath, was written the name and title of the same, which was, The uniting of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke. This pageant was grounded vpon the queens maiesties name. For like as the long warre betwene the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster then ended, when Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth married in marriage with Henrie the seuenth, heire to the house of Lancaster: so sith that the queenes maiesties name was Elizabeth, & for so much as she is the onelie heire of Henrie the eight, which came of both the houses, as the knitting vp of concord: it was deuised, that like as Elizabeth was the first occasion of concord, so the another Elizabeth, might mainteine the same among his subjects, so that vnitie was the end whereat the whole deuise shot, as the queenes maiesties name moued the first ground.

The pageant now against the queenes maiesties comming was addressed with children, representing the forenamed personages, with all furniture due vnto the setting forth of such a matter well meant, as the argument declared costlie and sumptuouslie set forth, as the beholders can beare witnesse. Now the queenes maiestie drew nere vnto the said pageant. And for so much as the noise was great, by reason of the pzease of people, so that she could scarce heare the child which did interpret the said pageant, and his chariot was passed so far forward, that she could not well vewe the personages representing the kings & queenes aboue named: she required to haue the matter opened vnto her, and what they signified, with the end of vnitie and ground of his name, according as is before expelied. For the sight whereof his grace caused his chariot to be remoued backe, and yet hardlie could she see, because the children were set somewhat with the furthest in. But after that his grace had vnderstood the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praised the fairnessse of the worke, and promised that she would do his whole in deuor for the continuall preservation of concord, as the pageant did import. The child appointed in the standing aboue named, to open the meaning of the said pageant, spake these words vnto his grace:

The two princes that sit,
vnder one cloth of state,
The man in the red rose,
the woman in the white:
Henrie the seauenth, and
queene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage,
as man and wife vnite.
Both heires to both their bloods,
to Lancaster the king,
The queene to Yorke, in one
the two houses did knit:
Of whome as heire to both,
Henrie the eight did spring,
In whose seate his true heire
thou queene Elizabeth dost sit.
Therefore as ciuill warre,
and head of blood did cease,
When these two houses were
vnited into one;
So now that iarre shall stint,

The policye planning the thre (as they) in colage.

Write the name whereat the deuise of the pageant was directed.

The queene as desirous to know the meaning of euery representation.

The meaning of the pageant opened by the speech of a child.

and quietnesse increase,
We trust, o noble queene,
thou wilt be cause alone.

The which also were written in Latine verses, and
both drawn in two tables upon the fore front of the
foresaid pageant, as hereafter orderlie followeth:

Hij quos iungit idem solum, quos annulus idem:

Hac albense nitens, ille rubente rosa:

Septimus Henricus rex, regina Elizabetha,

Scilicet heredes gentis uterque sue.

Hac Eboracensis, Lancastrius ille dederunt

Connubio, e geminis quo foret una domus.

Excipit hos heres Britannicæ copula regionis

Olaus, magnæ regis imago potens,

Regibus hunc succeditis aut regique parenti,

Patris iusta heres Elizabetha tu.

Sentences placed therein concerning vnitie.

Nulla concordies animos vires domant.

Qui iuncti seruant, diuincti timent.

Discordes animi soluant, concordies ligant.

Augentur paria pace, magna bello cadunt.

Coniuncta iunctis foris tolluntur omni.

Regio pro iunctis, enis ciuitum discordia.

Qui diu pugnant diutius regent.

Disidentes principes subditi totum tuent.

Princeps ad pacem natus non ad arma datus.

Filia concordie copia, neptis quietis.

Disidentem respública hostibus patet.

Qui idem tenent, diutius tenent.

Regnum diuisum facile dissoluitur.

Ciuitas cantors armis frustra tentatur.

Omnium gentium consensus firmat fidem, &c.

These verses and other pretie sentences were
drawen in both places of this pageant; all tending
to one end, that quietnes might be maineined, and
all dissention displaced: and that by the quēnes ma-
iestie heire to agreement, and agreeing in name
with hir, which tofore had ioined those houses, which
had bene the occasion of much debate and ciuill war
within this realme, as maie appere to such as will
search chronicles, but be not to be touched herein:
onlie declaring hir graces passage through the ci-
tie, and that procession the citie made therefore. And
per the quētes maiestie came within hearing of
this pageant, she sent certeine as also at all the o-
ther pageants, to require the people to be silent. For
hir maiestie was disposed to heare all that should be
said vnto hir.

When the quēnes maiestie had heard the childes
oration, and vnderstood the meaning of the pageant
at large, she marched forward toward Cornhill, al-
waie receiued with like reioicing of the people. And
here as hir grace passed by the conduit, which was
curiously trimmed against that same time, with rich
banners adozned, and a noise of loud instruments
vpon the top thereof, she spied the second pageant.
And because she feared for the peoples noise, that she
should not heare the child which did expound the same,
she inquired what that pageant was per that she
came to it; and there vnderstood, that there was a
child representing hir maiesties person, placed in a
seat of gouernement, supported by certeine vertues
which suppressed their contrarie vices vnder their
feet, and so forth, as in the description of the said pa-
geant shall hereafter appere.

This pageant standing in the nether end of Corn-
hill, was extended from the one side of the street
to the other. And in the same pageant was deuised three
gates all open, and ouer the middle part thereof was
erected one chaire of state roiall, with a cloth of e-
state to the same appertaining, wherein was placed
a child representing the quēnes highnesse, with con-

sideration had for place conuenient for a table, which
contained hir name and title: and in a conuie
wreath artificiallie & well deuised, with perfect sight
and vnderstanding to the people.

In the front of the same pageant was written the
name and title thereof, which is: The seat of worthie
gouernance. Which seat was made in such artificiall
maner, as to the appearance of the lookers on, the
fore part seemed to haue no staie, & therefore of force
was staied by liuelie personages, which personages
were in number foure, standing and staing the fore-
front of the same seat roiall, each hauing his face to
the quēne and people, whereof euerie one had a table
to expresse their effects, which are vertues, namelie
Pure religion, Loue of subiects, Wisdome and Ju-
stice, which did tread their contrarie vices vnder
their feet, that is to wit; Pure religion did tread vpon
Superstition and Ignorance, Loue of subiects
did tread vpon Rebellion and Insolencie, Wis-
dome did tread vpon Follie and Vaine glorie, Ju-
stice did tread vpon Adulation and Briberie. Each of
these personages according to their proper names
and properties, had not onlie their names in plate
and perfect writing set vpon their breasts easilie to be
read of all: but also euerie of them was aptlie and
properlie appareled; so that his apparell and name
did agree to expresse the same person, that in title he
represented.

This part of the pageant was thus appointed and
furnished. The two sides ouer the two side parts had
in them placed a noise of instruments, which imme-
diatlie after the childes speech, gaue an heauenlie me-
lodie. Vpon the top of vppermost part of the said pa-
geant, stood the armes of England, roialtie portra-
tured with the proper beasts to uphold the same.
One representing the quēnes highnesse sat in this
seat crowned with an imperiall crowne, and before
hir seat was a conuenient place appointed for one
child, which did interpret and applie the said pageant,
as hereafter shall be declared. Euerie void place
was furnished with proper sentences, commending
the seat supported by vertues, and defacing the vi-
ces, to the bitter extirpation of rebellion, and to euer-
lasting continuance of quietnesse and peace. The
quēnes maiestie approaching nigh vnto this pageant
thus beautified and furnished in all points, caused hir
charriot to be drawne nigh thereto, that hir grace
might heare the childes speech oration, which was this:

While that religion true,
shall ignorance suppress,
And with hir weightie foot,
breake superstitions head:
While loue of subiects shall
rebellion distresse,
And with zeale to the prince,
insolencie downe tread.
While iustice flattering toongs,
and briberie can deface,
While follie and vaine glorie,
to wisdome yeeld their hands:
So long shall gouernement
not swaue from hir right trace,
But wrong decaie the still,
and right wisenesse vp stands.
Now all thy subiects hearts,
o prince of peerelesse fame,
Do trust these vertues shall
mainteine vp thy throne:
And vice be kept downe still,
the wicked put to shame,
That good with good may ioy,
and naught with naught may mone.

Which verses were painted vpon the right side of the
same pageant, and the Latine thereof on the left side
in

Liuelie worth-
manship and
right com-
mendable.

3. proper me-
lodie.

How the pa-
geant was
appointed and
furnished.

The quēne
drawn with neere
the pageant to
heare the
childes ora-
tion.

The same
verses in La-
tine painted
on a table.

In another table, which were these here following:

*Qua subnixæ alitè solis regina superbo est,
Effigiem sanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam civilis amor falcit, sapientia firmat,
Iustitia illustrat, religioque beat,
Vana superstitio & crassa ignorantia frontis
Pressæ sub pura religione iacent.
Regis amor domas effrænos animosque rebelles,
Iustus adulantes doniuosque terret.
Cum regit imperium sapiens, sine luce sedebunt
Stultitia, atque huius nomen inanis honor.*

The ground
or morall of
the pageant.

The queenes
promise with
thanks to the
citie.

The pageant at
Cheper lane
end.

The inscrip-
tion fixed or set
upon the front
of the said pa-
geant.

The meaning
of the pa-
geant.

Beside these verses, there were placed in euerie
bold ronne of the pageant, both in English & Latine,
such sentences as advanced the seat of governance
upholden by vertue. The ground of this pageant
was, that like as by vertues (which do abundantlie
appear in his grace) the queenes maiestie was esta-
blished in the seat of government: so she should sit fast
in the same, so long as she embraced vertue, and held
vice under foot. For if vice once got by the head, it
would put the seat of government in perill of fal-
ling. The queenes maiestie when she had heard the
childe, and understood the pageant at full, gave the ci-
tie also thanks therefore, & most gracionlie promised
his god in due sort for the maintenance of the said ver-
tues, and suppression of vices, and so marched on, till
she came against the great conduit in Cheape, which
was beautified with pictures and sentences accord-
inglie, against his graces committing thither. A-
gainst Soper lane end was extended from the one
side of the street to the other, a pageant which had three
gates all open: ouer the middlemost whereof were
erected three severall stages, whereon sat eight chil-
dren, as hereafter followeth. On the uppermost one
childe, on the middle three, on the lowest four, each ha-
ving the proper name of the blessing that they did re-
present, written in a table, & placed above their head.

In the forefront of this pageant, before the chil-
dren which did represent the blessings, was a conue-
nient standing cast out for a childe to stand, which did
expound the said pageant unto the queenes maiestie,
as was done in the other before. Euerie of these chil-
dren were appointed and apparelled, according unto
the blessing which he did represent. And on the fore-
part of the said pageant was written in faire letters
the name of the foresaid pageant in this manner:

The eight beatitudes expressed in
the first chapter of the gospell of
saint Matthew, applied to our
sovereigne ladie queene Elisabeth.

Ouer the two side parts was placed a kisse of in-
struments. And all the void places in the pageant
were furnished with prettie sayings, commending &
touching the meaning of the said pageant, which was
the promises & blessings of almighty God, made to
his people. Before that the queenes highnesse came
unto this pageant, she required the matter somewhat
to be opened unto her, that his grace might the bet-
ter understand, what should afterward by the childe be
said unto her. Which so was, that the citie had there
erected the pageant with eight children, representing
the eight blessings touched in the first chapter of saint
Matthew. Whereof euerie one upon iust considera-
tions, was applied unto his highnesse, and that the
people thereby put his grace in mind, that as his god
doings before had giuen iust occasion, why that these
blessings might fall upon her, that so if his grace did
continue in his godnesse as she had entered, she
should hope for the fruit of these promises due unto
them that do exercise themselves in the blessings:
which his grace heard marvellous gracionlie, and re-
quired that the charriot might be removed towards

the pageant, that she might better perceive the childe
words, which were these, the queenes maiestie giuing
most attentue eare, and requiring that the peoples
noise might be staid. The verses were as follow:

Thou hast benee eight times blest,
O queene of worthie fame,
By meekenesse of thy spirit,
when care did thee beset,
By mourning in thy griefe,
by mildnesse in thy blame,
By hunger and by thirst,
and iustice couldst none get.
By mercie shewd, nor felt,
by cleannesse of thine heart,
By seeking peace alwaies,
by persecution wrong.
Therefore trust thou in God,
which he hath helpt thy smart,
That as his promise is,
so he will make thee strong.

When these words were spoken, all the people tol-
dred, that as the childe had uttered, so God would
strengthen his grace against all his aduersaries,
whome the queenes maiestie did most gentle thanke
for their so loving will. These verses were painted
on the left side of the said pageant, and other in La-
tine on the other side, which were these here insuing:

*Qui lugent, dolores sent, qui mitia possant
Pectora, multa soli ingera cultus merent:
Iustitiam glorians scienque replebitur: ipsum
Fas homini puro corde videre Deum:
Quem aliter non miseret, Dominus miserabitur huius:
Paciscus quisquis, filium ille Dei est:
Propter iustitiam quisquis patietur habetque
Demissam mentem calica regna capit.
Huius hominum generi terram, mare, sidera, vultus
Omnipotens, horum quisque beatus erit.*

Besides these, euerie bold place in the pageant
was furnished with sentences touching the matter
and ground of the said pageant. When all that was
to be said in this pageant was ended, the queenes
maiestie passed on forwarde in Cheapside. At the
standard in Cheape, which was dressed faire against
the time, was placed a noise of trumpets, with ban-
ners and other furniture. The crosse likewise was
also made faire, and well trimmed. And nere unto
the same, upon the porch of saint Peters church doore,
stood the waits of the citie, which did give a pleasant
noise with their instruments, as the queenes mai-
estie did passe by, which on euerie side cast his counte-
nance, and wished well to all his most loving people.
Some after that his grace passed the crosse, he had
spied the pageant erected at the little conduit in
Cheape, and incontinent required to know what
it might signifie. And it was told his grace, that there
was placed Time. Time, quoth he: And time hath
brought me hither. And so forth the whole matter
was opened to his grace, as hereafter shall be declar-
ed in the description of the pageant.

But in the opening, when his grace understood
that the bible in English should be delivered unto
him by Truth, which was therein represented by a
childe, he thanked the citie for that gift, and said, that
he would oftentimes read over that booke, com-
manding sir John Parrat, one of the knights which
held up his canopy, to go before, and to receive the
booke. But learning that it should be delivered unto
his grace downe by a silken lace, he caused him to
staid, and so passed forward till he came against the
aldermen in the high end of Cheape before the little
conduit, where the companies of the citie ended,
which began at Stanchurch, & stood along the streets,
one by another inclosed with railles, hanged with
cloths, and themselves well appareled with manie
rich

rich fures, and their liuerie hoods vpon their shoul-
ders in comelie and samelie maner, hauing before
them sundrie persons well apparellled in silks and
chains of gold: as wilters and garders of the said
companies, besides a number of rich hangings, as
well of tapistrie, arras, cloths of gold, siluer, velvet,
damaske, sattin, and other silks plentifully hangd
all the waie, as the queenes highnesse passed from the
tower thorough the citie.

Out at the windowes and penthouses of euerie
house did hang a number of rich and costlie banners
and streamers, till hir grace came to the vpper end of
Cheape. Where by appointment, the right worship-
full master Ranulph Holmefield recorder of the citie,
presented to the queenes maiestie a purse of crim-
son sattin, richly wrought with gold, wherein the ci-
tie gaue vnto the queens maiestie a thousand marks
in gold, as master recorder did declare by exelie vnto
the queens maiestie, whose words tended to this end;
that the lord maior, his brethren, and communalitie of
the citie, to declare their gladnesse and goodwill to-
wards the queenes maiestie, did present hir grace
with that gold, desiring hir grace to continue their
good and gracious queene, and not to esleme the va-
lue of the gift, but the mind of the giuers. The queens
maiestie with both hir hands took the purse, and an-
swered to him againe marvellous pitifully; and so pi-
tillie, that the standers by, as they embraced intirelie
hir gracious answer, so they marvelled at the cou-
ching thereof, which was in words truelie reported
these. I thanke my lord maior, his brethren, and you
all. And whereas your request is that I should conti-
nue your good ladie and queene, be ye ensured, that
I will be as good vnto you, as euer queene was to
hir people. No will in me can lacke, neither doe I
trust shall there lacke anie power. And persuaue
your selues, that for the safetie and quietnesse of you
all, I will not spare (if need be) to spend my blood,
God thanke you all. Which answer of so noble an
hearted princesse, if it moued a marvellous shout &
reioysing, it is nothing to be marvelled at, sith both the
haltinesse thereof was so wonderfull, and the words
so iointlie knit.

When hir grace had thus answered the recorder,
she marched toward the little conduit, where was e-
rected a pageant with square proportion, standing di-
rectlie before the same conduit, with battlements ac-
cordinglie. And in the same pageant was aduanced
two hilles or mounteins of conuenient height. The
one of them being on the north side of the same page-
ant, was made craggd, barren, and stonie, in the
which was erected one tre, artificiallie made, all wi-
thered and dead, with branches accordinglie. And vnder
the same tre at the foot thereof sat one in home-
lie and rude apparrell crouchedlie, and in mourning
maner, hauing ouer his head in a table, written in
Latine and English, his name which was *Ruinosa res-*
publica, A decayed commonweale. And vpon the same
withered tre were fised certeine tables, wherein
were written proper sentences, expressing the causes
of the decaye of a commonweale. The other hill on
the south side was made faire, fresh, greene and beau-
tiful, the ground thereof full of flowers and beantie,
and on the same was erected also one tre, verie fresh
and faire, vnder the which stood by sight one fresh per-
sonage well apparellled and appointed, whose name
also was written both in English and Latine, which
was, *Respublica bene instituta*, A flourishing common-
weale.

And vpon the same tre also were fised certeine
tables containing sentences, which expressed the cau-
ses of a flourishing commonweale. In the middle
betwene the said hilles, was made artificiallie one
bollow place or caue, with doore and locke inclosed,

out of the which, a little before the queenes highnesse
comming thither, issued one personage, whose name
was Time, apparellled as an old man, with a siech in
his hand, hauing wings artificiallie made, leading a
personage of lesser stature than himselfe, which was
finelie and well apparellled, all clad in white silke, and
directlie ouer hir head was set hir name and title in
Latine and English, *Temporis filia*, The daughter of
Time. Which two so appointed, went forwards
toward the south side of the pageant. And on hir
brest was written hir proper name, which was
Veritas, Truth, who held a booke in hir hand, vpon the
which was written *Verbum veritatis*, The word of truth.
And out of the south side of the pageant was cast a
standing for a child, which should interpret the same
pageant. Against whome when the queenes maiestie
came, he spake vnto hir grace these sweet words:

This old man with the siech,
old father Time they call,
And hir his daughter Truth,
which holdeth yonder booke:
Whome he out of his rocke,
hath brought forth to vs all,
From whence this manie yeares
she durst not once out looke.
The ruthfull wight that sits
vnder the barren tree,
Resembleth to vs the forme,
when common weales decaye:
But when they be in state
triumphant, you may see
By him in fresh attire,
that sits vnder the baie.
Now sith that Time againe,
his daughter Truth hath brought,
We trust o worthie queene,
thou wilt this truth imbrace,
And sith thou vnderstandst,
the good estate and naught,
We trust wealth thou wilt plant,
and barrennes displace.
But for to heale the sore,
and cure that is not seene,
Which thing the booke of truth,
doth teach in writing plaine:
Shee doth present to thee
the same, o worthie queene,
For that, that words doe flie,
but written doth remaine.

When the child had thus ended his speech, he re-
ceiued his booke towards the queenes maiestie, which a
little before Truth had let downe vnto him from the
hill, which by sir John Barrat was receiued, and de-
liuered vnto the queene. But shee as soone as she had
receiued the booke, kissed it, and with both hir hands
held vp the same, and so laid it vpon hir brest, with
great thanks to the citie therefore: and so went for-
ward towards Paules churchyard. The former mat-
ter which was rehearsed vnto the queenes maiestie,
was written in two tables, on either side the page-
ant eight verses, and in the middell, these in Latine:

*Ille, vides falcem laeta qui sustinet vncam,
Tempus est, cui stat filia vera comess
Hanc pater exesa deductam rupereponit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui sedet à laeta cultu male tristis inepto
Quem duris crescentis cauitibus orbi obit,
Nos monet effigia qua sit respublica quando
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget.
Ille docet iuuenis forma spectandus, amictus
Scitus, & aeterna laurea fronde virens.*

The sentences written in Latine and English
vpon both the trees, declaring the causes of both
estates, and first of a ruinous commonweale were
these:

*Veritas temporis
filia, expounded
to the queene.*

*The interpreta-
tion of the
pageant deli-
uered in speech
to the queene
by a child.*

*The queene
receiveth Ver-
bum Dei, kiss-
eth it, and
latheth it in
hir lap.*

these: Want of Gods feare, disobedience to rulers, blindness of guides, bribery in magistrats, rebellion in subjects, civill discorde, flatterring of princes, unmercifullnesse in rulers, unthankfulnesse in subjects. Causes of a flourishing commonweale are these: Feare of God, a wise prince, learned rulers, obedience to officers, obedient subjects, lovers of the commonweale, vertue rewarded, vice chastened.

The meaning
in breefe of
this pageant.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared his grace to come out of the house of unity, the second that he is placed in the seat of government staid with vertues, to the suppression of vice; and therefore in the third, the eight blessings of almighty God might well be applied unto him: so this fourth now is, to put his grace in remembrance of the state of the commonweale, which Time with Truth his daughter doth reveale: which Truth also his grace hath received, and therefore cannot but be mercifull and careful for the good government thereof. From thence, the queenes maiestie passed toward Pauls churchyard, and when she came over against Pauls schoole, a child appointed by the scholemaster thereof, pronounced a certaine oration in Latine, and certaine verses, which also were there written as followeth:

A scheler of
Pauls uttereth an oration
in Latine
to the queene.

Philosophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa praeclare ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit; Rempublicam illam feliciss. fore, cui princeps sophia studiosa, virtutibusq. ornata contingerit. Quam si verè dixisse censeamus (ut quidem verissime) cur non terra Britannica plaucere? cur non populus gaudium atque letitiam agitare? Immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notare? Quo princeps talis nobis adest, qualè priores non viderunt, qualèq. posteritas haud facile cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis undiq. felicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotis ita aperta sunt, ut oratione non egeant. Animi verò tot tantq. ut ne verbis quidem exprimi possint. Hæc nempe regibus summis orta, morum atq. animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Huius pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypeoq. iustitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis & Latinis eximia, ingenioq. præpollens est. Hæc imperante pietas vigeat, Anglia florebit, aurea sæcula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot commoda accepturi, Elisabetham reginam nostram celeberrimam ab ipso Christo huius regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Huius imperij animo libentissimo subditi estote, vosq. tali principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus, officium præstare possunt, nos alumni huius scholæ ab ipso Colecto olim templi Paulini decano extructæ, teneras palmas ad caelum tendentes Christum Opt. Max. precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremq. pignoris charis beatam reddat: Amen.

All Anglorum
gentem brevis
adhortatio.

Quenam præ-
stabit Elisabetha
suo regimini.

*Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, letare, resulta,
Præsto iam vita est, presidiumq. tibi.
En tuas spes venit, tua gloria, lux, accūs omne
Venit iam, solidam qua tibi præstat opem.
Succurreretq. tuis rebus quæ pessum abiere,
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet.
Omnia floreant, redeunt nunc aurea sæcla,
In melius surgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidem,
Cuius in accessu commoda tot capies.*

*Salve igitur dicas, imo de pectore summo,
Elizabeth regni non dubitanda salus,
Virgo venit, veniatq. optes comitata deinceps,
Pignoris charis, læta parens veniat.
Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
Qui caelum & terram condidit atq. regit.*

Which the queenes maiestie most attentively hearkened unto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kisse the oration which he had there sette written in paper, and delivered it unto the queenes maiestie, which most gentlie received the same. And when the queenes maiestie had heard all that was there offered to be spoken, then his grace marched toward Ludgate, where he was received with a noise of instruments, the fore front of the gate being finely trimmed up against his maiesties coming. From thence by the way as he went downe toward Fleetbridge, one about his grace noted the cities charge, that there was no cost spared. His grace answered, that she did well consider the same, and that it should be remembered. An honorable answer, worthy a noble prince, which may comfort all his subjects, considering that there can be no point of gentleness, or obedient love shewed towards his grace, which he doth not most tenderly accept, and graciously receive. In this manner, the people on euery side retolling, his grace went forward towards the conduit in Fleetstreet, where was the first and last pageant erected in forme following.

From the conduit, which was beautified with painting, unto the northside of the street was erected a stage, imbatteled with foure towers, and in the same a square plat rising with degrees; and upon the uppermost degree was placed a chaire, or seat roiall, and behind the same seat, in curious artificiall manner was erected a tree of reasonable height, and so farre aduanced above the seat, as it did well and seemelie shadowe the same, without indamaging the sight of any part of the pageant: and the same tree was beautified with leaues as greene as art could deuise, being of a conuenient greatnesse, and containing thereupon the fruit of the date. And on the top of the same tree in a table was set the name thereof, which was a palme tree, and in the aforesaid seat or chaire was placed a semelie and meet personage richly apparelled in parlement robes, with a scepter in his hand, as a queene, crowned with an open crowne, whose name and title was in a table fixed ouer his head, in this sort: Debora the iudge and reuerer of the house of Israel: Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on either side were furnished with six personages, two representing the nobilitie, two the cleargie, & two the communalitie. And before these personages was written in a table: Debora with his estate consulting for the good government of Israel. At the feet of these, and the lowest part of the pageant was ordeined a conuenient roome for a child to open the naming of the pageant. When the queenes maiestie drew neare unto this pageant, and perceived, as in the other, the child ready to speake, his grace required silence, and commanded his chariot to be removed higher, that she might plainlie heare the child speake, which said as hereafter followeth:

Iabin of Canaan king,
had long by force of armes
Opprest the Israelites,
which for Gods people went:
But God minding at last
for to redresse their harmes,
The worthie Debora
as iudge among them sent.
In warre she through Gods aid,
did put his foes to flight,

And

The queenes
maiestie con-
sidered the ci-
ties charge.

The pageant
in Fleetstreet
described.

According to
the queenes
maiesties
doubt.

How calling
the queene
was to heare
the child
speake.

And with the dint offword
the band of bondage brast.
In peace she, through Gods aid,
did alwaie mainteine right,
And iudged Israell
till fortie yeares were past.
A worthie president,
ô worthie queene thou hast,
A worthie woman iudge,
a woman sent for staie:
And that the like to vs
indure alwaie thou maist,
Thy louing subiects will
with true harts and toongs praie.

Which verses were written upon the pageant, &
the same in Latin also fired in the face of the people:

*Quando Dei populum Canaan, rex presit Iaben,
Mittitur a magno Debora magna Deo:
Qua populum eriperet, sanctum seruaret Iudan,
Milita qua patrio frangeret hostis opes.
Hac Domino mandante Deo lectissima fecit
Famina, & aduersos contudit ense viros.
Hac quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello strenua, pace grauis:
sic, ô sic populum belloque & pace guberna,
Debora, sis Anglis Elisabetha tua.*

The void places of this pageant were filled with
pretie sentences concerning the same matter. The
ground of this last pageant was, that for so much as
the next pageant before had set before hir graces eyes
the flourishing and desolate states of a common-
weale, the might by this be put in remembrance to
consult for the worthie gouernement of hir people,
considering God oftentimes sent women noble to
rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Israell
in peace the space of fortie yeares: and that it beho-
ueth both men and women so ruling to vse aduise of
god counsell. When the queenes maiestie had pas-
sed this pageant, she marched toward Temple bar.
But at St. Dunstons church, where the children of
the hospitall were appointed to stand with their go-
uernours, hir grace perceiuing a child offered to make
an oration vnto hir, staied hir chariot, and did cast vp
hir eyes to heauen, as who should saie; I here see this
mercifull worke toward the poore, whome I must in
the middlest of my roialtie needs remember: and so
turned hir face toward the child, which in Latine pro-
nounced an oration to this effect: That after the
queenes highnesse had passed through the citie, and
had scene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles
of the citizens, which declared their most hartie re-
liefing, and soles welcomming of hir grace into
the same: this one spectacle yet rested and remained,
which was the euermore spectacle of mercie vnto
the poore members of almightie God, furthered by
that famous and most noble prince king Henrie the
eight hir graces father, created by the title of Lon-
don, & aduanced by the most goodlie & vertuous prince
king Edward the first, hir graces deare and louing
brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the
queenes most gracions clemencie, by the which they
may not onlie be relieved and helped, but also staied
and defended: and therefore incessantlie they would
praise and eie vnto almightie God, for the long life
and reigne of hir highnesse, with most prosperous
victorie against hir enemies.

The child after he had ended his oration, kissed
the paper wherein the same was written, & reached
it to the queenes maiestie, which receiued it grati-
ouly, both with words and countenance, declaring
his gracions mind toward their reliefe. From thence
hir grace came to Temple bar, which was dressed
finely with the two images of Gogmagog the Al-
bion, & Corineus the Briton, two giants, big in sta-

ture, furnished accordinglie, which held in their hands
aboue the gate, a table, wherein was written in La-
tine verses the effect of all the pageant which the citie
before had erected, which verses were these insuing:

*Ecce sub aspectum contemplaberis vno
(O princeps populi sola columna tui)
Quicquid in immensa possum perperera urbe,
Qua cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus te solo regni donauit auiti,
Hares quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppresos vixit, domina virtute. Secundus,
Firmavit sedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni posuit te parte beatam,
Si, qua capisti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, respublica lapsa quid esset,
Qua florens staret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora missam
Calitiam, in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tuas spes vnica gentis,
Hac postrema urbis suscipe vota tuas.
Vive diu, regnaq; diu, virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, & populi spem tuare tui.
sic ô sic petitur calum, sic itur in astra:
Hoc virtutis opus, cetera mortis erunt.*

Which verses were also written in English mee-
ter, in a lesse table as hereafter plainelie followeth:

Behold here in one view,
thou maist see all that plaine,
O princeesse vnto this
thy people th' onlie staie:
What each where thou hast scene
in this wide to wne, againe,
This one arch whatsoeuer
the rest conteind, dooth saie.
The first arch as true heire
vnto thy father deere,
Did set thee in thy throne
where thy grandfather sat.
The second did confirme
thy seat as princeesse heere,
Vertues now bearing swaie,
and vices bet downe flat.
The third, if that thou wouldst
go on as thou began,
Declared thee to be
blessed on euerie side.
The fourth did open truth,
and also taught thee whan
The commonweale stood well,
and when it did thence slide.
The fift, as Debora
declard thee to be sent
From heauen, a long comfort
to vs thy subiects all.
Therefore go on ô queene,
on whom our hope is bent,
And take with thee this wish
of thy towne as finall.
Liue long, and as long reigne,
adorning thy countrie
With vertues, and mainteine
thy peoples hope of thee.
For thus, thus heauen is woe,
thus must thou perse the skie,
This is by vertue wrought,
all other needs must die.

On the fourth was appointed by the citie a noble
of linging children, and one child richly attired as a
poet, which gaue the queenes maiestie hir farewell
in the name of the whole citie by these sweet words:

*As at thine entrance, full
ô prince of high renowne,
Thou wast presented with
toongs and hearts for thy faier:*

Quinque arcus
quam significa-
tionem implicat.
Sed teneant.

what the ar-
ches signifie.

The citie
farewell to the
queene going
out at Temple
barre.

So now fith thou must needs
depart out of this towne,
This citie sendeth thee
firme hope and earnest praier.
For all men hope in thee,
that all vertues shall raine,
For all men hope that thou
none error wilt support,
For all men hope that thou
wilt truth restore againe,
And mend that is amisse,
to all good mens comfort.
And for this hope they praie,
thou maist continue long,
Our queene amongst vs here,
all vice for to supplant,
And for this hope they praie,
that God maie make thee strong,
As by his grace puissant,
So in his truth constant.
Farewell o worthe queene,
and as our hope is sure,
That into errors place,
thou wilt now truth restore:
So trust we that thou wilt
our soueraine queene endure,
And louing ladie stand,
from henceforth euermore.

The last
words of the
queene to the
citie by waie
of promise.

Carmen valedic-
torium a puero
recitatum.

O regina potens, quum primam urbem ingredereris,
Dona tibi linguas fidas, corda dedit.
Discedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena fidei, vota q. plena precum.
Quippe tuis spes est in te, quod promissa virtus
Rexerit, errore nec locus ullus erit.
Quippe tuis spes est, quod tu verum omni reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac spe fidei orant, longum ut regina gubernes,
Et regni exstindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac spe fidei orant, diuina ut gratia fortem
Et vera fidei te velit esse basin.
Iam regina vale, sicut nos spes tenet vna,
Quod vero inducto, perditus error erit:
Sic quod speramus quod eris regina benigna
Nostra per regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the queenes highnesse passed through the ci-
tie, which without anie forreigne person, of it selfe
beautified it selfe, and receiued hir grace at all places
as hath bene before mentioned, with most tender o-
bedience and loue, due to so gracious a queene and
soueraine a ladie. And hir grace likewise of hir side
in all hir graces passage, shewed hir selfe generallie
an image of a most princelike courage, whereby hir
louing subjects maie ground a sure hope for the rest
of hir gracions doings hereafter.

Certain notes
of the queenes
maiesties
great mercie.

About the nether end of Cornhill toward Cheape,
one of the knights about hir grace had espied an an-
cient citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe,
and therewith said this gentleman: Wonder is an al-
derman (so he tearmed him) which weepeth, and

turneth his face backward; how maie it be inter-
preted that he so doth, for sorrow, or for gladnesse:
The queens maiestie heard him, and said, I warrant
you it is for gladnesse. A gracious interpretation of
a noble courage, which would turne the doubtfull to
the best. And yet it was well knowne, that as hir
grace did confirme the same, the parties cheare was
moued for vertie pure gladnesse for the sight of hir
maiesties person, at the beholding whereof he took
such comfort, that with teares he expressed the same.
In Cheape side hir grace smiled, and being thereof
demanded the cause, answered, for that he heard one
saie; Remember old king Henrie the eight. A natu-
rall child, which at the vertie remembrance of hir fa-
thers name, took so great a ioy, that all men maie
well thinke, that as he reioiced at his name whome
his realme doth hold of so long; the memorie: so in
hir doings the will resemble the same.

When the citie charge without parcialitie, and
onelle the citie was mentioned vnto hir grace, she
said it should not be forgotten. Which saying might
moue all naturall Englishmen hartlie to shew due
obedience and intierneesse to their so good a queene,
which will in no point forget anie parcell of dutie lo-
uinglie shewed vnto hir. The answer which hir grace
made vnto maister recorder of London, as the hea-
rens know it to be true, with melting hearts heard
the same: so maie the reader thereof conceiue what
kind of stomach and courage pronounced the same.

What more famous thing do we read in ancient
histories of old time, than that mightie princes haue
gentlie receiued presents offered them by base and
low personages. If that be to be wondered at (as it
is passinglie) let me see anie wiser that in anie prin-
ces life is able to recount so manie presidents of this
vertue, as hir grace shewed in that one passage tho-
rough the citie.

How manie nosegales did hir grace receiue at
poore womens hands: How oftentimes said the hir
chariot, when she saw anie simple bodie offer to
speake to hir grace: A branch of rosemarie giuen hir
grace with a supplication by a poore woman about
Fleetbridge, was scene in hir chariot till hir grace
came to Westminister, not without the marvellous
wondering of such as knew the presenter, and no-
ted the queens most gracious receiuing and heaping
the same. What hope the poore and needie maie looke
for at hir graces hand, she as in all hir iourne con-
nuallie, so in hir hearkening to the poore children of
Christis hospitall with eyes cast vp into heauen, did
fullie declare: as that neither the wealthier estate
could stand without consideration had to the power-
tie, neither the povertie be dulle considered, vnlesse
they were remembred, as commended vnto vs by
Gods olde mouth.

As at hir first entrance she as it were declared
hir selfe prepared to passe through a citie that most
intierlic loued hir: so she at hir last departing as it
were bound hir selfe by promise, to continue good
ladie and gouernour vnto that citie, which by outward
declaration did open their loue vnto their so louing
and noble prince, in such wise, as she hir selfe won-
dered thereat. But because princes be set in their
seat by Gods appointing, and therefore they must
first and chiefie tender the glorie of him, from whom
their glorie issueth: it is to be noted in hir grace, that
for so much as God hath so wonderfullie placed hir
in the seat of gouernement ouer this realme, she in
all hir doings both shew hir selfe most mindfull of
his goodnesse: interte shewed vnto hir. And among
all other, two principall signes thereof were noted
in this passage. First in the towne, where hir grace
before she entered hir chariot, lifted vp hir eyes to
heauen, and said as followeth.

The

The praier of queene Elisabeth as
she went to hir coronation.

O Lord almightie and euerlasting
God, I giue thee most hartie
thanks, that thou hast bene so
mercifull vnto me, as to spare me
to behold this ioyfull daie. And I acknow-
ledge that thou hast delt as wonderfullie
and as mercifullie with me, as thou did-
dest with thy true and faithfull seruant
Daniell thy prophet; whome thou deliue-
rest out of the den from the crueltie of the
greedie and raging lions: euen so was I
ouerwhelmed, and onlie by thee deliuered.
To thee therefore onlie be thanks, hono-
r, and praise, for euer: Amen.

The second was the receiuing of the bible at the lit-
tle conduit in Cheape. For when hir grace had lear-
ned that the bible in English should there be offered:
she thanked the citie therefore, promised the reading
thereof most diligentlie, and incontinent comman-
ded that it should be brought. At the receipt where-
of, how reuerendie did she with both hir hands take
it, kisse it, and laie it vpon hir brest, to the great
comfort of the lookers on: God will vndoubtedlie
preferue so worthy a pince, which at his hono-
r so reuerendie taketh hir beginning. For this saying
is true, and written in the booke of truth; He that
first seeth the kingdom of God, shall haue all o-
ther things cast vnto him. Now therefore all Eng-
lish hearts, and hir naturall people must needs praise
Gods merite, which hath sent them so worthy a
pince, and praise for hir graces long continuance
amongst vs. On sundaie the five and twentieth
of Januarie, hir maiestie was with great solemn-
tie crowned at Westminister in the abbey church
there, by doctor Wglethorpe bishop of Carlisle. She
dined in Westminister hall, which was richlie hong,
and euerie thing ordered in such rofall manner, as to
such a regall and most solemn feast appertained.

In the meane time, whilest hir grace sat at dinner,
sir Edward Dimmocke knight, hir champion by of-
fice, came riding into the hall in faire complet ar-
mor, mounted vpon a beautifull courser, richlie trap-
ped in cloth of gold, entred the hall, and in the midst
thereof cast downe his gantlet: with offer to fight
with him in hir quarell, that should denie hir to be
the righteous and lawfull queene of this realme. The
queene taking a cup of gold full of wine, thanke to
him thereof, and sent it to him for his fee togither
with the courer.

Now after this, at the seruing by of the wafers;
the lord maior of London went to the cupboard, and
filling a cup of gold with spocasse, bare it to the
queene: and kneeling before hir toke the assaie, and
she receiuing it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the
cup with the courer vnto the said lord maior for his
fee. Which cup and courer weighed firste ounces Troie
weight. Finally, this feast being celebrated with
all rofall ceremonies, and high solemnities, due and
in like cases accustomed, toke end with great ioy
and contentation to all the beholders. On wed-
nesdaie the five and twentieth of Januarie the parle-
ment began, the queenes maiestie riding in hir par-
lement robes, from hir palace of Whitehall, vnto
the abbey church of Westminister, with the lords spi-
rituall and temporall, attending hir likewise in their
parlement robes. Doctor Cox sometime schole-
maister to king Edward the first, and now latelie
returned from the parties of beyond the seas, where

during the daies of queene Marie he had liued as a
banished man, preached now before the estates there
assembled in the beginning of the said parlement.
In this parlement, the first fruits and tenths were
restored to the crowne, & also the supream govern-
ment ouer the state ecclesiasticall, which queene Ma-
rie had giuen to the pope. Likewise the booke of
common praier and administration of the sacra-
ments in our mother tong was restored.

10 But before this god worship was agreed vpon,
there was much debating about matters touching
religion, and great studie on both parties imploied,
the one to retaine still, the other to impugn the doc-
trine and faction which before in queene Maries time
had bene established. But speciallie here is to be
noted, that though there lacked no industrie on the
papists side, to hold fast that which they most cruck-
lie from time to time had studied, and by all meanes
practised to come by: yet notwithstanding, such
20 was the prouidence of God at that time, that for
lacke of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken
awaie by death a little before, the residue that there
were left could doe the lesse: and in vertue dead, God
be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect; al-
though yet notwithstanding there lacked in them
neither will nor labor to doe what they could, if their
cruell abilitie there might haue serued. But name-
lie amongst all others, not onlie the industrious
courage of doctor Storie, but also his words in this
30 parlement are worthy to be knowne of posteritie,
who like a stout and furious champion of the popes
side, to declare himselfe how lustie he was, and what
he had and would doe in his masters quarell, shamed
not openlie in the said parlement house to burst
out into such impudent sort of words, as was won-
der to all good eares to heare, and no lesse worthy of
historie.

The summe of which his shamelesse talke was vt-
tered to this effect. First beginning with himselfe,
he declared, that whereas he was noted commonlie
abroad, and much complained of, to haue bene a
great doer, & a setter forth of such religion, orders, &
proceedings, as of his late soueraigne that dead is
queene Marie were set forth in this realme, he denied
nothing the same: protesting moreover that he had
done nothing therein, but that both his conscience
did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did
as well then command him, as now also doth dis-
charge him for the same: being no lesse readie now
40 also to doe the like, and more, in case he by this queene
were authorisied likewise, and commanded therevnto.
Wherefore as I see (saith he) nothing to be asha-
med of; so lesse I see to be soze for: but rather said
that he was soze for this, because he had done no
more than he did, and that in executing those lawes,
they had not bene more vehement & severe. Where-
in he said, there was no default in him, but in them,
whome he both oft and earnestlie had exhorted to the
same, being therefore not a little grieved with them,
60 for that they labored onlie about the pong and little
spizgs and twigs, while they should haue stroken at
the rot, and cleane hane rooted it out: &c. And con-
cerning his persecuting and burning them, he de-
nied not, but that he was once at the burning of an
earewig (for so he termed it) at Wybrydge, where he
toss a fagot at his face as he was singing psalmes,
and set a wine bush of thorns vnder his feet, a little
to picke him, with manie other words of like effect.
In the which words he named moreover sir Philip
Hobbie, and an other knight of Kent, with such o-
ther of the richer and higher degree, whome his coun-
sell was to plucke at, & to bring them vnder Curia-
wherin (saith he) if they had followed my aduise, they
had they done well and wiselie. This or much like
was

The first
fruits and
tenths resto-
red to the
crown.

Abr. Fl. ex
Iohan. Foxi
martyrologio.

Doctor Storie
impudent
and saucie.

The words
of doctor Storie
in the par-
lement house.

This mar-
tyr burnt at
Wybrydge
was maister
Denlie.

was the effect of the Chamelisse and tyrannicall exercise of himselfe, more mate to speake with the voice of a beast, than of a man. Although in this parlement some diuersitie there was of iudgement and opinion betwene parties: yet notwithstanding through the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord, the true cause of the gospell had the upper hand, the papists hope was frustrat, and their rage abated: the order and proceedings of king Edwards time concerning religion was reuiued againe, the supremacie of the pope abolished, the articles and bloudie statutes of queene Marie repealed: by which, the furious fierbrands of cruell persecution, which had consumed so manie poore mens bodies, were now extint and quenched.]

A motion made in the parlement house to the queene touching marriage, 26.

For as much as in the time of this parlement, a motion was made by the common house, that the queenes maiestie might be sued vnto, to grant hir graces licence to the speaker, knights, citizens & burgesses, to haue access vnto hir graces presence: to declare vnto hir matter of great importance, concerning the state of this hir graces realme. The which petition being moued to hir grace, the most honozable agraue and consented thereto, and assigned a daie of hearing. When the daie came, the speaker & common house resorted vnto hir graces palace at Westminster called the White hall. And in the great gallerie there, hir grace most honozable shewed hir selfe ready to heare their motion and petition. And when the speaker had solemnlie and eloquentlie set forth the message (the principall matter wherof most spectallie was to moue hir grace to marriage) whereby (to all our comforts) we might inioine (as Gods pleasure should be) the roiall issue of hir bodie to reigne ouer vs, &c. The queenes maiestie after a little pause made this answer following, as nere as I could beare the same alwaie (saith Grafton.)

The queenes answer to the former motion of the parlement house.

Rich. Grafton.



The queenes maiestie esteemeth no life so glorious as to serue God.

The queenes maiestie hath no mind to marrie.

So I haue good cause, so do I giue to you my hartie thanks for the good zeale and care that you seeme to haue as well toward me, as to the whole state of your countrie. Your petition I gather to be grounded on three causes, and mine answer to the same shall consist in two parts. And for the first I saie vnto you, that from my years of vnderstanding, knowing my selfe a seruitor of almighty God, I chose this kind of life, in which I do yet liue, as a life most acceptable vnto him, wherein I thought I could best serue him, and with most quietnesse do my dutie vnto him. From which my choice, if either ambition of high estate offered vnto me by marriages (whereof I haue records in this presence) the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enemies, or the avoiding the perill of death (whose messenger the princes indignation was no little time continually present before mine eyes, by whose meanes if I knew or do iustlie suspect, I will not now utter them, or if the whole cause were my sister hir selfe, I will not now charge the dead) could haue drawn or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgins estate wherein you see me. But so constant haue I alwaies continued in this my determination (that although my words and youth maie seeme to some hardlie to agree together) yet it is true, that to this daie I stand free from any other meaning, that either I haue had in times past, or haue at this present. In which state and trade of liuing therewith I am so thoroughlie acquainted, God hath so hitherto

preserued me, and hath so watchfull an eye vpon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone. The manner of your petition I doe like, and take in good part: for it is simple, and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had bene otherwise, I must haue misliked it verie much, and thought in you a verie great presumption, being vnfit and altogether vnmeet to require them that may command, or those appoint whose parts are to desire, or such to bind and limit whose duties are to obeye; or to take vpon you to draw my loue to your likings, or to frame my will to your fancies. A guerdon constrained, and a gift freele giuen can neuer agree. Nevertheless, if any of you be in suspect, that whensoever it maie please God to incline my hart to that kind of life, my meaning is to do or determine any thing therewith the realme maie haue iust cause to be discontented; put that out of your heads. For I assure you (what credence my assurance maie haue with you I can not tell, but what credit it shall deserue to haue, the sequelle shall declare) I will neuer in that matter conclude any thing that shall be preiudiciall vnto the realme. For the weale and god safetie whereof, as a good mother of my countrie, I will neuer shun to spend my life. And whomsoever my choice maie light vpon, he shall be as carefull for the preservation of the realme as you, I will not saie as my selfe: for I cannot so certainlie promise of another, as I doe surelie know of my selfe, but as any other can be. And albeit it doth please almighty God to continue me still in this mind, to liue out of the state of marriage: it is not to be feared, but he will so worke in my hart, and in your wisdoms, that as good prouision may be made in convenient time, whereby the realme shall not remaine destitute of an heire that may be a fit gouernour, and peraduenture more beneficiall to the realme than such offspring as may come of me. For though I be neuer so carefull for your well doings, and mind euer so to be: yet may mine issue grow out of kind and become vngenerous. And for me it shall be sufficient, that a marble stone declare that a queene, hauing reigned such a time, liued and died a virgine. To make an end, I take your comming to me in good part, and giue vnto you eussions my hartie thanks, more yet for your zeale, god will, and good meaning, than for your message and petition.

And for the second I saie vnto you, that for feare of persecution in queene Marias daies were fled the realme, and liued in voluntarie exile, now that all persecution ceased by the gracious clemencie of this noble princeesse queene Elisabeth, they returned with all conuenient speed home into their native countrie, giuing to almighty God most humble thanks for that his mercifull deliuerance, in sending them a gouernour, that not onelie permitted libertie of conscience, but also was ready to aduance religion, and command it to exercise of common prayer, preaching, and administration of the sacraments, according to the right institution of the primitive churches. For the twentieth of Februarie, one of maister Hummings seruant (that was also one of the takers of frech fish for the prouision of the queenes house) was set on the pillorie in Cheapside in the fish market ouer against the kings head, hauing a bawdyke of smelts hanging about his necke, with a paper on his forehead written: For buyng smelts for twelue pence the hundred, and selling them againe for ten pence the quarter. He stood so likewise on the eighteenth and the twentieth daie of the same moneth, euerie one of those three daies from nine of the clocke till twelue. The last daie he should haue had one of his eares slit, if

I most reuerent answer of a most excellent prince.

The queenes promise to haue a sonne to be her heire.

The queenes promise to haue a sonne to be her heire.

The returne of the prisoners taken from exile.

One set on the pillorie, and taken prisoner by his owne mouth appointed him.

if by great faue made to the counsell by the lord ma-
ior of London, he had not bene pardoned and relea-
sed out of prison. This penance was assigned to him
by the queenes owne appointment, when to his grace
his trespass was reuealed. Whereby she gaue a
taut to the people of a zealous mind to haue iustice
vulie ministred, and faults accordinglie punished,
namelic of those which vnder pretense of his graces
authoritie should go about to wrong and oppresse his
louing subjects.

This pere in the Easter holidays on the mon-
daye preached at the Spittle doctor Bill, on the tues-
daye doctor Cor, & on the wednesdaye doctor Horne:
the first was his maiesties chapleine, the other two
had remained at Geneva, and in other places be-
yond the seas all queene Maryes time. On low
sundaye maister Samson made the rehearsall ser-
mon: but when the lord maior and aldermen came
to their places in Paules churchyard, the pulpit doze
was locked, & the keie could not be heard of. Where-
upon the lord maior sent for a smith to open the
locke, which was done, and when the preacher should
enter the place, it was found verie filthie and un-
cleanlie. Moreover, the verger that had the custodie
of the keie, which opened the doze of the place where
the prelat and other vie to stand at the sermon time,
would not open the doze; but the gentlemen with a
sawme brake it open, and so came in to heare the ser-
mon. This disorder chanced by reason that since
Christmase last past there was not a sermon prea-
ched at Paules crosse, by meanes of an inhibition
sent from the counsell vnto the bishop of London,
that he should admit no preacher, because of the con-
trouersie betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie
that were not returned into the realme, from the
parties of beyond the seas.

The last of March the parlement yet continuing,
was a conference begun at Westminster concern-
ing certeine articles of religion betwixt the bishops
and other of the clergie on the one part, and certeine
learned preachers of whome some had bene in digni-
tie in the church of England before that time on the
other part. The declaration of the proceeding therein,
and the cause of the breaking vp of the same confer-
ence by default and contempt of certeine bishops,
parties of the said conference was published in a lit-
tle treatise, and imprinted by Richard Jug and
John Catwode, printers to the queenes maiestie, as
here followeth. The queenes most excellent maiestie,
hauing heard of diuersitie of opinions in certeine
matters of religion amongst sundrie of his louing
subjects, and being verie desirous to haue the same
reduced to some goodlie & christian concord, thought
it best by the aduise of the lords, and other of his pri-
uie counsell, as well for the satisfaction of persons
doubtfull, as also for the knowledge of the verie truth
in certeine matter of difference, to haue a couenient
chosen number of the best learned of either part, & to
confer together their opinions and reasons, and there-
by to come to some good and charitable agreement.

And hereupon by his maiesties commandement
certeine of his priuie counsell declared this purpose
to the archbishop of Yorke (being also one of the
same priuie counsell) & required him that he would
impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make
choise of eight, nine, or ten of them: and that there
should be the like number named of the other part:
and further also declared to him (as then was suppo-
sed) what the matters should be. And as for the time,
it was thought meet to be as sone as possible might
be agreed vpon. And then after certeine daies past,
it was signified by the said archbishop, that there
was appointed by such of the bishops, to whome he
had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is

to saie, foure bishops, and foure doctors, who were
content at the queenes maiesties commandement
to shew their opinions; and (as he termed it)
render account of their faith in those matters which
were mentioned; and that speciallie in writing, al-
though he said they thought the same so determined,
as there was no cause to dispute vpon them.

It was hereupon fullie resolved by the queenes
maiestie, with the aduise aforesaid, that according
to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts;
for auoiding of much altercation in words; and that
the said bishops should, because they were in authori-
tie and degree superiours, first declare their minds and
opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writ-
ting: and the other number being also eight men of
good degree in scholes, and some hauing bene in dig-
nitie in the church of England, if they had anie thing
to saie to the contrarie, should the same daie declare
their opinions in like manner. And so ech of them
should deliuer their writings to the other, to be con-
sidered what were to be improved therein, and the
same to declare againe in writing at some other
conuenient daie, and the like order to be kept in all
the rest of the matters. All this was fullie agreed vpon
with the archbishop of Yorke, and also signified
to both parties. And immediatlie hereupon, diuerse
of the nobilitie and states of the realme, understand-
ing that such a meeting and conference should be,
and that in certeine matters, whereupon the court
of parlement consequentlie following) some lawes
might be grounded: they made earnest meanes to
his maiestie, that the parties of this conference
might put and read their assertions in the English
tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobili-
tie, and others of the parlement house, for the better
satisfaction and inabling of their owne iudgements,
to treat and conclude of such lawes as might depend
hereupon.

This also being thought verie reasonable, was
signified to both parties, and so fullie agreed vpon,
and the daie appointed for the first meeting to be the
fridaye in the forenoone, being the last of March at
Westminster church, where both for good order, and
for honour of the conference, by the queenes mai-
esties commandement, the lords and others of the pri-
uie counsell were present, and a great part of the no-
bilitie also. And notwithstanding the former order
appointed, and consented vnto by both parts, yet the
bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, alleging
that they had misfaken that their assertions and rea-
sons should be written, and so onelic recited out of
the booke, said their booke was not readie then writ-
ten: but they were provided to argue and dispute,
and therefore would for that time repeat in speech
that which they had to saie vnto the first proposition.
This variation from the order, and speciallie from
that which themselves had by the said archbishop in
writing before required, adding thereto the reason
of the apostle, that to contend with words is profita-
ble to nothing; but to subuersion of the hearer, see-
med vnto the queenes maiesties counsell somewhat
strange: & yet was it permitted without anie great
reprehension, because they excused themselves with
misfaking the order, and agreed that they would not
saie but put it in writing; and according to the for-
mer order, deliuer it to the other part. And so the said
bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appoin-
ted doctor Coledeane of Paules, to be the utter-
er of their minds, who partlie by speech onelic, and
partlie by reading of authorities written, and at cer-
teine times being informed of his colleagues what
to saie, made a declaration of their meanings, & their
reasons to their first proposition. Which being ended,
they were asked by the priuie counsell, if anie of
them

Order taken
for quiet con-
ference, and
regard had of
the bishops
according to
their dignitie.

The daie for
the first mee-
ting of this
conference
appointed.

The bishop of
Winchester
waie of pro-
ceeding mis-
ked but yet in
fine followed
notwithstand-
ing the con-
trarie proposi-
tion.

The manner of
their first
entrance into
this conference.

¶ b b b b.

them had ante more to be said: and they said, No. So as then the other part was licensed to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded in a booke written, which after a prayer & invocation made most humble to almighty God, for the indwelling of them with his holie spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholike church, builded upon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horne bachellor in divinitie, late deane of Duresme.

* Afterwards
bishop of Winchester.

Another order
was taken for
the next meeting
to confer.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed that the same was much allowable to the audience: certaine of the bishops began to saie contrarie to their former answer, that they had now much more to saie to this matter. Wherein although they might have bene well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding of any mistaking of orders in this colloquie or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to saie: it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the morrow daie following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same, and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the meane time the bishops should put in writing, not onelie all that which doctor Cole had that daie uttered: but all such other matters as they ante otherwise could thinke of for the same: and as soon as they might possible, to send the same booke touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receive of them that writing which master Horne had there read that daie, and upon mondaie it should be agreed what daie they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition.

Then assembly
began on the
mondaie according
to appointment.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly quietly dismissed. And therefore upon mondaie, the like assembly began againe at the place & houre appointed: and there upon what finisher or disorderd meaning is not yet fullie knowne, though in some part it be understood) the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, and especiallie Lincolne, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on fridaie, that which they had prepared for the second assertion. And thereupon by the lord keeper of the great seale, they being first gentle and favourable required to keepe the order appointed; and that taking no place, being secondlie as it behoued, pressed with more earnest request: they neither regarding the authoritie of that place, nor their owne reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And finally being againe particularlie euerie of them apart, distinctly by name, required to vnderstand and their opinions therein: they all sauing one (which was the abbat of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his dutie of obedience than the other) utterly and plainelie denied to haue their booke read, some of them more earnestlie than others, and some other more vndiscreetlie and vnrulerly than others.

The stubborn-
ness of the
adverse part
an occasion to
dissolve this
assembly.

Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornesse and selfewill, as hath not bene scene and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realme, the nobilitie and the commons, besides the presence of the queenes maiesties most honourable private counsell, the same assembly was dismissed, and the goodlie and most christian purpose of the queens maiestie made frustrate. And afterwards for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincolne, be-

ing most obstinatelie both disobeyed common authoritie, and varied manifestlie from their owne order, and especiallie Lincolne (who shewed more folie than the other) were condignelie committed to the tower of London, and the rest (sauing the abbat of Westminster) God bound to make daile their personall apperance before the counsell, and not to depart the cite of London and Westminster, untill further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

The three propositions whereupon
conference was determined to haue
bene at Westminster.

1 **I**t is against the word of GOD, and the custome of the ancient church, to be a tong unknowne to the people, in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments.

2 Euerie church hath authoritie to appoint, take awaie, and change ceremonies and ecclesiasticall rites: so the same be to edification.

3 It cannot be proued by the word of GOD, that there is in the masse offered by a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead.

The names of such as had conference in the
propositions aforesaid.

The B. of Winchester.	D. Scorie B. of Chiche.
The bishop of Lichfield.	Doctor Cor.
The bishop of Chester.	Maister Whitehead.
The bishop of Exeter.	Maister Crutwell.
The bishop of Lincoln.	Maister Horne.
Doctor Cole.	Maister doctor Sands.
Doctor Harpessfield.	Maister Gell.
Doctor Langball.	Maister Elmer.
Doctor Chesleie.	Maister Jewell.

The bishops and doctors sat on the one side of the quere at a table for them prepared, & the other learned men sat at another table on the other side of the same quere. And at the upper end thereof at another table sat the queenes maiesties counsell, desirous to haue scene some good conclusion of the said conference, although (as ye may perceiue by that which is above recited) it came to small effect. In this meane time, a treatie of peace, which had bene in hand the last yeare, first at Lille, and after at the abbey of Cercampe, a three leagues from Doulers, betwixt the two kings of Spaine and France, was now renewed againe, and the deputies were appointed to meet at Chateau Cambresis, a six leagues distant from Cambraie. For the king of Spaine, the duke of Alua, the prince of Orange, the bishop of Arras, Rigomes de Silua earle of Mellito, monsieur Willas Zwolhem, knight and president of the private counsell in the low countries, who neuertheless came not, because he was letted by sickness. For the french king there came the cardinal of Lozaine the constable, the marshall of saint Andreu, the bishop of Orleans, and Claude de Aubespine, the said kings secretaire. For the queene of England, the bishop of Ely, the lord William Howard baron of Effingham lord chamberleine to the said queene, doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Cantuarie and Porke.

For the duke of Sanoie, there were the earle of Stropiana, & the president of Asti. And as a meane or mediatrix betwene the parties, there was Christina dutchesse of Lozaine, with hir sonne the young duke, which dutchesse, as well here, as before at Cercampe,

A treatie for
peace betwixt
the kings of
Spaine and
France.

The departing
of commissaries
appointed for the
princes.

the articles
of the peace
between the
king of France
and the
French king.

the John
Hason.

generall
peace between
the king of
France and
Spain.

the peace
between
France and
Spain.

the peace
between
France and
Spain.

the peace
between
France and
Spain.

the peace
between
France and
Spain.

campe, trauelled most earnestlie to do good betwixt the parties, and to bring them to a small accord, whose ender therein was to the great good liking & contentation of all the said parties. After that this treatie had continued a long time, and now rest d nothing to staie them frō concluding a generall peace, but onelie the article touching Calis, at length that matter was also accorded by a speciall treatie betwixt the quēenes maiestie of England, & the French king, Guido Caualcanti a gentleman of Florence being the meane to bring the same to effect. The substance of which articles was, that Calis shuld rest in the Frenchmens hands, for the terme of eight yeres, and at the end of that terme, they couenanted to render the same: or else for default, to forfeit vnto the quēenes highnesse the summe of five hundred thousand crownes; and for suretie hereof, to deliuer foure hostages, such as hir maiestie shoulde thinke sufficient. And in case the towne were not deliuered at the end of the said eight yeres, though the monie were paid according to the couenants: yet notwithstanding the right and title to the said towne and countrie adjoining, shoulde alwaies remaine and be reserved vnto the crowne and realme of England. It was farther concluded also, that a peace shoulde be signed and had betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, such fortresses to be rased as had been built and made by the Scots and French on the borders towards England, as Hatmouth and others.

Sir John Hason knight, secretarie for the French king, was sent ouer in post with instructions vnto the English commissioners, after whose coming, within two or three daies, a generall peace was concluded betwixt all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpose omitted. But now after the conclusion of this peace, the said sir John Hason returned in post with the same: and so there vpon, the seuenth of Aprill, the said peace was proclaimed; to wit, betwixt the quēenes maiestie on the one part, and the French king on the other, their realmes, dominions, and subiects; and likewise betwixt hir said maiestie and the king Dolphin and quēene of Scots his wife, their realmes, dominions, and subiects. This proclamation was made by Walter Joyeie king at armes, accompanied with thre other heralds, & five trumpetors: the lord maiors of London & the aldermen in their scarlet gowns being also present, & riding in companie of the said heralds.

The same time also was another proclamation made vnder the quēenes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no plates nor interludes shoulde be exercised, till Allhalloes tide next insuing. Upon saturdaye the two and twentieth of Aprill, the lord Wentworth, late deputie of Calis, was arraigned at Willemsminster, vpon an indictment of treason found against him, in the late quēene Maries daies, for the losse of Calis: but he was acquitted by his peeres, the lord marquisse of Northampton sitting that daie as chiefe steward of England, vnder the cloth of estate. The eight of Maie, the parliament brake vp; in which parliament, beside other things before recited, concluded, and passed in the same; a subside was granted to the quēenes highnesse, of two shillings eight pence the pound of moueable goods, and foure shillings of lands, to be paid at two severall payments, of euerie person spirituall and temporall, towards the better furnishing of hir maiestie with monie, for the necessarie charges which she was presentlie occasioned to susteine, finding the treasure of the realme greatly consumed, and the reuenues of the crowne sore diminished, and the same crowne much indebted, by taking vp of notable summes of monie by waie of loan vpon interest, as well in the daies of hir brother K. Edward, as hir sister quēene

Marie. The fourteenth of Maie being Whitsundae, the seruice in churches began according to the booke of comon prayer, set forth and established in this last parlement, corresponding to that which was used in the daies of hir brother king Edward. Upon saturdaye the second of Iulie, the citizens of London set forth a muster before the quēenes maiestie at Greenwich in the parke there, of the number of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikers, armed in fine corselets, foure hundred shot in shirts of male, with morians, & two hundred halbarders armed in Almaine riuets: these were furnished forth by the craftes and companies of the citie. To euerie hundred two wisflers were assigned, richlie appointed and apparelled for the purpose. There were also twelue wardens of the best companies mounted on horsebacke in coats of blacke velvet, to conduct them, with drums and fifes, and six ensignes, all in ertkins of white sattin of Bridges, cut and lined with blacke sarsenet, and caps, hose, and scarfs according. The sergeant Major, capitaine Constable, and capitaine Sanders, brought them in order before the quēenes presence, placing them in battell arraie, euen as they shoulde haue fought; so as the shew was verie faire, the emperours and the French kings ambassadors being present.

In this moneth also, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirtene or fourtene, being called before the quēenes counsell, and refusing to receiue the oath touching hir maiesties supremacie, and other articles, were deposed from their bishopricks: in whose romes and places, first for cardinall Woole, succeeded doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Cantuarie. In the place of Beth, succeeded doctor Yong. In stead of Boner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thurlbie, Tunstall, Bates, Christopherston, Peto, Coats, Morgan, Feacie, White, Daglethorpe, &c. were placed doctor John Parkhurst in Norwich, D. Cor in Elie, Jewell in Salisburie, Wilkenton in Duresme, doctor Sands in Worcester, master Downam in Westchester, Bentam in Couentrie and Lichfield, David in S. Daniels, Allie in Grecester, Horne in Winchester, Scozie in Hereford, Best in Carleill, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterburie, Bartlet in Bath, Cest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c. In like manner, were diuerse deans, archdeacons, parsons, & vicars, remoued from their benefices, and some of them committed to prison in the Tower, Fleet, Marshalsea, and Kings bench.

Moreover, about the same time were commissioners appointed to visit in euerie diocese within the realme, for the establishment of religion, according to the order appointed by act and statute, passed and confirmed in the last parlement. For London were appointed sir Richard Sacknill knight, Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, doctor Huic a ciuillian, and master Hauage; who calling before them diuerse persons of euerie parish, sware them to inquire and make presentment accordingly, vpon certeine instructions drauone and deuised, for the better accomplishment and execution of that which they had in charge. Furthermore, about the same time, by vertue of an act established in parlement, all such religious houses as were againe erected and set vp, were now suppressed, as the abbeyes of Willemsminster, the houses of the nuns and brethren of the Sion and Shene, the blacke friers of Greenwich, &c. And on the twelfe of August being saturdaye, the high altar in Pauls church, with the rood & the images of Marie and John, standing in the rood loff, were taken downe, & the prebendaries and petie canons commanded to weare no more their graie amises, but to vse onelie a surplice in seruice time. This was done by command

John Stow.
A muster at
Greenwich
by the citizens
of London in
presence of the
quēene.

Bishops de-
posed and o-
thers succe-
ding.
John Fox.

Commis-
sioners sent a-
broad for estab-
lishing of re-
ligion.

Religious
houses sup-
pressed.
Images ta-
ken downe
and burned in
the streets.

Diverse po-
pish reliques
consumed
to ashes.

Ex L. S. 1113.
Churches in
London stru-
ken & broken
by tempest.

An obsequie
for the French
king, Henrie
the second, in
whose time
Calis was
lost.

The manner
of the obsequie

The chiefe
mourners at
this obsequie.

Six bishops
receiue the
communion.

Ex L. S. 1114.
Ambassadors
from Swe-

dement of doctor Grindall, newlie elect bishop of London, doctor Haie, then also newlie elected deane of Paules, and other the commissioners then appointed. Also on the euen of saint Bartholomew, the day and morrow after, were burned in Paules churchyard, Cheape side, and diuerse other places of the cite of London, all the roods and other images of churches; and in some places, the coapes, vestments, and altar clothes, books, banners, sepulchers, and rood lofts, were likewise committed to the fier, and so consumed to ashes.

The fift of September about midnight, fell a great tempest at London, in the end wherof, a great lightning, with a terrible clap of thunder strake the spire (being stone) of the steeple of Alhalowes church in Bredstræt, about a ten foot beneath the top, out of the which fell a stone that slue a dog, and ouerthrew a man plaieng with the same dog, and the spire of the steeple was so perished, that not long after the same was taken downe with lesse charges to the parish, than the repairing would haue cost. And at the same instant, by the same tempest, one of the southdores of S. Dionise church in Fendurchstræt, with the doze of the reueretrie of the same church, were both stricken thorough and broken.]

Upon Fridaie the eight of September, was kept in Paules church of London a solemne obsequie for Henrie, the second of that name, king of France, who departed this life, about the tenth of Iulie last past, of a wound receiued the 29 of June, in running at tilt in a solemne iusts holden at Paris, in honor of the marriage celebrated betwixt his sister the ladie Margaret of France, and Philibert duke of Sauiro. He was stricken on the biser with a lance, as he ran against the counte de Montgomerie: the spiltis entring by the sight of his headpiece, & percing through his cie into his head, so perished his baine, that there was no meane to saue his life.

The obsequie for him was kept in verie solemne wise, with a rich hearse, made like an imperfall crowne, sustained with great pillars, and covered with blacke velvet, with a balence fringed with gold and richlie hanged with scutclions, pennons, and banners of the French kings armes, without anie lights. And on the barre was laid a rich pall of cloth of gold, with a coat armoz of the armes of France, and a cress with an imperfall crowne standing vpon the beere: doctor Parker archbishop of Canturburte elect, doctor Warlow bishop of Chichester elect, and doctor Scorie bishop of Hereford elect, executing at the dirge of this euening song in English, they sitting in the bishop of Londons seat, in the vpper quere, in surplices, with doctors hoods about their shoulders. The chiefe mourner was the marquesse of Winchester, lord treasurer, assisted with ten other lords mourners, with all the heralds in blacke, and their coat armours vppermost.

On the morrow being saturday, & ninth of September, a sermon was preached by doctor Scorie, in place of doctor Grindall bishop of London, who being appointed to preach that sermon, was letted by sicknesse. After the sermon, six of the lords mourners receiued the communion with the bishops, which bishops were in copes and surplices, onlie at the ministracion of the said communion. Which being finished, there was a great dinner kept in the bishop of Londons palace by Paules, where the mourners apparelled them, and so ended the solemnitie of the said erequies. The bishops had blacke gowmes grinen them, and eight blacke coats a peece for their seruants, at the quenes charges.

About the last of September, John duke of Finland, second sonne to Gustabus king of Swethen, was sent by his father to treat a marriage for his el-

dest brother Ericus, with the quenes maiestie of then receiued into Eng-land.
England: he arrived at Harwich in Essex, and was there honorablie receiued and intertained by the erle of Orford, which said erle, and the lord Robert Dudley, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yemen, conuicted him to London, where he was receiued of diuerse knights and gentlemen of the court, on the fift of October, and was with his traine of about the number of fiftie persons well hoysed, conuicted to the bishop of Wincchesters place in Southwiche, where he was lodged during his abode here, and removed from thence two daies before Easter homewards, and sped on his message as may appere by that which followeth, taken out of Iohannes Lewenclaj comment. de bellis Muscorum.

Ericus king of Swethen, sonne of Gustabus late king of the said kingdome, having committed to prison his brother John duke of Finland, whom a little before he had imploied into England on an ambassage to the quenes maiestie, whom he sued for marriage, and had his sute reieced; againe the second time solicited hir maiestie in the same sute notwithstanding, to his great dishonor, and (as it fell out) his iust disgrace. He attempted the same matter with the yongest daughter of Philip Lantgraue of Danbeffen, at whose hand (having the second time bene reiected of hir maiestie here) the matter being knowne there, he also not onelie receiued a demall, but the ladie was by hir father bestowed vpon Adolfe duke of Han Holst, vncke of Frederike king of Denmarke, then enemie of the said Ericus. Thus saith Iohannes Lewenclaj.]

Cuthbert Tunstall was translated from London to Durham, after the death of cardinall Wolseie, of whom (besides that which Holinshed in this booke reporteth) I will saie a little, he bring so reuerend a prelat, as the managing of the princes affaires by him both well witnesseth, and this present age can yet well remember. This man (being of a mild condition) was bozne at Hachaforð in Richmondshire, and (as Leland hath left in writing that he heard) the base sonne of one Tunstall an ancient gentleman: whose ancestors (as I haue read) came into England with the conquerour, attending on him as his barbar, for which cause he beareth in his armes three combs as a note to posteritie of the originall of his gentrie. Which bishop although he is supposed to haue bene base bozne (as manie noble capteins and other the valiant persons of the world haue bene, wherof six hundred examples as hath the prouerbe might be produced) yet was he not base in learning, eloquence, grauitie, and honorablie calling both in spirittual & temporall affaires: both in seruice of the prince and in charge of his church. For (besides manie other offices that he exercised) he was master of the rols: sundrie time ambassador to foreine princes, bishop of London, and from thence (by vertue of Clement the seuenth his bulles to B. Henrie the eight in the yeare 1530, the five & twentieth of March) advanced to the see of Durham, and (by the kings letters) elected thereinto the yeare before said. In the which function he behaued himselfe, as the worthinesse of the estate required, and as the doctrine of the church in those daies would permit; of which I meane not to intreat, neither of his fall or rising: but will onlie meddle with mere temporall accidents, as one that hath not bene accustomed to die his pen in the bloud of mens consciences, nor in the opinions of religion.

Wherefore to omit all such things, I saie of this bishop, that he was a man singularlie learned (as Caius feareth him *Literatissimus*) in the Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine tongues; and did not onelie erect sumptuous buildings for the mind and inward man (in furnishing when he was bishop of London a li-

The quene
maiestie was
brought out of
Denmarke;
about mar-
riage.

Iohannes
Lewenclaj.
Fr. Thun.
Discription
and compen-
dation of bi-
shop Tunstall.

The armes
of Tunstall.

Tunstall
bare office.

harte in Cambridge, with manie notable both witten and printed booke: compiling also manie other booke, as well of diuinitie as of other sciences, where of at this daie his arturlike is of great estimation through Europe) but did also for the flesh & outward man build from the ground a most beautifull porch or gatehouse (with a chapell annexed thereto) of faire stone in the castell of Durham, withall adding vnto the said castell certeine gates with iron bars and portcullices supported with strong walles of stone on each part for the more strength against the enimie: not forgetting to make a water-conduit for the ease of washing (and to serue the other offices in the house) on the left side of the entrance into the said castell. To which these sumptuous deeds (for they are verie heroically may be added the gatehouse built at Alnewike, and the tolbooth in the market of Durham all of stone, with the rest of the houses of office next vnto the hinder part of the said tolbooth, which afterward (with other great liberalities) he gaue to the citizens of Durham.

Lastlie (at his owne charge) he new repaired with stoneworke the thied part of Linbidge, which his predecessour Thomas Langley recovered against the manors of Newcastle: and which others his predecessors (as occasion was offered therefore) did from time to time most skilfully repare. In the end about the latter reigne of Edward the first (being by Rulfan or Rulfian, or Rulfie or Rulfie, accused, for that he somewhat fauoured the Romane religion, and was not so forward in furthering of the gospel as that time required) he was for that cause deposed from his bishopricke, from all other ecclesiasticall gouernment, and committed to the tower: where he remained all the time of R. Edward. Afterward (by the benefit of queene Marie) in the first yeare of hir reigne, he was reuiewed into his see of Durham, which he possessed all the time of hir gouernment: during which he was not so seuerely an excecutoz of the Romane canons against the protestants, as the other bishops of England were.

But the not continuing long (such are the inconfrances of our estates & vncertainties of our troubles) he was againe (by the noble queene Elisabeth) deposed of his bishopricke, after disputation and conference had at Westminister: in which he defended the Romane religion, in the first yeare of the said Elisabeth, about the truth of Christs gospel: and was committed to spathew Parker bishop of Canturburie, who vsed him verie honourable, both for the grauitie, learning and age of the said Tunstall. But he not long remaining vnder the ward of the said bishop, did shortly after the eighteenth of Nouember in the yeare 1559 depart this life at Lambeth, where he first receiued his consecration, being a man of such age, as that he attained to the number of fourescore & siue years when he died. He was buried in the quere of the church of Lambeth, whose funerall sermon was done by Alexander Howell, then (as now) in the yeare 1586) deane of Boules. Who taking this theame to intreat vpon, Blessed are they which die in the Lord, did there deliuer such liberall & singular commendation of this man for his vertuous life, learning, grauitie, and good seruice done to manie princes of England, that more could not be said of anie man, being spoken trulie. Such force hath vertue, that we ought to commend it euen in our enimies, ouer whose dead carcase in the said church of Lambeth is laid a faire marble, in which is engrauen this epitaph of his, deuised by doctor Walter Haddon:

*Anglia Cuthbertum Tunstallum multa requirit,
Cuius summa domi laus erat atq; foris?
Rhetor, arithmeticus, iuris consultus & equi,
Legatusq; fuit, domusq; preful erat.*

*Annorum satiras & magnorum plenus honorum,
Pertulit in cineres aureum iste senex.*

This man was (as it should appeare in stories) full of contumacie and selfe will, vnractable he was and of nature rebellious. For saith maister Fox in the reigne of king Edward, being cast into the tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmasse three yeares together, more worthe of some other place without the tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to haue meant a further plague to this realme by that man. Whobest he was indued with such excellencie of learning, and that of sundrie sates, that of the learned he is noted for a mirror of that age wherein he liued: and albeit a papist, yet not deprivable of the praise which it pleased God to prouide for him (being an enimie vnto the truth, perhaps through feare as manie more) by those rare and manifold good means wherewith he was adorned. Inso much that Leland, a man of a cleare iudgement and great insight to discern betwene substantiallie and superficialie learning, comparing this bishop Tunstall with profound Budeus, saith as foloweth:

Qua te nostra canet Tunstalle Britannia laude?

An qua Budeum Gallia doctus suum?

Candidus ille studet Græcam celebrare Minervam,

Græcorum celebras tu monumenta patrum.

Ille colit veteres intento pectore leges,

Sunt studij leges cura diserta tui.

Ille rudes assis docuit cognoscere partes,

Tu nimeros primus verba Latina loqui.

Gallia casidicium tecum dignare Britannum

Conferri, mihi dignum videri, notis.]

In this meane time, through controuersie raised betwixt the Scottish nobilitie, and the queene Dowager of Scotland, which chanced especiallie about matters of religion, certeine of the lords there minding a reformation therein, and the queene resisting them to hir power, in purpose to mainteine the old popish religion, which some name catholike; diuerse companies of souldiers and men of war were sent out of France into Scotland to aid the said queene, where they were placed in diuerse townes and forts, to the high displeasure of the more part of the Scottish nobilitie: who lothing to be oppressed with strangers in that sort, were forced to sue vnto the queene of England for aid to expell the French, who sought to subuert the ancient state of that realme, and to annex the same vnto the crowne of France.

Their sute was the better liked of, for that it was doubted, least the Frenchmen (vnder pretense of bringing an armie into Scotland to appeale the Scots) might attempt some inuasion here in England, considering that by procurement (as was thought) of the duke of Guise, vncle to the queene of France and Scotland, a title should seme to be pretended by his nece, the foresaid queene, as might be gathered by manifest coniectures of the vsurping of armes, and so forth. The names of the lords of Scotland that made sute for aid against the Frenchmen at this season, were these: the duke of Chateaubault, the earle of Arraine his sonne, the lord James ylor of saint Andrews, the earle of Argile, the earle of Glenearne, the earle of Roshouse, the earle of Southerland, the earle of Mounteith, the earle of Huntlie, the earle of Cathnes, the earle of Erroll, the earle Marshall, the earle of Morton, the earle of Cassils, the earle of Gylenton, the earle of Montross, the lord Ruthuen, the lord Boid, the lord Ogletre, the lord Erskin, the lord Drummond, the lord Hume, the lord Wolfe, the lord Cheyghton, the lord Leuingston, the lord Somerwell, the maister of Lindseie, the maister of Spawell.

The queenes maiestie, with aduise of hir graces counsell, considering of this weightie businesse, and withall

John Fox.

Collatio Budei
& Cuthberti
Tunstalli.Anno Reg. 2.
Trouble in
Scotland.Frenchmen
sent into
Scotland.The Scots
sue to the
queens mai-
estie of Eng-
land for aid
against the
French.The lords of
Scotland that
were confeder-
at together
against the
French.

The queene's
maiestie be-
termineth to
aid the Scots.

Sir William
Winter bices
admirall.
1560

The lord
Grey generall
of the armie.

Sir James
Croft.

The number
of horsemen
and footmen
in the armie.
The chiefe
in charge of
this armie.

Dunglas.

A skirmish at
Dunbar.

Two horsemen
and one footman
slaine.

Linton brygs.

Salt Preston.

withall foresaying the malicious purpose of his ad-
versaries, and how the queene of Scots was in
France married and governed, so as she was not a-
ble to use the libertie of his crowne, did thinke it best
to prevent such mischiefs as might insue, if timely
remedie were not used, to displace such dangerous
neighbourers the Frenchmen, that began to nestle
themselves thus strongly so nere at hand for no
good purpose, as easilie might be guessed. Whereupon
was a power raised and sent forth both by sea & land,
the duke of Norfolk being appointed generall, and
sent into the north for the direction thereof. And first
maister William Winter, appointed viceadmirall
of the queens navie northwards, made saile toward
Scotland, and waiking alongst the coast in Janua-
rie, came into the Forth, & so to the road of Leith, and
there cast anchor, as well to impeach the landing of
such Frenchmen, as might happlie be sent forth of
France, to the aid of the French there, against the
Scottish lords, named of the congregation; as also to
keepe them that laie in Fife from vittels: and
likewise to see that none of the Frenchmen by water
should passe to or from Leith: but to watch them so,
as they shuld not enjoy any commoditie that might
come to either place by the same water.

Whereupon, after that the armie by land was come
together into the north parts, and had sojourned at
Berwikke and thereabouts, the lord Greie of Wilt-
on being appointed generall of the said armie, departed
with the same out of the bounds of Berwikke, and
marched to Colbington, where they incamped that
night. Saturdaie the thirtieth of March, sir James
Croft, and sir George Howard departed Berwikke
to the armie, with all the lances and light horsemen,
containing the number of twelve hundred and fiftie
horses. The number of the footmen amounted to a-
bove six thousand in all. The chiefe gouvernours of
which armie were these: the lord Greie of Wilt-
on lieutenant generall, sir James Croft assistant with
him in that charge, the lord Scrope lord marshall, sir
George Howard generall of the men at armes and
demulances, maister Barnable Fitz Patrike his
lieutenant, sir Henrie Persie generall of the light
horsemen, Thomas Huggdens equier prouost mar-
shall, Thomas Colver maister of the ordnance, ma-
ster William Pelham captaine of the pioneers, Ed-
ward Randall equier, sergeant Major, maister Tho-
mas Burrough, maister Cutbert Taughan, maister
Williams, and maister Cornwell corporals.

This saturday at night the armie incamping at
Dunglas, the horsemen lodged in sundrie villages
nere about. Sir James Croft laie that night at Co-
bersteth, in the lord of Whitlakes house. Sundaye the
last of March, the armie remoued from Dunglas,
and marching by Dunbar, there issued out of the
towne certeine horsemen and footmen, offering a
skirmish: towards whom certeine of the English
lances and pikers, with certeine barquebutters,
made forwards: but they kept themselves within
their strength. Yet some of the English horsemen
approched them so nere, that in skirmish two of the
english horsemen, and one footman were slaine. The
Englishmen received little damage, saving that
Peter Spince, one of their horsemen was hurt there.

This done, the armie marched on to Linton brygs,
where the footmen incamped that night. The horse-
men laie at Haddington; and in diuerse other small
townes: and sir James Croft laie at Clarking-
ton, west of Haddington, at the lord of Cockburns
house.

Mondaye the first of Aprill, the campe remoued
from Linton brygs unto salt Preston, and there in-
camped. This evening sir James Croft, with diuers
of the captains in his companie, met with the earle

of Arraine, the lord James prior of saint Andrews,
the master of Marwell, sir William Kirkcaldie lord
of Grange, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie
with three hundred horse in their traine. After they
were met and had saluted each other, they rode alto-
gether unto salt Preston, where at the end of the
towne, my lord Greie lord lieutenant met them, and
embraced them, & so they lighted from their horses,
and entered into communication for the space of an
houre, and after toke leaue each of other, and so de-
parted for that night.

Tuesdaye the second of Aprill, my lord Greie,
sir James Croft, my lord Scrope, sir George Ho-
ward, with diuerse of the captains, rode to Spulke-
burgh church, and there taried the coming of the
duke of Chateau le rault, for the space of full two
houres: at length he came accompanied with his
sonne, the earle of Arraine, the earles of Argyle,
Glencarne, Southerland, Monteth, and Rothus, the
lord James prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ral-
ph, uen alias Kinen, the lord Ogletre, the lord Boid, the
master of Marwell, the lord of Dymeston, the master
of Lindis, the bishop of Salowale, the abbat of
saint Colmes inch, the abbat of Culros, the lord of
Pettitrow, the lord of Cunningham head, the lord
of Grange, and diuerse others. They were two hun-
dred horse in traine.

Upon the dukes approach, they all lighted on foot,
as well on the one part as the other: and after con-
tentious embracings, and gentle salutations, they en-
tered into the house of one William Atkinson, nere
to Andzelske church, and sat there in counsell the
space of two houres, & then departed for that night.
The armie laie still in campe at salt Preston, from
mondaye, till saturday, Palmesundaye euen. On
wednesdaye, the third of Aprill, my lord Greie,
sir James Croft, and my lord Scrope, sir George
Howard, sir Henrie Persie, and diuerse other cap-
tains and gentlemen, rode unto Pinkie, a house
of the abbat of Dunferm, distant a mile and a halfe
from the campe, where the earle of Arraine, and the
lord James Steward, with diuerse other noble men
of Scotland meeting them, did conduct them into
the said house, where they had long conference to-
gether, which ended, they went to dinner, and after din-
ner, they returned with my lord lieutenant to salt
Preston, and biewed the English campe. Thurs-
daie the fourth of Aprill, five yong gentlemen, ap-
pointed to passe into England for pledges, & bound
thither by sea, through contrarie winds were forced
to come on land at salt Pannes. Their names were
as follow.

The lord Claud Hamilton fourth sonne unto the
duke of Chateau le rault, Robert Douglas halfe
brother to the lord James Steward, Archibald
Campbell lord of Loughbennell, George Gram
second sonne to the earle of Monteth, James Co-
ningham sonne to the earle of Glencarne: they
were brought up to salt Preston, and remained
there that night. Saturdaye the first of Aprill, being
Palmesundaye euen, the campe raised from salt
Preston, and marched forwards. Halfe a mile from
Lesterike, beneath a crag, called Arthurs seat, the
duke of Chateau le rault, the earle of Arraine, the
earle of Argyle, the lord James prior of saint An-
drews, and the rest of the noble men of Scotland,
accompanied with two hundred horsemen, or there-
abouts, and five hundred footmen, staied for the com-
ing of the English armie. Whereupon the lord
Greie, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, sir George
Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, repaired to them,
and had conference there with the duke, and other of
the Scottish lords that were in his companie. In the
meane while the armie staied: but yet at length, the
horsemen,

The earle of
Arraine and
James prior
of saint An-
drews, and
other of the
Scottish
nobilitie.

The duke of
Chateau le
rault and his
companie.

The English
and Scottish
gentlemen
met, embrac-
ed, and con-
sulted.

The Scottish
pledges ap-
pointed to
passe into
England.

A confere-
nce betweene
the English
and Scottish
armies.

horsesmen, the vanguard and battell, were commanded to march forth, who accordingly passing forward along by the place where the duke & Scottish lords stood, held upon their waite, till they approached nere to Letherke.

At their coming thither, Trombull, the quene regents trumpet, came to my lord lieutenant, and brought with him a safe conduct, given under his hand & seale, for the safe repaire of sir James Croft, sir George Howard, and sir others to accompanie them. Whereupon they preparing themselves to go to him (after they had talked with my lord lieutenant, and the duke Chaten le scault) they departed towards Edenburgh, where the said quene as then late within the castell. There went with them maister Summerfet, maister Pelham, and foure other gentlemen. Whilist they were in conference with the quene, although an abstinence of all hostilitie by appointment taken betwixt my lord Greie and the said quene ought to haue ceased, the Frenchmen to the number of nine hundred, or a thousand shot, backed with five hundred corselets and pikes, & about fiftie horsesmen, were come forth of Leith, vnder the conduction of monsieur Dossel, and the counte Partignes, colonnell of the French footmen. My lord Greie vnderstanding thereof, came by to the hill, appointed an officer at armes called Krouge Crosse, to go vnto them; with commandement from him, that they should retire their forces forth of the field into the towne of Leith: for if it were not for the promise which he had made to the quene Dowager, he would cause them to depart, not much to their ease.

The herald doing his message, receiued answer, that they were vpon their maister and mistress ground, and therefore meant not to remoue from it. Krouge Crosse returning with this answer, was sent againe from my lord lieutenant, to command them efforts to go their way backe to Leith: for if they did not, he would surely send them awaie with a mischief. But scarce had the herald done this second message, when the Frenchmen stepping forth, discharged a whole boile of their shot into the field against my lord Greie and his companie. Hereupon, the Englishmen and they fell in skirmish, which continued for the space of foure houres and more, so hot & earnestly maintained on both parts, that the like had not lightlie bene seene manie a day before. Yet at length, the Englishmen drove the French footmen ouer the hill, wane the crag from them, and put them from a chappell, where they had stood a great while, vsing it for a couert and safegard for them against the Englishmens shot.

Then the enimies that were in Leith shot off diuerse peeces of their great artillerie out of the towne against the Englishmen, who on the other part brought forth two field peeces, and covered them with a troope of horsesmen; and hauing planted them to some aduantage, discharged the same among the enimies: who perceiuing that, gaue place, & suddenly the English demillances gaue a charge, brake in amongst them, and slue diuerse. To conclude, they were put from their ground, and forced to retire backe into Leith, being followed wchere to the verie gates of that towne. There were slaine in this skirmish of the French, about a seven score, and amongst them twelue men of name, beside some of them that remained prisoners. Of the Englishmen, there were also diuerse slaine, and manie hurt. But if the ground had bin known to the Englishmen, and what aduantage was offered to them by that presumptuous coming of the enimies so far from their hold, it was thought their whole power might easilie haue bene cut off, and vtterlie distressed.

After that this skirmish was ended, and the Frenchmen diuen into Leith, the armie incamped at Letherke. The same daie the Scottish hostages were imbarcked to passe into England. Towards euening, sir James Croft, and sir George Howard, returned from the quene regent, after they had spent a long time in talke with hir.

On sondaie the seuenth of Aprill, a new trench was cast beside the crag, and thereon two peeces of ordinance planted. The same daie, sir James Croft, sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Percie, went againe vpon assurance, to talke with the quene Dowager. Vpon daie the eight of Aprill, the Frenchmen shot at the English campe verie sore out of St. Nicholas steple, where there were two great peeces placed for to annoie them, although they did no great hurt. But the same night, the Englishmen cast a trench beyond the crag, and placed in the same trench certeine small peeces of artillerie, which went off the next daie against the enimies: and they likewise shot off againe at the Englishmen; and so likewise on wednesdaie the tenth of Aprill, on which daie, a great part of the carrriages for the great ordinance, and diuerse bullets for the same, were landed, and much thereof remoued, and brought to the innermost trench. Thursday the eleuenth of Aprill, the great ordinance was landed, and two peeces thereof mounted into their carrriages.

The twelue of Aprill being good fridaie, a bullet of a great pece of ordinance, being shot out of Leith earlie in the morning, did light in the campe, and slue thre men. The same night, they were answered againe with foure or five canons, and demillances. Saturdaie was spent in warding the trenches, and mounting the great artillerie. Sondaie the fourteenth of Aprill, being Easter daie, the Englishmen shot off in the morning all their great ordinance, and the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so they continued most part of that day, in shooting one at another. The footmen also skirmished so, that diuerse were hurt on both parts. The same day, the pile of Blacknesse was surrendered to maister Winter, vpon sight of the canon. There were within it eightene Frenchmen, who were brought awaie prisoners, and the house deliuered to maister James Hamilton. The same daie, nine Frenchmen apparelled like women, came forth of Leith, and counterfeiting some like demeanour to the apparel wherein they were disguised, trained one of the English skouts within their danger, whome they took, and chopped off his head, which they set vpon the top of one of their church steeples.

Vpon daie the fiftenth of Aprill about none, there issued out of Leith a fiftie horsesmen, and about five hundred harquebussiers: who making to the new trenches, were vpon the Englishmen that warded in such wise vpon the sudden, before they could be brought into ante order; that so entering the trenches, they slue and wounded no small number: and possessing the trenches a while, stopped and closed the touch holes of thre peeces of the artillerie, took maister Maurice Barkeleie prisoner, and his ensigne. Brian Fitz Williams was sore wounded, and a foule fright there was. The alarm being brought to the campe, sir James Croft and other repaired toward the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing the Frenchmen to be maisters of one of the trenches, he called to capteine Laughan, commanding him with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue those that were hardlie beset of the Frenchmen.

This was done with great manhood shewed by the said Laughan and others, who entering the trench, repelled the enimies, and slue sixtene of them that were in the trench. Capteine Summerfet and capteine

The Frenchmen diuen into Leith.

Saint Nicholas steple planted with two great hot peeces.

Ordinance landed.

Good fridaie to some bad fridaie.

Warre made with no difference of time.

The pile of Blacknesse surrendered.

Nine Frenchmen in womens apparell.

Blacke mondaie.

The Frenchmen win the trench.

Maister Barkeleie taken prisoner.

The Frenchmen repelled, and some of them slaine.

My lord lieutenant, and sir George Howard, went to see with the quene.

My lord lieutenant, and sir George Howard, went to see with the quene.

A charge and long skirmish between the English and French.

Church of St. Nicholas.

Maister Ar-
thur Greie
hurt in the
shoulder.

theine head with their hands followed them also, as they retired, and maister Arthur Greie, with certeine of his deuillances, of whome he had the conduction, suddenlie came vpon them, and charging them with great courage, braue them into the towne, and made no small slaughter of them. In which charge maister Arthur Greie was shot through the shoulder. The great artillerie in Letth was not idle, during this skirmish, discharging to the number of an hundred shot, greatlie to the annoiance of the English, and hinderance of the seruire, which else might by them haue bene atchined. This night the Englishmen drew backe their ordinance, which the Frenchmen had cloied with nailes and twiers in the touch-holes, but the same were planted againe before daie. Moreover, our pioners cast a new trench along by the old chappell.

A new supplie
commeth to
the arme, the
captaines
names.

Tuesdaie the sixteenth of Aprill, a supplie of two thousand & two hundred footmen came to the campe, over whome were captaines, sir Andrew Corbet, sir Rowland Stanleie, sir Thomas Hesketh, sir Arthur Danlivering, sir Laurence Smith, maister Francis Tunkfall, maister Edward Littleton, capitaine Caruell, Philip Starleie, and David Morris. They were garded with five hundred horsemen: sir Rafe Sadler, sir Francis Leake, sir John Foster, and sir Nicholas Strange hauing charge to see them safelie conducted: who after they had brought them past all danger of enemies, left them in safetie by the waie, & were come a daie or two before them to the campe.

In hot alarm
of an houres
continuance.

Wednesdaie the seventeenth of Aprill, it rained sore the more part of the daie; but yet the same night maister Winter caused diuerse of the shipboates, being verie well manned, to giue a great alarm at the side of the towne towards the water, discharging manie basses and harquebusers of Croke into the towne: the alarm was verie hot for the space of an houre. During this businesse there was a right pitifull crie made by the women and children within the towne. The pioners being applied in worke to make trenches, on fridaie all daie at night they placed certeine peeces of the ordinance in the trenches beside the chappell.

Ordinance
planted in
trenches.

Saturdaie the twentieth of Aprill, manie peeces were shot off out of the trenches into the towne. There issued notwithstanding out at the gates an hundred shot, which placed themselves in the holes of the bankes, to haile such of the Englishmen as came forth to offer the skirmish. All this daie also the pioners, both Scots and English were occupied in making of a new trench nere to the towne. Sir Gernis Clifton & capitaine Head with their bands garded them, and two hundred lances. The same daie the residue of the great ordinance with armour was brought on land. Sundaie the one and twentieth of Aprill, the bishop of Calence named Monluc, accompanied with sir Henrie Persie, and three hundred light horsemen came to Letherike: the lord lieutenant, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, and sir Rafe Sadler met him at the further end of the ward that was set of purpose for his entring into the campe. After they had receiued him with salutations according vnto the manner, he was conducted by Rouge Crosse the officer of armes from the campe into Edinburgh, and so went vp to the castell to conferre with the queene Dowager. He was no sooner entred into the castell, but that there issued forth of Letth the number of two hundred Frenchmen about twelue of the clocke, and began a hot skirmish, which continued two houres, at the which diuerse were slaine on both parts.

A skirmish of
two houres
continuance.

More ordi-
nance plan-
ted.

The same night the lord lieutenant caused nine peeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench: so that the next daie being mondaie,

the same peeces were shot off verie earlie, directlie towards the steeple of saint Anthonies church. And although those peeces layen quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinance that laye in the same steeple were dismounted by them; and likewise those that laye in the steeple of saint Nicholas church; at the which diuerse peeces were hurt; and withir six or seven fire the peeces that laye in that steeple were also displaced; and a gunner slaine that stood at one of them, the peere and the gunner committing tumbling downe both together. In this church (as was reported) their store of vittells and munition was laid, so that batterie was made against the same all that daie, and a great peere of the church wall beaten downe, and the steeple defaced. The bishop of Calence, after he had talked with the queene Dowager, returned to commune with the lords of the congre- gation.

The enemies
ordinance
displaced.

Tuesdaie the three and twentieth of Aprill, being saint Georges daie, the pioners Scottish and English were busilie applied in worke; about the casting of trenches to make a fort; and still the artillerie went off against the towne. Wednesdaie the four and twentieth of Aprill about three of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Letth seauentie horsemen, who offered the skirmish: and under the place called little London, where they were busie in fortifying all that daie, there were four hundred of their shot were placed readie to breake out, if occasion serued. At length certeine of the English lances gaue a charge vpon their horsemen, who therewith retiring, drew the Englishmen within danger of their shot. But although the Frenchmen that daie shewed themselves verie valliant in skirmishing euen in the face of the English artillerie: yet being now egerlie pursued by those lances, they were forced to retire without anie great hurt done to the Englishmen, although the skirmish continued nere hard two houres. In this last charge young maister Howne was hurt.

3 footmen.

3 horses.

The fort
repaid.

Thursdaie the five and twentieth of Aprill, the pioners laboured sore for the most part of the daie in finishing the new fort named Montpelham: to the gard whereof capitaine Claughan was appointed gouernor, with twelue hundred soldiors. This fort was raised on the south side of the towne, the plot whereof was cast square, with foure bulwarks at euerie corner, and twelue battering peeces planted in places conuenient within the same. This thursdaie also, about five of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Letth on the east side. seauentie or eightie horsemen, and two hundred harquebusers, offering the skirmish, towards whome certeine of the English light horsemen roundlie made, and charging them, drew them backe to their footmen, who with their shot receiued the light horsemen so sharplie, that they were forced to retire. In which retire James Hamilton a Scottishman was taken prisoner, for the rescue of whome the horsemen made forward againe: but the enemies that was so hot, that they were not able to recouer him; but yet they slue two of the French horsemen in fight.

The new fort
called Mont-
pelham.

Another
skirmish.

James Ha-
milton taken
prisoner.

During the time of this skirmish, there was great shooting off with the great ordinance on both sides, & much hurt done as well to the English as French. This daie capitaine Persie, and capitaine Haies, ha- uing charge of a troupe of light horsemen under sir Henrie Persie, and the lord of Grange were taken prisoners before Dunbar; and to the number of twentie or thirtie others were likewise taken or slaine the same time. The same night also, two thousand footmen with the pioners were sent to the other side of the towne, beyond the canon milles, where the pioners cast a trench for the safe lodging of

Pioners
taken and
slaine.

the armie, which remoued the next day being fridaie, and the six and twentieth of Aprill from Letherke downe into the ballie by the said canon milles called the red Bzaies, nere to the riuer side on the south part of the towne of Leith. As the armie was thus remouing from Letherke towards the said place called the red Bzaies, the Frenchmen within Leith shot off manie of their great peeces of artillerie, but without doing anie great hurt. As the armie was incamping, certeine of the enemies horsemen and footmen skirmished with the English lances and light horsemen a long time; there were two Frenchmen slaine and their horses also. In the time of this skirmish two canons were conueied and planted in the new trench, which discharged diuerse shots at the enemies.

Saturdaie the seauen and twentieth of Aprill, the great artillerie was planted aloft on the hill aboue the campe, within lesse than a carriers shot of the towne walles, and the pioners were set a worke to cast new trenches from the place where the same ordinance was lodged vnto Pontpelham, drawing so nere vnto Leith, as the harquebus might reach them that watched and warred within the Greene bulwke. Where issued out of Leith vnder the west bulwke certeine of the Frenchmen, the which were chased into the towne by the lord of Orange and others. The French kept the same daie a trench which they had made without the towne, continuallie shooting at the Englishmen in the campe: but the same night the Englishmen wane that trench from them, slue diuerse of them therein, together with their scout. And this done, they gaue a great alarm to the towne both by land and water, the shipboates shooting off against the towne verie hottie, and they within the towne likewise at the Englishmen. The same night was the great ordinance planted, and maister Parkham hurt. On sundae the eight and twentieth of Aprill the said great ordinance went off, and shot continuallie the more part of that daie. The bishop of Malence departed the same daie towards Berwike: and this night sir George Howard that had bene sent backe to Berwike, to signifie to the duke of Norfolk the state of the siege, returned with sir Richard Lee, being conducted with fise hundred horsemen.

Mondaye the nine and twentieth of Aprill, the peeces of the great artillerie were occupied in shooting off verie hottie, and the French likewise shot off theirs, and comming forth of the towne skirmished with the Englishmen. This night the pioners made new trenches toward the south bulwke. Tuesdaye the last of Aprill was spent in shooting off the great artillerie into the towne. About fise of the clocke in the after none, a sudden fire was raised within the towne, which hugelie increased and continued the most part of that night. At the beginning when it first appeared, the English ordinance was shot off to the place where the fire was, which shot together with helpe of the wind, and being verie great at that present, did maruellouslie augment the same fire: yet neuertheless the French at that present time offered a skirmish, and continued the same nere hard for the space of two houres, manned their walles, and made the best provision they might for doubt of some assault. It was indeed appointed, that certeine bands should make an alarm to the towne: in so much that capteine Claughan with diuerse of the souldiours of Pontpelham entred the ditch, and approaching the walles, discovered the height of them. And notwithstanding that the French did what they could to amole them in the ditches with currier shot, yet did capteine Claughan slay in the ditch a preste while, and retired with his men without receiving

anie great hurt.

Wednesdaye the first of Maie, the Frenchmen set by verie earlie in the morning their Maie poles in certeine bulwokes, and fourtene ensignes: the which being discovered of them in the campe, they saluted them with a peale of great ordinance, and likewise the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so continued the most part of that daie. The same daie John Brian lieutenant to capteine Capell, wane a trench fro the French at the west side of the towne, and in despite of them kept it all that daie with the losse onelie of one man. Thursdaye the second of Maie, the pioners made the trenches for the artillerie to be planted in batterie. The night following they remoued and placed the same artillerie in the new trench: and the next morning being fridaie and the third of Maie, about foure of the clocke, the same batterie went off, and continued all that daie. In the after none of the same daie certeine Frenchmen issued out of the west bulwke, and skirmishing with the Englishmen on that side the water, returned without anie great hurt.

The night insuing the pioners made a new trench by the citabell wherein they might lodge some shot, and capteine Claughan with diuerse of the bands in Pontpelham gaue two false assaults to the towne, entred the ditches, and viewed the flankers: whereupon the French shot off the same flankers, and manning their walles, shot off two or thre boles of their small artillerie, slaying and hurting to the number of twentie of the Englishmen. Among other, little Rozton lost his life that night, and so at length the residue returned. Saturdaie the fourth of Maie, there were thre ensignes appointed to gard the new trenches, and towards night, when the ward should be releued, and the watch set, the Frenchmen that were in the trench vnder the citabell, made a sallie vpon the sudden. Whereupon the Englishmen that garded the said trench were constrained to abandon a great part thereof for a time: but yet the Englishmen effrons taking courage, laid to them afresh, repelled them againe, & drave them backe into their owne trenches, slue foure of them in sight, and hurt manie others. This was the lot of warre, to be ouerthrowne by force of the enemy, as the poet saith:

Qui Martem experti, per vim subiguntur ab hoste.

Whilist this was in doing, the French had sused their bulwokes and rampiers with carriers and harquebusers of Croke, as thicke as was possible, which went off without ceassing at the Englishmen, for the space of an houre and more. The English artillerie planted in the trenches did answer them againe continuallie, and the great peeces did much hurt among them, in sight of them that watched in the same trenches. The same night the Englishmen conueied two culuerings ouer the water to scowle the mills: and before the breake of the daie they had burnt one of the same mills. Sundae the six of Maie earlie in the morning at the releuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure souldiours that belonged to the great ordinance issued out, and set fier on the other mill, which burnt verie ontragiouslie without ceassing, for the space of an houre or more. The French began to assemble towards the mill, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceived: for suddenly the Englishmen cut two holes through their trenches, & placing in the same the two demiculuerings, shot them off at the Frenchmen, so that they were driuen to forsake the mill, and in their retire some of them were slaine.

This daie also, as foure French gentlemen came forth to discover the English trenches, capteine Head commanded one of his souldiours to shoot at them, but through mishap his peece burst, and a shuter the reep

Maie poles set by in Leith on Maie daie.

A trench won from the French.

Capteine Claughan breached the enemies flankers.

The French repelled by the English.

The mills burnt by the English and the French driuen from thence.

Captaine
Reades arme
broken.

The earle of
Argile with
his armie
commeth to
Edenburgh.

The assault
giuen to Leith
the seauenth
of Maie.

The hoisemen
appointed to
gard the field.

The English
men repelled
by the policies
and deuises
of the French.

The number
slaine & hurt
at the assault.

thereof flue out, and bzake the arme of his said cap-
taine. Mondate the first of Maie, the armie lieng qui-
et all the morning, in the afternoon the English or-
dinance on the further side the water began to shot
off against the enemies verie hottie, so continuing
till night. This daie the earle of Argile, and diuerse
other noble men of Scotland, came to Edenburgh
with two thousand hoisemen and footmen, who shew-
ed themselves in order of a muster, on the hill under-
neath the castell. Which being perceined of the French
within Leith, they shot off three great peces of artil-
lerie at them, but (as God would haue it) without
hurt, for two of the bullets lighted short, and the third
did fall in a garden within the towne of Eden-
burgh. The night insuing, the great ordinance in
the Englishmens trenches and bulwoks continu-
ed shooting on euerie side. And here with commande-
ment was giuen by the lord lieutenant, and the coun-
cell, that the whole armie should be readie armed
with their weapon and furniture according by mid-
night.

In the morning by two of the clocke the senenth
of Maie being tuesdaie, diuerse bands passed forth
towards the towne, and entring the ditches offered
the scale: other capteins with their men appoched
the bulwoks, and other there were appointed to en-
ter beside the mills. Beside the English bands com-
manded thus to giue the assault, there were a thou-
sand Scots ioined with them, whereof flue hundred
with capteine Naughan, and such other capteins as
were commanded to attempt the bulwoke next to
Pontpelham, and other flue hundred went with such
of the English capteins as were commanded to as-
sault the breach beyond the water. Sporeouer, as well
the lances as light hoisemen were assigned to gard
the fields; sir George Howard with the lances kee-
ping betwixt the fort of Pontpelham and the sea
westward, and sir Henrie Perke with the light
hoisemen betwixt the campe and the sea eastward.
The rest of the footmen that went not to the assault,
were also appointed to gard the trenches and field, in
such wise as was thought expedient. So that perfect
direction was giuen in euerie behalfe by the lord
lieutenant, and other of the councell. And vpon war-
ning giuen by capteine Randall sergeant maior, such
as had bene commanded to giue the assault in their
seuerall appointed places, preased forward with cou-
rage inough, and boldlie aduentured to cline the
walls, & enter at the breaches, but yet their attempt
wanted the wished successe: for what throughe the
Frenchmens policie in stopping the current of the
riner that night, and other deuises for their owne
safeguard, and the annoiance of the assailants: and
what by reason of the vnfitnesse of the ladders, being
too short by two yards and moze, the assailants were
repelled. For during the whole time of the assault,
which continued for the space of an houre and a halfe,
the French shot off their flankers, and mainteined
their shot from the walls so thicke, that it seemed a
verie hell for the time.

They also hurled downe ouer the wals vpon the
assailants heads, great plentie of stones, logs, and
mightie peces of timber, which did much hurt to the
Englishmen and Scots, that forced themselves to
cline vp. But yet neuertheless, manie there were
that entred the towne in sundrie places, of the which
some came backe againe, although others were bea-
ten downe and slaine. To conclude, at length all that
escaped with life, were forced to retire with the losse
of seauen or eight score Englishmen, some haue said
two hundred, which were slaine outright, beside those
that were wounded, being in number at the least
two or three hundred: and amongst other, there were
diuerse capteins and gentlemen that were hurt, as

sir Thomas Hesketh, master Sutton, master Sel-
port, master Conweie, capteine Wood, Thomas
Fittion, with others. Vpon the repulse thus giuen to
our men by the French, they aduanced and set vp
fourtene ensignes presentlie about the towne, and
continued otherwise quiet all that daie. Wednesdaie
the eight of Maie in the afternoon, sir George Ho-
ward, and sir Richard Lee departed towards Bar-
wikke with certeine companies of hoisemen for their
safe conduction. Thursdaie the ninth of Maie, the
Frenchmen wrought verie earnestlie within the
towne, to fortifie the necessarie places, and repare
the breaches, even in the face of the English ordi-
nance, which went off diuerse times, and did them
much hurt.

The same daie also the French had manned to the
sea wards a bote fraught with fittie harquebusers,
meaning to conueie them ouer to Insickth: but the
English ships discouering them, prepared certeine
botes to encounter them, whereof they being aware,
returned. Fridaie the tenth of Maie, master Ang-
bie, capteine Pickman, and capteine Woluwe, came
to the campe from Barwikke, with a supplie of four-
hundred and fittie souldiours. The same daie about
ten of the clocke at night, there chanced a ball to
fall out among the Scots that watched in the tren-
ches nearest vnto the towne of Leith on the west
side, in somuch that one of them fell to and killed an
other: which disorder being perceined of the French
within Leith, they issued out, and meant to haue
vled the vantage: but the Englishmen that wat-
ched nere vnto the Scots staied the frate, and did
not onellie bring them to quiet, but also put the
Frenchmen to flight. On sundaie the twelue of
Maie, about midnight the Frenchmen, to the num-
ber of two hundred, sallied forth of the towne, mind-
ing to giue a camifado to the Englishmen, who
kept watch that night in the trenches at the weste
of Pontpelham; but they were descried, and certeine
of them killed, and so had the repulse. Wednesdaie
the fiftenth of Maie, sir Francis Leake came to the
campe with a supplie of flue hundred men from Bar-
wikke.

Thursdaie the sixteenth of Maie towards night,
the Frenchmen to the number of one hundred foot-
men, and thirtie hoisemen, came abroad and shew-
ed themselves verie braue, skirmishing with the
Englishmen at the west end of their towne. Tues-
daie the one and twentieth of Maie, about seauen of
the clocke at night, there issued forth of Leith sir
hoisemen, and one hundred footmen harquebusers,
marching toward Pontpelham to offer skirmish.
Wherevpon capteine Naughan went forth to them
verie orderlie, and skirmished with them a ppettie
while: and in the meane time, off went the great ordi-
nance on both sides. In the end the Frenchmen
were giuen to retire into the towne, for the Eng-
lishmen shewed themselves verie egre, and vallant-
lie charged their enemies, put them to retire, and cha-
sed them in at their gates, to the which they followed
them right hardlie.

The same night, maister Francis Summerlet
and other capteins were appointed to keepe a fort
built aboue the campe; and now finished, toke name
of him being capteine thereof, and was after called
Summerlets mount. The same daie a souldiour of
capteine Durics band was hanged for going to
Edenburgh, contrarie to a proclamation, inhibi-
ting anie souldiour so to do without speciall licence.
Wednesdaie the two and twentieth of Maie, sir Pe-
ter Carew came to the campe, being sent from the
court. Thursdaie the foure and twentieth of Maie at
seuen of the clocke at night, the French sallied forth
to the number of two hundred footmen, and twentie
hoisemen.

Sir George
Howard and
sir Richard
Lee.

A supplie of
four hundred
and fittie sol-
diours.

Sir Francis
Leake brings
with him a supplie
to the campe.

Skirmish
betweene the
English and
French.

The French
men chased.

Summerlet
mount.

Sir Peter
Carew sent
from the
court.

possession, at the reliefe of the warders when the watch should be set, meaning (as it appeared) to haue wone the trenches from the Englishmen. Whereby, on a fore skirmish followed, diuerse slaine, and manie hurt on both parties: yet in the end the Frenchmen were driuen home by plaine force. This was at the west side of the towne, where they had fortified to wards the sea.

The same daie the Frenchmen of Dunbar took an English hoie laden with double beere, beefe, oren, and stiches of bacon. Saturdaie the eight of June, sir John Neuill with three hundred men, capteine Bridges, and capteine Durie, with other three hundred, set from Barwikke towards the campe, where they arrived on mondaie the tenth of June, on which daie the queene Dowager departed this life. The thirtenth of June, sir William Cecil, principall secretarie to the queenes maiestie, and doctor Mot-ton deane of Canturburie and Porke came to Barwikke, appointed commissioners on hir said maiesties behalfe, to treat of an accord with the conte de Randon, and the bishop of Valence, commissioners sent for that purpose from the French king, and his wife Marie queene of Scotland. The fourtenth of June being fridaie, a certeine number of Frenchmen came south of Leith to gather cockles on the sands towards Spontpelham: which the Englishmen perceiuing, set vpon them, slue threescore and ten, and tooke firtene of them prisoners.

On sundaie the sixtenth of June, the fore remembred commissioners came to Edenburgh: and as master secretarie and doctor Motton passed the English forts and campe, they were saluted with a gallant peale of the harquebussiers that shot off their harquebusses verie liuelie. Mondraie the sevententh of June about eight of the clocke, an abstinence of waite was concluded, warning being giuen by the discharging of two peeces of the great artillerie out of the castell, and then the Frenchmen shewed and advanced themselves vpon their rampiers. Saturdaie the two and twentieth of June, the abstinence was broken off, which till then had bene trulie kept and obserued. Thurdraie the fourth of Iulie, about thre of the clocke in the after none, the French came out of Leith, according to their accustomed maner to gather cockles. Wherevpon the lord lieutenant being at that present in Spontpelham, sent a drum vnto monsieur Doissell to signifie to him that his soldiers had gone further without their bounds than they might doe by the order taken by the commissioners of both parts. Doissell answered, that they were no souldiours, but poore people which went to gather cockles for their reliefe and sustenance. The drum said, that if they kept not themselves within their appointed limits, my lord lieutenant meant to send them backe not greatlie to their ease: wherevnto Doissell replied, that if he so did, he would doe the best he could to aid them. Wherevpon the English horsemen and footmen out of Spontpelham gaue a charge vpon them, and slue of them to the number of fiftie, and tooke certeine of the residue prisoners. Fridaie the first of June, about six of the clocke in the after none, issued out of Leith fourtenthie horsemen, and an hundred footmen, which offered the skirmish: but vpon the shooting off the great artillerie from Spontpelham, they retired home againe into the towne.

The night following about twelue a clocke, one Scattergood an Englishman that was a gunner, had seined himselfe to slee from the English campe for in slaughtering into Leith, and was receiued of the Frenchmen, believing that he had meant no deceit, came out of the towne, after he had remained there about seauen daies: in which meane while he

had understood fullie the state of the towne, and now vpon his returne made relation therof as he knew. On saturdaie the first of June, the lord Greie lord lieutenant, master secretarie Cecil, and sir Wase Sadler, betwixt thre and foure of the clocke in the afternone, gaue order that there should no pece be shot, nor shew of hostilitie made till leauen of the clocke the same night: and herewith sent sir Serueis Clifton vnto all the souldiours that warded in the trenches and bulworks on the west side of Leith, to command them to obserue the like order. And sir John Neuill was sent with like commandement vnto the souldiours that late in Summersets mount. The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the morrow being sundaie, and seauenth of June, sir Francis Leake, and sir Serueis Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were sent to the towne of Leith, to signifie vnto monsieur Doissell, the bishop of Amiens, la Brosse, Martigues, and other the French lords and capteins, that they were come thither by commandement from the commissioners, to cause the peace already concluded to be proclaimed: which accordingly was done in maner as followeth.

Order taken for the restraining of all signes of hostilitie.

The peace concluded and word sent to the French that it should be proclaimed.

The forme of proclaiming the foresaid peace betweene the parties at hostilitie.

In the most mightie princeesse, Elisabeth by the grace of God, queene of England, France, & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: and the most christian king, Francis and Marie, by the same grace of God king and queene of France and Scotland: haue accorded vpon a reconciliation of a peace and amitie to be inuiolable kept, betwixt them, their subiects, kingdomes and countries. And therefore in their names it is stricte commanded to all maner of persons borne vnder their obeisances, or being in their seruice, to forbear all hostilitie either by sea or land, & to keepe good peace each with other from this time forwards, as they will answer therevnto at their uttermost perils.

Immediatlie after this proclamation was ended, sir Francis Leake and sir Serueis Clifton were brought to monsieur Doissels lodging, where was prepared for them a great banquet of thirtie or fortie dishes: and yet not one either of flesh or fish, sauing one of the flesh of a powdered horse, as a certeine person hath written that tasted thereof, as he himselfe auoucheth. Where then we see the course of war, the end whereof of necessitie must be peace. For when both parts are either wearied, weakened, slaughtered, or discomfited, as that they be constrained to surceasse, least they be slaine euerie mothers sonne: then peace is sought, and hard conditions receiued rather than it shall be refused. That it were Gods will (saith Schardus writing of the accidents happening in the yeare 1570, which all men counted a fortunate and blessed yeare, albeit famine, the Turkish warre, the pestilence, and most cruell other flowings of waters did then outragiously take on: because thre verie greuous warres, namelie the first of the Polanderes against the Muscovites, the second of France within it selfe by ciuill dissention, & the third betwene the Sweueners and the Danes, were then finished) That it were Gods will (saith he) that

Sir Francis Leake and sir Serueis Clifton were bidden by monsieur Doissell.

Schardus in rebus gestis suis imperatore Maximiliano secundo.

Ad aaaa. i. kings

kings and princes would be admonished by examples in due time to consult of peace, and to make much thereof, rather than after manie calamities sustained and taken, to thinke how beneficiall and precious it is. Then should they without seeking or sweating inoy those things which to obtaine they undertake great voiaiges, and yet nothing nere their purpose without much bloodshed, slaughter, and wastfullnesse, as sometime berie wiselike said Cyneas to Pyrrhus, dissuading him from the Italian warre: and as one both learnedlie and fitlie writeth, saieing:

*Hic est perpetuus sacrorum lusus & usus,
Euidendi ut faciat consumpta pecunia finem:
Sic ubi vastata gentes lachrymantur & vrbes,
Aurea tum demum feruntur federa pacis.
Heu quanto saluus foret hac prauertere damna!
Atque animos hominum saluus coalescere rebui!*

while this
histoie gra-
pher is so
large in the
description
of this siege
of Leith.

Thus haue I bene more large in this matter concerning the siege of Leith, than may be thought peradventure necessarie, sith the thing is yet fresh in memorie: but because there came to my hands certein notes of one or two persons that were there present, and for helpe of their owne memories wrote the same, I haue thought it not impertinent to insert the effect of them, that the same may serue to further those that hereafter shall write the histoie of this time more at large, sith my purpose is not to continue the same otherwise than I find things noted in the abridgements of Iohn Stow and Richard Grafton: except in some recital of expeditions and tour- nies made, as this, and other into Scotland, and that same of the right honourable the earle of Marwick into Normandie, which I haue thought good to in- large, according to such notes as haue come to my hand, beseeching the readers to accept the same in good part: and if anie thing be omitted, either in this place or anie other, that were as necessarie to be spoken of, as those points which I haue touched, or afterwards may touch, to impute the fault to the want of god instructions, and not to anie negligence or lacke of god will in me to aduance currie mans worthe doings according to his merits.

The articles
of the peace
at the siege
of Leith.

But now concerning the articles of the peace, being about thirtene in all, the chiefeest may seme to rest herein, that the French souldiours and men of warre should depart out of the realme of Scotland within a short time limited of twentie daies, as Ludouico Guicciardini hath noted; six score of them onlie excepted, as three score to abide in Insketh, and three score in the castell of Dunbar, they to be answered their wages at the huncs of the estates of Scotland, and to be subiect vnto the lawes and ordinances of that realme. That the fortifications about Leith should be razed and demolished: and likewise the fort which had bene built and raised before the castell of Dunbar by the French, for a strength thereto. That the Frenchmen should not conuie into Scotland anie men of warre, or munitions without consent of the parlement assembled of thre estates of that realme. That the king and queene of France & Scotland should not fro themselves beare the arms of England, sith the same appertained onlie to the queens maiestie of England and to no other person.

The end of
this peace
thus con-
cluded.

See more here-
of in Scotlā
pag. 374.

These and other articles were compiled and established in the conclusion of this peace, as well to the honour and surtie of the queens maiestie of England, hir realmes, dominions, and subiects, as also for the wealth and preservation of the realme of Scotland, the nobles and other subiects of that realme. After that this peace then was fullie established, agreed, and concluded, the Frenchmen were imbar- ked at Leith in English vessels; those onlie excepted that were appointed to remaine as pledges with the Englishmen till the ships came backe againe,

and a few other that were permitted to passe through England into their countrie. Thus were the French forces remoued out of Scotland, a matter so much importing to the confirmation of peace betwixt vs and that realme, and also to the auoiding of further perils, that this iourne ended with so honorable and profitable a peace, concluded by the high industrie and prudent policie of our queens maiesties commissioners afore mentioned, may be accompted one of the most necessarie expeditions, and most beneficiall seruices that had bene made and put in practise in manie yeates before. For the queens maiestie (as some haue trulie written) had not onlie hir chiefe desire, by remouing of the French hir dangerous neighbors, that were about to nesse themselves so neare hir elbow: but also a perfect peace with the Scots was thereby procured, like to continue manie yeares (if the said Scots shall not seeke their owne too) being full vnable to aduantage themselves by warres against vs, as to the wisser and best sort of them I trust is not vnknowne.

But to leaue the further consideration of the benefit that may grow herof to this realme, vnto their iudgements that haue riper heads to understand the same: I will proceed, and here with make an end of this matter, concerning the siege of Leith. After that the Frenchmen were departed, and the forts about Leith and Dunbar razed and demolished, according to the covenants of peace, the queens maiestie called backe hir armie without reteining anie peace with Scotland to hir owne vse. In which honorable and bright dealing, she wan more fame and estimation, than if she had seized and kept in hir possession halfe the realme of Scotland: speciallie regarding the perplexed state of the people by war, which she redressed by the establishment of peace, a thing which she alwaies loued, as the contrarie she most hated: as one hath noted of hir grace, saieing:

Virgo pacis amans, quæ stat contraria belli.

The queens maiestie by the aduise of hir most honorable counsell, meaning to abolish all corrupt, base, and copper monies then currant in this realme of England, coined in the times and reignes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, to the great hinderance and decaye of the commonwealth of this realme, and therewith to restore vnto all hir subiects fine and pure sterling monies, both of gold and siluer, to the great honor and benefit of the whole realme: published a proclamation on Michaelmasse euen before none, that the tesson coined for twelue pence, and in the reigne of king Edward embossed by proclamation to six pence, should now forthwith (that of the best sort marked with the portcullis) be currant for foure pence halfe pence: the second marked with the grehound for two pence farthing: the third and worst sort not marked as afore, not to be currant at all, nor receiued for anie value. The groate to be currant for two pence, the former pence of two pence for a pence, &c.

It was not long after this, but that hir grace restoring to hir subiects fine sterling monie, called all the said base and corrupt coines into hir maiesties mint, allotting to them therefore after the rate before mentioned, so much of the said fine monies as they brought in of the said base monies. About the same time, hir grace also finding this realme greatly vnsupplied of armour, munitions, and powder, for the defense thereof in time of necessitie, did so largelie and plentifully prepare and cause to be brought into the same, such sufficient furniture of armour and weapons, as England hath ill cause to praise and giue thanks to God and hir maiestie: for that it is certeine, that the realme was neuer so amply storied nor provided of all manner of kinds of

The common-
dation of the
foresaid coines
closed peace

T. Church-
yard.

The queens
meaning in
remouing the
French out of
Scotland.

The queens
armie was
out of Scot-
land.

Iohn Stow.
A tall sheld
monie & me-
king of new
coines.

Anno Reg. 3.

1560

Admissions to
Lanquet.
The queens
furnisheth the
land with
more and more
munition.

The merchant
tailors
company.

convenient armor and weapons, as it is at this present. The one and twentieth of March a notable Grammar schole was founded by the maister, wardens, and assistants of the right worshipfull companie of the merchant tailors of London, in the parish of S. Laurence Pontneic in the same cite, the right worshipfull Emanuel Lucar, Robert Rose, William Perike, John Sparke, & Robert Duckington then maister and wardens of that companie.

William Gessie
whipped.

The tenth of Aprill was one William Gessie whipped, from the Sparthalsea in Southworke, to Bedlem without Bishops gate of London, for that he professed one John Hoze to be Christ our saviour: on his head was set a paper, wherein was writtten as followeth: William Gessie a most blasphemous heretike, denieng Christ our saviour in heauen. The said Gessie being staied at Bedlem gate, John Hoze was brought forth, before whom William Gessie was whipped, till he confessed Christ to be in heauen. Then the said John Hoze being examined, and answering ouerthwartlie, was commanded to put off his cote, doublet, and shirt, which he feared to do verie willingly, and after being tied to the cart, was whipped an arrowes shot from Bedlem, where at the last he also confessed Christ to be in heauen, and himselfe to be a sinfull man. Then was John Hoze sent againe into Bedlem, and Gessie to the Sparthalsea, where they had laine prisoners nigh a yere and a halfe, the one for professing himselfe to be Christ, the other a disciple of the same Christ. On wednesdaie the 4 of June, betwene foure & fve of the clocke in the afternone, the steeple of Paules in London being fired by lightning, blast forth (as it seemed to the beholders) two or three yards beneath the foot of the crosse, and from thence burnt downe the spire to the stoneworke and bels, so terrible, that within the space of foure houres the same steeple with the rofes of the church, so much as was timber or otherwise combustible, were consumed, which was a lamentable sight and pittifull remembrance to the beholders thereof. After this mischance, the queens maiestie being much grieved for the losse of so beautifull a monument, directed hir highnesse letters to the maior of the cite of London, willing him to assemble the citizens to take some order for speciall aid and helpe for the repairing againe of the said monument. And the of hir most gracious disposition, to giue a comfort to others for the furtherance thereof, did presentlie giue and deliuer in gold one thousand markes, and a warrant for a thousand lode of timber, to be taken out of hir maiesties woods or elsewhere: and the citizens of London granted one beneuolence, and three fifths to be forthwith paid.

Paules Steeple
fired by lightning.

The queene
is grieved
with the losse
of Paules
steeples
which means
to repaire it.

The queene
beneuolence
to repaire
the same.

Cardinals
printed to
reuerse the
opening of
Paules.

The clergie vnder the ppointe of Canturburie granted the fourth part of the value of their benefices charged with first fruits, & not charged with first fruits the thirtieth part. The clergie of the diocesse of London granted the thirtieth part of their benefices in first fruits, and the twentieth part out of first fruits. Now immediatlie by commandement of the queens highnesse, hir priuie counsell took order that hir citizens of London, and two of the clergie of the church of Paules, had charge and commandement to ouersee and set forward this worke, who made such expedition, that within one moneth next following the burning thereof, the whole church, that is to saie, all the foure great rofes of the same were couered with lead, and after the manner of a false rose. And the greatnesse of the worke dispatched in so short time could scarce be credited of anie, but of such as saw and knew the same. And the cause of this great hast was for feare of raine, which might haue perished the waltes, to the destruction of the whole church, & the people that were therein. And be-

fore the said yere was fullie ended, all the said fles of the said church were made & framed of new & maine timber, & couered with lead, & fullie finished. And the same yere also, the great rose of the west end was framed, and made of new & great timber in Dorsetshire, & brought to London by sea, and set by & couered with lead, and fullie finished. And in like manner within the said yere, the whole rose and frame of the east end of the said church was made in Dorsetshire, & brought by sea to London, and there laid ready to be raised when the season of the yere serued. This one thing resteth to be told, that by estimation of wise men, 10000 pounds more than is yet granted vnto it, will not perfect & finish the church and steeple in such sort as it was before the burning thereof.

All the fles of
Paules made
and framed of
new timber.

Ten thousand
pounds insuffi-
cient to re-
paire Paules
as it was at
the first.

In this meane time also, by reason of the queens maiesties letters directed to the maior and his brethren of the cite of London about the burning of Paules, there were certene aldermen and commoners of the said cite named and called together by the authoritie of the maior, to deuise some good order and speedie remedie for the reliefe and comfort of the said cite, whensoever anie chance of fire hereafter should happen (as God forbidd) within the said cite or liberties thereof. And the persons so called after sundrie meetings, and with good aduise and deliberation, agreed and penned a certene order for the speedie remedie thereof, as well for the ready knowledge of the place, wheresoever the same fire should happen, and for the sudden extinguishing & suppressing of the same, as also for the safe keeping of the goods of such persons in whose house anie fire should chance. Which orders and rules vndoubtedly would be to the great comfort & safetie of the cite and citizens of the same, if they were published and made known in time, and executed accordingly. But what should I saie? I can but lament, not onlie for this, but also for manye such painefull and profittable labors, which for god gouernement of this cite had bene taken. For as soone as the talking thereof is done, and the booke framed and deliuered, so soone is it put in obliuion, and nothing at all thought vpon, untill an houre after the mischance be past.

Good orders
nothing
worth if they
be not put in
execution.

This yere was chosen lord maior of London a worthy citizen named William Harper, one of the companie of the merchant tailors. This man living in his life time to benefit his countrie, founded a free schole in the towne of Bedford where he was borne, and now lieth buried, providing a competent stipend and lining for a scholemaster, there to traine by and instruct children in vertue and learning for ever. The sixteenth of Nouember, the queens maiestie published a proclamation, wherein she restored to the realme diuerse small peces of siluer monie, as the peece of six pence, foure pence, three pence, two pence, and a penie, three halfe penie, and three farthings. She also forbade all forren coines to be current within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them to hir maiesties mints, except two sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne. Thus did hir maiestie in all hir actions directed to common vtilitie that at a certene perfection, purenesse, and soundnesse, as here in hir new stamps and coines of all sorts; so also in Gods religion, setting the materiall churches of hir dominions free from all popish trash: which one hath aptlie noted by waie of comparison, saing:

Free schole
in Bedford
towne founde
d by Wil-
liam Harper
maior of Lon-
don elect.

New coines
of small peces
as six pence,
etc.

*Eicquid paleis purgatur ut area multis
Et que laborantis ferui sudore, reuulsis
Et nitet ampla domus, quas struxit aranea telis:
Sic prius idolis confectis, templa fiantur
Cuncta scopis, quicquid fuit, abradentibus uncis
Dentibus obsecrum, spurcum, verbone repugnans
Sacro, religioque erectis cultior ibat*

Aaaaaa.

107

*Iam petibus, Christusque Dei cognoscitur agnus,
offensas delens mundi, peccataque tollens
et cunctis populo non indulgentia papa.*

Anno Reg. 4.
Spontaneous
births in di-
uerse places of
England.

1562

This yeare in England were manie monstrous births. In March a mare brought forth a foale with one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile growing out betwene the two heads. Also a sow farrowed a pig with foure legs like to the armes of a manchild with armes and fingers, &c. In Aprill a sow farrowed a pig with two bodies, eight feet, and but one head: manie calves and lambs were monstrous, some with collars of skin growing about their necks, like to the double ruffles of shirts and necker, others then used. The foure and twentieth of Maie, a manchild was borne at Chichester in Suffex, the head armes, & legs thereof were like to an anatomic, the breast and bellie monstrous big, from the nauill as it were a long string hanging: about the necke a great collar of flesh and skin growing like the ruffe of a shirt or neckercher, coming by about the eares pleited and folded, &c.

France at dis-
union in it
selfe by ciuill
warres.

The queenes
maiesties mis-
trust of incor-
uence, and
the same re-
medied.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie sent
ambassador
into France.

An other am-
bassage in Ju-
lie directed in-
to France.

Ships of Lu-
den, Exeter,
& Falmouth,
spoiled by the
French in
Brittaine, the
thirtieth of
Iulie, and
ninetieth of
August.

The realme of France being in great trouble about this season, by the means of ciuill dissention and warres that rose betwixt the house of Guise and other of that faction upon the one side, and the prince of Conde and other that took part with him on the contrarie side: the queenes maiestie informed how that the duke of Guise and his partakers hauing got into their possession the person of the yong king, under pretext of his authoritie, sought the subuersion of manie noble men and good subiects of the crowne of France, namelie such as were knowne or suspected to be zealous for a reformation to be had in matters of religion: hir maiestie therupon considering, that if their purpose might be brought to effect, it was to be doubted that they would not so rest, but seeke to set things in boile also within this hir realme of England, and other countries nere to them adioining: first as one that had euer wished quietnesse, rather than the troubles of warre, sent over sir Henrie Sidneie at that present lord president of Wales (a man of such estimation as his word ought to haue deserved credit) to trie if he might doe anie god to bring the parties to some attonement. But such willfull headinesse seemed to rest in some that were chiefe of the one faction, that their desire seemed altogether bent to enter into wars. Hir maiestie yet hoping the best, appointed to send another honourable ambassage, which by their wisdoms and good aduise might perswade the parties vnto concord, whereby all due authoritie, honoz, & dignitie might be restored to the king, and euerie other degree keepe their roimes and places as to them appertained, but all in vaine. For this motion of a pacification to be had could take no place, neither might the will of the yong king, or of his timorous mother, as it then seemed, be regarded, otherwise than as stood with the pleasure & appointment of those that were knowne to be the chiefe authors and furtherers of all those troubles.

Whilist the queenes maiestie therefore did thus trauell in respect of the suertie which hir grace bare to hir welbeloued brother the said king, and to the commoditie and quietnesse of both the factions, an open iniurie was offered to hir maiestie: so as it might appeare what minds they bore towards hir, that had thus excluded and refused all offers & means to grow to some good and indifferent conclusion of peace. For whereas manie merchants, as well of London as of Exeter, and other the west parts of hir realme, were sojourning for cause of traffike, in diuerse ports and hauens of Brittaine; and hauing dispatched their businesse, and got their lading aboard, their ships were readie to hoise vp sailes, and to retorne each one towards the place from whence he

came, they were suddenly arrested, their goods seized vpon, and they themselves cast in prison: and some that in reuenge of such offered iniurie attempted to make resistance, were cruellie slaine, their ships conueied awaie, their goods confiscated, without other pretense, but onelie that it was said to them that they were Huguenots. Neither was this done by priuat persons, but by open violence of the gouernors & magistrats of those places where the same disorder was executed: so that it appeared from thence they had their commission to vse such wrongfull dealing, and how farre the same would extend, if they might once haue time and occasion to accomplish their purposed intentions.

Howeouer, when complaint of such iniuries was made vnto the lawfull magistrats there, they found no redres at all. For what might the poore merchants profit by their plaints, when the packets of the ambassadors letters, directed to hir maiestie, were taken from the bearer, & no punishment had against those that committed so vnicuill an outrage? A thing that offended hir maiestie so much more, for that as she toke the matter, there wanted no god will, either in the king, or his mother, or in the king of Nauarre, the kings generall lieutenant, to see such a presumptuous and vnrulie part punished of their people: but rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it redressed. Further more, it greatly grieved hir, that the yong French king, hir dere brother was brought to such a streit, that he was nether able to defend the libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his labors, nor to deale brightlie with other princes and potentats accordinglie, as by the bonds of leagues and of couenanted alliances had bene requisite. Neither did such disorder in gouernement of the kingdome of France touch anie so much and particularlie, as the queens maiestie of England.

She therefore lamenting that the king and queene mother should be thus in the hands of them that procured all these troubles, and led vp and downe at their pleasures, and diuen to behold the spoile and sackling of diuerse his cities, and miserable slaughter of his subiects: and againe hir grace thinking it expedient to preuent that such as were knowne to beare no god will, either to hir or hir realme, should not get into their possessions such townes and hauens as laie against the sea coast of hir said realme, whereby they stuffing the same with garrisons and numbers of men of warre, might easilie vpon occasions seeke to make inuasions into this hir said realme, to the great annoiance of hir and hir louing subiects: at the request of the French themselves, thought it expedient to put in armoz a certeine number of hir subiects, to passe over into Normandie, vnto such hauens as nere approached vnto this hir realme of England, as well for the safegard of the same, as also for the reliefe and preservation of the inhabitants there: and other that professed the gospel, liuing in continuall danger to be murdered and oppressed, and therefore craving hir aid to saue and deliuer them out of the bloudie hands of their cruell aduersaries, that sought their hastie destruction.

For the conduction therefore of such forces as she meant to send ouer at that present, she ordeined the lord Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke to be hir principall lieutenant, capteine generall, chiefe leader and gouernor of hir said subiects, that should in such wise passe ouer into Normandie. Wherevpon, the said earle the seuenteenth of October, in this fourth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, toke shipping at Portsmouth in the haven there, at one a clocke in the after none, being aboard himselfe in the queens ship, called the *Swet barke*, and setting forward, sailed all that after none, and the night following, directed to-
wards

Letters ta-
ken from the
queens amb-
assadors (re-
maine).

The French
troubles touch
most the queene
of England.

The chiefe
causes that
moued the
queenes ma-
iestie to send
a power into
France.

The earle of
warwicke sent
into Norm-
die with an
armie.

towards Helwauen, but in the morning about eight a clocke, when his lordship was within twentie miles of the towne of Helwauen, the wind suddenly changed cleane contrarie to his course: so that being driven to returne about the next midnight, he arrived in the boines, and there remained at anchor, till about eight of the clocke in the next morning being mondaie, and then was set on land by bote at Sandon castell besides Deale, and the same daie at night came to Douer, & there laie till fridaie at thre of the clocke at after none; and then taking ship againe, sailed forth: but finding the wind nothing prosperous for his course, after he had lien all that night & the daie following, tossing & tumbling on the seas, he was constrained to come backe againe, and arrived in the haven of Douer, about ten of the clocke on saturdaye at night, and so remained there till tuesdaye next insuing at thre of the clocke in the after none, and then went to shipboard againe in the said ship called the Petu barge: and directing his course for wards, on thursdaie morning about eight of the clocke, his lordship landed at Helwauen, where he was most joyfullie received with a great peale of artillerie.

The next daie, being fridaie, & the thirtieth of October, there came to Helwauen from Diepe, fiftie light horsemen Scots, brought by one of master Belligues servants. On saturdaye the last of October, the earle of Warwicks commission was proclaimed in Latine, English, and French, by Bletmantell, pursuant at armes: which being ended, his lordship went into the church, and there sir Adrian Pointings knight marshall gaue him his oth, and then my lord gaue the said sir Adrian his oth. And after him were sworne Cutbert Taughan controllor, John Fisher knight porter, William Bromfield master of the ordinance, William Robinson wator bailie, and captaine Thomas Wood cleake of the councill. On mondaie the second of November, the earle of Warwike, with the knight marshall, and the controllor, rode out of Helwauen to Hanteuille, and so towards Hondenville, accompanied with all the horsemen English and Scottis, and a thousand footmen. The Scottis men & Pontgomeries band passed forth, and skirmished with them of Hondenville, and the Scots brought awaie with them a botie of thre hundred sheepe: but in the morning, they were returned backe againe by commandement of the earle of Warwike.

Master controllors souldiours went as far as Harflue, and there skirmished with them of that garrison, but without anie hurt to either part. My lord lieutenant riding all about the hills, viewed the countrie, and at night returned. On wednesdaye the fourth of November, a barge of Helwauen, belonging to Francis Clarke, brought into the haven of the same towne, foure Bittons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tuns of good Gascoigne wines, which they ment to haue brought to the enemies: but being thus taken as a good prise, it was discharged in Helwauen, and stood the Englishmen and others of that towne in good stead. On fridaie the first of November, about nine of the clocke in the morning, a great alarum rose in the said towne of Helwauen: for upon the hills on the north side of the towne, the Keingraue, and the sonne of the viceadmirall of France, shewed themselves, accompanied with two thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. And herewith, the Keingraue sent a trumpet to the towne, to aduertise the lord lieutenant, that he was on the hills there at hand; and that understanding his lordship was come into the countrie, and entred into Helwauen, if it would please him to promise upon his honor, and by

the faith of a gentleman, that he might come, and returne in safetie, he would be glad to come & for him. Whereupon the lord lieutenant, taking with him certeine capteins and gentlemen, rode forth of the towne, and sent before him sir Adrian Pointings the marshall, with Stephan Medcalfe his maiesties trumpet to the Keingraue, who talking with him, returned, and met with the lord lieutenant: who therewith passed forward, and meeting with the Keingraue, they embraced each other, and conferred together as they had occasion. And the Keingraue told the lord lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come to be his neighbor, and so with such merie speech they communed together: and after taking their leave either of other, they returned unto their homes.

The counte Montgomerie and monsieur Beauuois had some talke also with the Keingraue, casting out bitter and sharpe words in reproche of the duke of Guise, and others that were of his faction. The Keingraue comming backe to his armie the same afternone, forraied all the countrie, and drew awaie the most part of all the cattell that they might meet with: and comming to the church of Hanteuille, where an hundred and fiftie of Pontgomeries band laie, they skirmished with them, and in the end Pontgomeries souldiours were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leaving it to the enemies; and comming awaie, with the same night into Helwauen. The Almans the same evening, dividing their armie into two parts, the one halfe of them went and lodged at Hondenville, and the other halfe at Harflue. The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the church of Hanteuille the night before, went thither againe, toke and kept it against the enemies, in like manner as they held it before.

The eleventh of November, a proclamation was made in the name of the lord lieutenant, by the officer at armes Bletmantell, as well for good orders to be kept by the souldiours against the French inhabitants of the towne, & reforming of certeine grievances, whereof the French had made complaint: as also for their comming to church to heare common prayer and preaching at due times, for the avoiding of unlawfull games, whoredome, wicked othes, and other blasphemies; and likewise concerning diverse other good orders to be observed, and disorders to be eschewed, as was thought necessarie to giue warning of, with condigne paines appointed for punishment of such as should transgresse in the same.

On thursdaie the twelfth of November, there went out of the towne of Helwauen towards Harflue, thre bands of Frenchmen, containing about six hundred footmen; and suddenly they were beset by the Almans and Frenchmen of the garrison of Harflue: so that the French protestants were driven to take a village called Granille, where they maintained the skirmish for the space of two houres, till the lord lieutenant, hearing of the perill in which they stood, sent forth with the controllor the number of a thousand footmen, and all the English and Scottis horsemen, and monsieur Beauuois with diuerse French horsemen: who comming before Harflue, fell in skirmish with the enemies, to whose succor there issued forth of Harflue a great number of the Almans, both horsemen and footmen. But the Englishmen behaved themselves so valiantlie, that they beat them out of the field, and drew them in the end to the verie gates of their towne, with such lionlike courage, as was wonderfull: choosing rather to die in battell (if hap had so cut their throats) in an honest cause, than in their sickle beds: as moved by the poets reason not anuisse for a souldior to

A a a a a. ty.

remem

Stephan
Medcalfe
trumpetor.
The earle of
Warwike and
the Keingraue
talked
together.

The church
of Hanteuille
recovered.

A proclamation
for good
orders to be
kept by the
souldiours.

A skirmish be
fore Harflue.

remember and resolute to rest upon, to wit:

*Absumpti longis animam cruciatibus edunt
Languentes morbis: in bello pulchra paratur
Mors, homo momento pugnantis extinguitur hora,
Evolat in tenebras letus cito spiritus auras.*

The Englishmen
retire to
Pelowhauen
with hono^r.

Monsieur
Beauuois.

Ships taken
and brought
to Pelowhauen

A proclama-
tion for har-
quebut shot.

An alarm
upon occasion
of fire made by
the papists.

Execution.

A proclama-
tion to restraine
the outrage
of soldiers.

Ships
brought to
Pelowhauen.

A supplie
of
soldiers
out of Essex

This skirmish was stoutly maintained and continued for the space of three long houres. Their great artillerie was shot off freshlie from the wals and bulwarks. At length, when the night drew on, the retire was sounded, and the Englishmen came their waie backe to Pelowhauen with hono^r, having lost not past eight of their souldiours, that were slaine and six other hurt: whereas there was one of the enemies capteins slaine in sight, with twentie souldiours, and another of their capteins, with diuerse others of their numbers greivously wounded. Monsieur Beauuois shewed himselfe that daie verie forward and valiant, & so likewise did the Scottishmen. The thirteenth of Nouember, a pinnesse of the Frenchmen that belonged to Pelowhauen, being gone forth the night before, brought into the haven a ship laden with Rochell wines, five and twentie tuns, that was bound to passe by to the enemies, and so esteemed a good prise. On the fourteenth of Nouember, another ship fraught with twentie tuns of Gascoigne wines was brought in as a prise, likewise taken by a barke of Pelowhauen, that belonged to a Frenchman, called Jehan de Bois, an earnest aduersarie to the papists.

The seuenth of Nouember, a proclamation was made by Elewmanfell, concerning orders taken and passed by the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman nor Frenchman should shot off anie harquebuse within the towne; nor that anie Frenchman, except monsieur Beauuois, or monsieur Bique-mault, or their companies, should be out of their lodgings after nine of the clocke at night till the next morning on paine of death: except in cases of alarms. The twelue of Nouember, about six of the clocke at night, one of the mills without the gate was set on fire by some of the papists (as was thought) whereof rose a great alarm. The thirteenth of Nouember, the Kingraue was sene on the north hills of the towne, with foure score horsemen: whereupon the Scottish horsemen, and three bands of footmen issued out, marching by towards the same hills, in hope to meet with their enemies, but they were retired towards Spoudeuille, and so nothing was done. It was reported for a certeine truth, that the duke Damale was there at that present with the Kingraue.

On wednesdaie, the five and twentieth of Nouember, one of capteine Cocksons souldiours was hanged in the market place: and an other that was brought thither likewise to be executed had his pardon, at the sute of certeine French gentlemen. And herewith was proclamation made, that where it had bene proclaimed afore, that none should take anie thing forceable from the French on paine of death, for breach thereof, such execution was presentlie done: the lord lieutenant did by this proclamation crosse charge and command, that none upon like paine should breake or spoile anie house or ship: or take anie timber, wood, or anie other thing from the French, without their good will, consent, and agreement. The same afternoon came into the haven hoies and botes laden with wine, cider, perrie, wheate, beefe, bisquet, meale, and other provision of vittels. Two French shallops of Pelowhauen had taken them besides Hunslue, and beaten backe a shallop of the enemies, slaying ten or twelue Frenchmen that came forth of Hunslue to haue succored the hoies. The five and twentieth of Nouember, there landed at Pelowhauen six hundred souldiours Essex

men, under the leading of Auerie Darrie, Reginald Higate, and William Twedie, each of them bringing his appointed number of two hundred to his ensigne.

Moreouer, where as well diuerse prentices, as other Englishmen were come over, since the placing of the garrison in that towne of Pelowhauen, not offering their seruice anie waie, other than by stragling abroad to seeke pillage, whereby they fell oftentimes into the hands of the enemies, both to the dishonour of their countrey, & losse of their owne lues. For reformation hereof proclamation was made the last of Nouember, that all Englishmen within the said towne, above the age of sixteen yeares, and under thre score, being not retained in the queens maiesties paie, should at one of the clocke that present daie repaire to the bulworge called the bulworge of saint Andrewes, there to present his name & person to the comptrolloz, that order might be taken how to emploie them in some certeinie of seruice, upon paine to euerie one failing hereof to suffer ten daies imprisonment, & also to be banished the towne.

The same daie the queenes ship called the Hare, comming from Portsmouth, arrived at Pelowhauen; and in hir came sir John Dortmarie, whose ripe skill, deepe iudgement, and great experience in matters of fortification had byed in him such knowledge, as he may worthilie be called a maister in that science. They were by the waie assailed by a French ship of foure score and ten tuns and better: but they that were aboard in the Hare, so manfully acquitted themselves, that they vanquished the enemies, took the same ship, & brought hir with them being laden with wines, which they meant to haue conueied to the aduersaries in some garrison. The same daie sir John More landed at Pelowhauen, bringing over with him five hundred souldiours out of Denbire, for a supplie of the garrison there. He himselfe returned backe into England, but the souldiours were appointed to the leading of other capteins: so that Francis Summerfet, brother to the earle of Worcester had thre hundred of them; Oliver Hanners an hundred, and Edward Dymbie the other hundred. On tuesdaie the eight of December monsieur de Beauuois, capteine Francis Summerfet, and capteine Edward Horte, with diuerse other capteins, officers and gentlemen, rode to the Kingraue, lying at a faire house not farre from Spoudeuille, where they dined with him, had great and hartie chere, and after returned againe to Pelowhauen. The same daie the Kingraue sent for a present unto my lord of Warwike, a great horse, verte faire, with saddle and bridle; esteemed to be well worth an hundred pounds.

Moreouer, the same daie at night, the Double Rose with certeine other botes and French shallops, passed forth of the haven: Edward Dudleie, and capteine John Ward being aboard in the said Double Rose, with diuerse other Englishmen & Frenchmen, to the number of a hundred good souldiours, who sailing downe the river landed beside Tankernille, and laie close all that night in the wood. And in the morning about nine of the clocke monsieur Bimar, ensignebearer to the counte Spontgomerie, with six or seauen Frenchmen unarmed went to the castell gate, and there fell in talke with monsieur Dimen, who was capteine of that fortresse, hauing with him about ten souldiours that were appointed to remaine with him upon the gard of the same castell. Whilst they were thus in talke, the Englishmen and other Frenchmen comming forth of the wood that was there at hand, reared by their ladders, which they had brought with them for that purpose, at the breach which was made the summer before by the duke Damale;

A proclama-
tion for the
souldiours
of the
countrey
to be
sent to
the
castell.

Sir John
Dortmarie
a
Florentine,
and an
excellent
engineer.

Sir John
More
brought
with him
a
supplie
of
souldiours
to
Pelowhauen
out of
Denbire.

A present
sent
by the
King-
raue to
my lord
of War-
wike.

Edward
Dudleie.

The castell
beside
Tankernille
was
taken
the
first
of
Englishmen.

Daumale; and entring by the same, came doo-
ne into the base court. Which thing when the French
soldiers that kept talke with them within at the cas-
tell gate perceived, they began to laugh. The cap-
taine of the castell therewith turning his face, & behol-
ding as good as three score armed men within the cas-
tell at his backe, he suddenlie said: Ha, ie suis voltre,
I am yours sir, and so yelded with his ten soldiers.
And in this sort was the castell taken, & the capitaine
brought prisoner to Newhaven.

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On the twelfth of December, at ten of the clocke
in the morning, the earle of Warwicke, monsieur
de Beauvois, and monsieur de Biquemault, with
all their horsemen & three thousand footmen, passed
forth of Newhaven into Harflue, out of which
towne there issued seaven hundred Keisers of the
retinue of the counte Keingraue, and three hundred
footmen, who fell in skirmish with the French and
Englishmen verie hottlie: but at length the Eng-
lishmen drave them to the verie gates of Harflue,
and shue them even at the same gates, and upon the
walles of the towne; insomuch that they were con-
strained to shut their gates, and off went the ordi-
nance from the gates and bulwarks, discharging
bullets amongst the English soldiers freely. But yet
there were not laine past seven of the English part,
albeit diuerse were hurt and wounded, & amongst o-
ther was monsieur de Beauvois shot into the side of
the necke through his gorget; and capitaine Antwo-
fell through the arme. Moreover, whereas they car-
ried forth with them foure barrels of gunpowder to
mainteine the skirmish, through negligence by set-
ting fire in the same, there were to the number of
twentie greuouslie burned. Of the enemies were
laine that daie about thirtie, and hurt about fiftie.
Partie of their horses were also laine in this skir-
mish, which continued about three houres. As the
Englishmen were returning backe, the Keingraue
with two hundred horses, and a certaine number of
footmen, was laid fast by in an ambush, thinking to
haue cut off part of their men: but he failed of his
purpose. For the lord lieutenant marching with his
men in battell arais, brought them home in safetie,
without other impeachment. The seauenteenth of
December, the counte Montgomerie, and sir Hugh
Bawlet arrived at Newhaven in one of the queenes
ships called the Aid.

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The nineteenth of December a proclamation
was made for orders to be obserued, concerning the
unbarking of such soldiers as were licenced to de-
part by passeport: or otherwise: and likewise prohibi-
ting the taking into any bevell ante drie fish, wine,
sugar, or any household stuffe without special licence
of the lord lieutenant. Whilist things passed thus in
Normandie at Newhaven & thereabouts, where the
earle of Warwicke & other valiant capitaines were
readie to make proofe of their high prowesse in time &
place as occasion might serue, there ended his life at
home that honorable baron, and right famous cap-
taine in his daies William lord Greie of Wilton,
knight of the most noble order of the garter, and at
that present gouernor of Berwicke, and warden of
the east marches against Scotland. He deceased the
five and twentieth of December, in the yere 1562, at
Goshnut in Hertfordshire, then the house of Henrie
Denie esquier that had married mistresse Honor
Greie, the said lord Greies onelie daughter. The six
and twentieth of December the counte de Montgo-
merie took shipping at Newhaven rode, accompa-
nied with foure hundred harquebutters Frenchmen,
and sailed to Dope, there to be gouernor of that
towne. He went in an English barke belonging to
Nicholas Halbie secretarie to the earle of War-
wicke lord lieutenant.

The third of Januarie ashallop that was sent
the same morning from Newhaven, laden with
beere and other vittells to passe into Tankerville,
was assailed about Harflue, by a shallop of Hun-
flue, which droue the hoie to the shore: so as the Eng-
lishmen forsooke their hoie, and came running to
Newhaven, to declare what had happened. Where-
upon the lord lieutenant sent forth foure French
shallops by water, and the horsemen with six hun-
dred footmen passed forth by land, and bled such dili-
gence, that they came euen as the Frenchmen were
haling vp the hoie towards Harflue: and skirmish-
ing with the Frenchmen (being foure score good har-
quebutters) for the space of a long houre, at length
recovered the hoie, and took three of their shallops
with their ordinance, which they brought to New-
haven, with the losse of one onelie man, an harque-
butter of capitaine Zouches band. The fourth of
Januarie in the morning, the English scout, being
thirtie good harquebutters, were set upon by the eni-
mies that droue them into the verie gates. They
shot also with their harquebusses into the towne, and
ouer the mount roiall among the English soldiers.
They hurt at that present three of the scouts; but
when they perceived the Englishmen were in a rea-
diness to approach them, they departed, being in num-
ber three hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen,
soldiers of Mondenille and Harflue. The fifth of Ja-
nuarie were apprehended capitaine Blondell, cap-
taine Poucombell, monsieur Dimenee, and Tita-
na with others, for some conspiracie or traitorous
practise which they went about, and had maliciouslie
contrived. The same daie capitaine Edward Ho-
seie with his two hundred soldiers, & capitaine Fran-
cis Blunt with his hundred took shipping at New-
haven rode, and sailed to Dope, there to remaine
with the counte Montgomerie, whose wife the coun-
tesse Montgomerie went also with them to hit but
band the same time.

A hole reco-
uered which
the French
had taken.

Certaine ap-
prehended for
conspiracie.

On the saturdate following, the twelfth daie after
Christmasse, being the ninth of Januarie, a great
tempest of wind and thunder happened in the towne
of Leicester, which vncouered two and fortie baies of
houses, and ouerthrew manie, rentling and tearing
them in peces, in a strange and maruellous maner.
The people that were assembled that daie in the mar-
ket place to buie and sell their usuall chafers, wares,
and commodities, were fore amazed and affonied
with the hideousnesse of that most outrageous & vio-
lent tempest. On thursdaie the 14 of Januarie at
one of the clocke in the morning, there issued forth of
Newhaven three score horsemen, and a thousand foot-
men, all English; & comming to Mondenille, where
the Keingraue late, gaue to them within an alarum,
but neither the Keisers, nor the Almane footmen, nor
French that were within that towne would come
forth: and therefore after the Englishmen had tarri-
ed there the space of foure houres, they returned
backe againe to Newhaven.

A great tem-
pest in Le-
icester.

An alarum
giuen to Har-
flue.

The fiftenth of Januarie, at one of the clocke in
the afternoon, there issued forth of Newhaven three
score horsemen, and fiftene hundred footmen, which
comming to Harflue, gaue a like alarum to that
towne; but none of the garrison there would come
forth: whereupon the Englishmen returned home
againe to Newhaven. The sixteenth of Januarie,
the castell of Tankerville was surrendered to the
Keingraue, after he had laine about it eight daies,
with two thousand horsemen and footmen. It was
now yelded by composition (after it had bene kept
by the space of thirtie eight daies) that those within
should depart with bag and baggage, the gallie be-
ing sent from Newhaven to fetch them auaie.
There were no moze within it at that time when it
was

An alarum
giuen to Har-
flue.

The castell of
Tankerville
deliuered to
the Kein-
grau.

Tremaine.

Francis
Clerke
Frenchman.Prises taken
by him of as
bout 50000
crownes ba-
lue.Capteine E-
merie taken
by the Sco-
tish hoisemen.A proclama-
tion for the
obseruing of
orders.A prise
brought to
Jewhauen.Three other
prizes of
sackes, ba-
llards, &c.A souldier ex-
ecuted for
fighting con-
trarie to the
orders in that
case giuen.Three other
pardoned.The admerall
of France
summoneth
Hunsloe.

was thus deliuered: but capteine John Ward, capteine Edward Dudleie, and capteine Saule, his lieutenant Aileie, with seuerie English souldiers, & thirtie French. The 19 of Januarie, there landed at Jewhauen capteine Tremaine, with 50 hoisemen verie well appointed to serue the queenes maiestie there. The foure and twentieth of Januarie, Francis Clerke Frenchman arrived at Jewhauen, with two tall ships of his owne, right well appointed for the wars, bringing with him three rich prizes, valued at about fiftie thousand crownes, one of them was a mightie great hulke, laden with wood & allume. The 26 of Januarie, capteine Tremaine with all his hoisemen, & capteine Clerke with his Scottish hoisemen, and 600 swimen, went south of Jewhauen towards Honderuile, & by the waie in a little village, there was a French capteine came forth of Honderuile, named monsieur Emerie, hauing with him thirtie souldiers, where falling in hand to spoile the same village, the pezzants about gathered them selues together, and set vpon him and his souldiers. Now whilest they were thus in fight, the Scottish hoisemen came suddenlie vpon them, toke the said capteine sore wounded, due twelue of his souldiers, & toke foureteene other of them prisoners, whome with their capteine wounded (as he was) they brought home the same night vnto Jewhauen.

The three and twentieth of Januarie, a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued by the souldiers, and other resiants within the towne of Jewhauen, concerning politike gouernement thereof, as well for the better defense against the enemies without, as the quiet demerance of the men of warre and inhabitants within. The first of Februarie, two ships of Britons laden with Gascoigne wines, butter, bakon, lard, salt, and other vittels, were brought into Jewhauen by a shallop of Lillebent, that was resiant with other Frenchmen in Jewhauen, seruing against the papists, and had taken those two vessels, as they were going to bittell the enemies.

The first of Februarie three faire mightie ships of warre, belonging to Francis Clerke, brought into Jewhauen three rich prizes, laden with sackes, ballards, sugar, oranges, graines, and other merchandises. This Clerke had not bene forth past six weeks at this time, and yet he had got about eighteene prizes, well worth by last valuation the summe of fiftie thousand pounds. On saturdaye the first of Februarie, a souldier of capteine Appleyards band was executed in the market place; for that contrarie to order taken and published afore that time by proclamation, he had not onelic drawen his weapon against another souldier, but also malmed him, and plained other lewd parts in contempt of the lord lieutenant's commandements. There was another also condemned to die, and two others adiudged to lose their hands: but the lord lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie granted to those three his pardon, for their passed offenses. On sundaye the seventh of Februarie, was Hunsloe summoned by an herald, sent from the French admerall, monsieur de Chatillon. On mondaie the eight of that moneth, the said admerall came befoze Hunsloe, with six thousand hoisemen Keiffers, and other of his owne retinues, beside footmen, and a thousand hoisemen of the countie thereabout. And about six of the clocke at night there was a great peale of ordinance shot off at Jewhauen for a welcome to the said admerall.

The twelke of Februarie, the French gallies of Jewhauen passing forth, and waiting about Hunsloe to seeke aduentures, in hope ofuertie, by reason the lord admerall of France late therby at Touque, rode at an anchor: whilest some of them that were aboard in hir went on land, to gaine somewhat

of the enemies. But they within Hunsloe perceiving this, made out their great gallies, with fiftie good mariners and souldiers, who comming vpon the gallies of Jewhauen lieng at anchor, put hir in great danger of taking. For there were but fiftie men left aboard in hir at that present, whereof three of them were Englishmen, who perceiving in what danger they stood, waied anchor with all speed, and drew towards the shore, to take in the rest of their companie: and getting them aboard vnto them, they manfully stood to their defense, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuertheless, they so behaued themselves, that continuing in fight about a long houre, at length they overcame their enemies, due seuen of them outright, wounded seuen and thirtie, toke their gallie and brought hir to Jewhauen, with thirtene bells, diuerse copes, and church ornaments, shæpe, and other spoiles, which they had got aboard in the countie, together with three and fortie good prisoners, and the artillerie which was found aboard in the foresaid great gallie, wherewith she was verie well appointed and furnished.

Of the French protestants there were but three slaine and six hurt, and one of the three Englishmen was also hurt. As it hath bene credibly reported, the French protestants might thanke those three Englishmen that were with them in their gallies for that their good bay: for if they had not manfully stood to it at the first, and bestowed such artillerie as they had aboard with them freshlie against the enemies, the French had yielded. But by Gods god helpe, and their worthie courage, the victorie remained on their side. The fourteenth of Februarie there came from the lord admerall of France, lieng then at Touque, monsieur de Kohen, and monsieur de Grandemont, a knight of the order, monsieur de legnie the admirals sonne in law, and diuerse other French gentlemen, to confer with the lord lieutenant, who receiued them right gladlie, and made them great chære. They remained in Jewhauen till the eighteenth of Februarie, and then departed and went to Caen, whither the said lord admerall was removed, & had entred the towne, a late within it, preparing with all speed to besiege the castell.

The same daie that the French lords departed from Jewhauen towards Caen, monsieur Biquiemant, and sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight arrived at Jewhauen in one of the queenes ships called the Aid. The admerall Chatillon being got into the towne of Caen, kept the castell besieged, within the which was inclosed the marquesse Walbeuf. There were sent to him from Jewhauen the five & twentieth of Februarie, seuen canons, two demie culuerings, & one minion. On the morrow following being fridate, and six and twentieth of Februarie, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, monsieur Biquiemant, and monsieur Beauuois, with a thousand souldiers French, and as manie English, to wit, capteine Zouch, capteine Twedie, capteine Higate, & of them with two hundred: capteine John Ward, capteine Parkinson, capteine Saule, master Wheeler, and capteine Fisher with his band, each of them with his hundred, and capteine Delham with the labourers were imbarked in the robe at Jewhauen, and sailed forth towards Caen, to come to the siege which the admerall of France had laid to the castell there.

The same daie as the counte Montgomerie had imbarked at the hauen of Diepe in an English vessel, and was comming towards Jewhauen, there came out from Ffestampe three shallops, by the appointment of the Ketingraue (as was said) which made towards Montgomerie, whose meaning when he perceived, he set vpon the strongest of the same shallops,

The great
galle of France
was taken.The French
belonged to
the English.Public man
sent from the
admerall of
France to the
earle of War-
wicke.Sir Nicholas
Throckmorton
arrived
at Jewhauen.Caen called
besieged.
The marquesse
Walbeuf
there the
babe of Caen.And sent to
the siege of Caen.

Execution on
Carter euen.

he vsuallie remained. On Easter euen, two souldiers that had serued vnder capteine Parkinson were hanged in the market place of Newhauen, for running awaie to the Keingraue and vnto Diepe. Another also that serued vnder capteine Turner was condemned for the like offense, but pardoned thzough the great clemencie of the lord lieutenant.

A proclama-
tion to be pac-
king out of
Newhauen.

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, proclamation was made, that all the papists, and the wifes and children of all them that were departed forth of Newhauen, and made their abode at that present in Pontreuiliers, Harfue, or elsewhere abroad in the countrie, and likewise all other, whome the last proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in a nie wise touched, should depart on saturdaye then next ensuing, on paine to haue their bodies arrested as prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. Other articles were contained in the same proclamation, as well for the forreiners that should come forth of the countrie to the market, as for the behaviour and demeanour of the French inhabitants of the towne, with promise of rewarde to such as should discouer and apprehend ante espiall, either dwelling in the towne, or comming and going to or from it.

Carter king
of armes bring-
ing the gar-
ter to the lord
lieutenant.

The first of Maie, Carter principall king of armes arriued at Newhauen, bringing with him the garter to the lord lieutenant, chosen on S. Georges daie last past to be one of the conferrers of that most honorable order. The fourth of Maie proclamation was made, that all the French burgessees & others should bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the towne hall of Newhauen, which commandement was incontinentlie obeyed and accomplished.

A proclama-
tion for auoi-
ding.

Ministers
excepted.

The seauenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the auoiding of all such, whome the former proclamations had in ante wise touched, for their departure forth of the towne, that they should depart by tuesdaye next (the ministers of the church excepted) and that none should enter into the towne, of what condition or estate soeuer he should be, without licence of the lord lieutenant, except he were a burgesse of the towne, and of the number of those that had their names inrolled, as by the role lastlie made it might appeare, on paine to be apprehended as good and lawfull prisoners. The twelue of Maie it was prohibited by proclamation to all burgessees, inhabitants, and others, not to go vnto Harfue, or Pontreuiliers, or elsewhere out of sight of the towne of Newhauen, on paine to be taken as lawfull prisoners. The sixteenth of Maie, a marriner of the great gallie suffered in the market place of Newhauen, for robbing and pilfering of ships there in the hauen, and thze other that were condemned for the like offense had their pardons.

Execution for
pilfering.

A proclama-
tion for the
auoiding of
the French
out of New-
hauen.

The sixteenth of Maie was proclamation made, that all Frenchmen, being within the towne of Newhauen, otherwise called Haute de Grace, as well men, women, as children, should depart the towne, betwixt that present time and six of the clocke at night on the next daie being mondaie, except furgians, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, smiths, masons, locksmiths, carpenters, and other such artificers, vpon paine to be attached as good and lawfull prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. By the tenor of these severall proclamations it maie appeare, that the lord lieutenant proceeded nothing rigorously against the French, in removing them forth of the towne; although it maie be, that some which had to deale therein, dealt hardlie inough with them. But in such cases there must of necessitie be some diligent heedfulnesse vsed, for other wise in such packing away, some might peraduenture carie with them too much, & others too little. But howsoever this mater was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to anoid the French

The lord
lieutenant
proceeding to
be gathered
by his procla-
mations.

out of the towne. For after the duke of Cusse was slaine before Dyleance, and that the parties were agreed, as by edit of the pacification published in March last past it maie appeare, the whole deuises as well of them of the one religion as the other tended to this end, both to recover the towne of Newhauen out of the Englishmens hands, either by pacifice or open force. And such intelligence was vsed betwixt the French within that towne, and the enemies without to bring this to passe, that the English could assure themselves no more of the one than of the other, and so were diuicd for their owne safeties, to rid the towne of so doubtfull partakers.

The seven and twentieth of Maie, proclamation was made, that all manner of furniture and apparell, appertaining to ships within the garrison, hauen, or rode of the towne of Newhauen, should be brought in: or a note to be given therof in writing to the lord lieutenant and counsell there, before twelue of the clocke the next day. Saturdaye the two and twentieth of Maie, about one of the clocke in the morning, the Keingraue with five hundred horsemen, and twentie two ensignes of footmen, came downe to the village called Lheure, nere vnto the new fort, which by order of the lord lieutenant was latelie before begun to be built, sir John Pontinarie being chiefe deuifer of the fortifications about the same. The enemies meaning was, to haue taken the same fort by a sudden assault: but the English scouts looking well to their charge, gaue intelligence to the lord lieutenant thereof, who incontinentlie going to the bulwke roiall, set out by the posterne capteine John Ward with his hundred souldiers, and capteine Parkinson with his hundred, to passe to the fort, there to be an aid and defense to them that laie in the same.

About thze of the clocke in the morning, the Keingraue suddenly with his bands of horsemen and footmen gaue them in the fort an hot alarm; and immediatlie the earle of Warwicke gaue in charge to these capteins, Read, Apleyard, Luttre, Zouch, Antwisell, Ward, Spozton, and Parkinson, hauing with them a thousand footmen, and twentie horsemen, to set vpon the enemies in the village of Lheure, nere adjoining to the said new fort, where the valiant English souldiers shewed well the twinted valure of their worthy ancestors, giuing such an hardie onset vpon their aduersaries, that greater manhood had not lightlie appeared in any encounter, than was vsed by those martiall capteins, and their warlike bands at that present, to the high honor of their countrie: insomuch that they beat backe their enemies, slue and toke of them to the number of foure hundred, beside thirtie faire horseles, and an ensigne, which one Castwicke lieutenant to capteine Antwisell got.

Amongst the numbers of them that were slaine, there were found aboue thirtie hardsome gentlemen and verie well appointed. To conclude, the Englishmen behaued themselves so manfullie on each side, that by plaine force of armes they dyone the enemies quite out of the village, & after set it on fire, because the enemies should not come to incampe therein, as their purpose was to haue done at that present. The six and twentieth of Maie, the Frenchmen in number about thze thousand horsemen and footmen came downe towards the windmills, nere to the bulwke called saint Adresses, against whom the English horsemen and footmen issued forth of the towne, giuing them a right hot skirmish, which continued for the space of two houres, insomuch that there were slaine of the French to the number of 200; beside an hundred and aboue that were hurt. On the English side that daie were lost about a doz-

The English-
men for their
owne successe
were forced to
double their
watch mightie

The Keing-
raue with
his forces.

An alarm
giuen to the
new fort by
the Keing-
raue.

The hardie
onset of the
Englishmen
made vpon
their aduers-
aries.

The French
put to flight.

Another
skirmish.

ten or thirtene persons, and amongst others, was
capteine Tremaine slaine, and manie hurt. To con-
clude, the Englishmen like hardie and worthie soul-
diers tooke and kept the field, so as the Frenchmen
in the end were driuen to retire, and besides other
losses which they receiued, they had aboue fiftie of
their hostles killed and hurt.

In this skirmish, being one of the notablest that
had bene lightlie sene manie a daie before, capteine
Horseie shewed worthie proue of his most valiant
courage, winning to himselfe such commendation,
as the same will not be forgotten, whilst anie shall
remaiue alieue that beheld his manfull dealings: be-
ing such at that present, as deserue to be registred in
the booke of fame, & to continue with posteritie for e-
uer. On saturdaye the fift of June at seuen of the
clocke at night, the Keinsgraue hauing laid in the
village of Aheure an ambush of six hundred hos-
men, and fiftene hundred footmen, there came downe
also betwene the abbeye and the village called En-
glefield towards the towne, the number of a thou-
sand footmen, which began a verie hot skirmish, first
at the new fort, coming euen hard to the ditches,
where the Englishmen manfully encountered them.
Herewith also the Keinsgraue appointed other to
come downe, and appoche the bulwarks of saint Ad-
dresses, saint Francis, & saint Michaell, and to (con-
clude) round about the towne: so that there were of
them to the number of six thousand that were im-
ployed in this skirmish, which was maintained right
fercelie for the space of two hours, with verie sharpe
and cruell fight: in the end the enimies were forced
to giue place, with the losse of five hundred of their
men, Almans, Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Spa-
niards.

The Englishmen berelie in this seruice shewed,
that they were nothing degenerat from the ancient
race of their noble progenitors. Besides those that
were slaine on the French part, amongst whom was
one of their capteins of good account amongst them,
they toke also Bassompere an Almane, coronell
ouer ten ensignes of footmen. The presence of the
lord lieutenant was not wanting that daie, both to
incomrage his worthie souldiers, and also to see them
applied with weapon and munition, so as they should
not be unprouided of anie thing that was needfull
for seruice. Of Englishmen there was hurt capteine
Gilbert, and capteine Pelham, and about fiftene o-
ther hurt and slaine. The seuenth of June capteine
Edward Dubleie arrived at Newhaven, with an
hundred souldiers. The morrow after, the first canon
shot light within the towne of Newhaven, nere
to the bulwark of saint Addresses, striking into the
house where capteine Wheeler was lodged, which shot
being brought to my lord of Warwicke by Blew-
mantell pursuant at armes, his honor beholding it,
retossed thereat, and said, by Gods grace he would
answer them againe.

The ninth of June arrived at Newhaven three
capteins with their bands, of an hundred a peece,
being of the garrison of Bertwicke: to wit, capteine
Tremaine, capteine Cornewall, & capteine Carew.
Edward Randall also landed there the same daie,
appointed to be knight marshall. For ye must under-
stand, that sir Adrian Poynings, being knight mar-
shall upon his returne into England, was otherwise
employd, and went not backe againe: and then was
sir Thomas Finch of Kent appointed to go ouer to
supplie the come of knight marshall: who making
his prouision readie, sent ouer his brother Erasmus
Finch to haue charge of his band; and his kinsman
Thomas Finch to be his prouost marshall, whilst
staying till he had euerie thing in a readinesse to
passe ouer himselfe. At last, he embarked in one of the

quenes maiesties ships called the Greichound, ha-
ving there aboard with him, beside thyselfe and sir of
his owne retinue, fourteine other gentlemen, two of
them being brethren to the lord Wentworth, James
Wentworth, and John Wentworth, with diuerse o-
thers, who in the whole (accounting the mariners) a-
mounted vnto the number of 200 persons and op-
ward. And as they were on the furthest coast toward
Newhaven, they were by contrarie wind and foule
weather driuen backe toward the coast of England;
and pling towards Aie, they forced the capteine of
the ship, a verie cunning seaman named William
Spaline, and also the master and mariners, to thrust
into the haven before the tide, and so they all perished,
seuen of the meaner sort onlie excepted, whereof three
died shortly after they came to land.

The dead bodie of sir Thomas Finch amongst o-
thers was cast on shore, & being knowne, was con-
ueied home to his house, and there buried in his pa-
rish church. After this mischance, and losse of that
worthie gentleman, the said Edward Randall was
appointed knight marshall, who ordeined a right suffi-
cient personage, capteine John Shute, to be his prouost
marshall. The fiftenth of June, capteine Ri-
chard Sanders, and capteine William Saule, with
their bands of an hundred souldiers a peece, and cap-
teine Durie, with two hundred, arrived at New-
haven: and the morrow after arrived capteine Ro-
berts with another hundred of souldiers. And on
the seuententh of June, being thursdaie, sir Fran-
cis Knolles, vicechamberleine of the quenes maie-
sties house landed there, being sent ouer by his ma-
iestie and his counsell, to view the state of the
towne.

On fridaie the eightenth of June, a sergeant of
capteine Blunts band, and a souldier of capteine
Darcies band, were executed in the market place of
Newhaven, for drawing their weapons against
their capteins, and forsaking their appointed places
of warding, and such other leuid parts which they had
committed. The five and twentieth of June, procla-
mation was made, that no souldier of the new fort
should resort to the towne of Newhaven, without
licence of his capteine, or some of his principall of-
ficers, on paine of death: or that anie man should
presume to passe the limits of the said new fort, ex-
cept vpon occasion of seruice, in companie of his
capteine or lieutenant, on like paine. And this order
was taken, because diuerse stragling abroad, had
bene taken prisoners, and slaine by the enimies, to
their owne reproch, & hindrance of the princes ser-
uice. The eight and twentieth of June, the French-
men came downe to the village of Aheure, & there
verie nere to the fort began to skirmish with the
Englishmen. There were of them ten ensignes of
footmen, and two hundred hostlemen. This skirmish
lasted thre houres, and yet there were not past foure
slaine. The night following, they placed five ca-
nons betwixt the towne and the brickehills, and like-
wise they placed other peces of their artillerie at
the foresaid village of Aheure, so that they shot both
into the towne and fort.

The first of Iulie about midnight, they issued forth
of their trenches, and skirmished with the English
scouts, drove them under the bulwark of saint
Addresses, and there perceluing that the English-
men had a priuie sallie out, after a long skirmish
they retired. They had meant to haue set the mills
belonging to the towne on fire: but they had such
plate made them, that about thre of the clocke in the
morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Eng-
lishmen in rest, hauing done to them little or no
hurt at all. The great ordinance on both sides was
not idle, whilst this skirmish was in hand. The se-
cond

For French-
ambush
capteine

Capteine
Horseie
capteine

For the
English

For number
such the
French host
in
skirmish

For the
English

Capteine
Gilbert
and cap-
teine
Pelham
Edward
Dubleie

For the
English

Capteine
Wentworth
and cap-
teine
Carew

For the
English

Sir Thomas
Finch
died

Edward
Randall
pro-
uost
marshall

A supplie of
souldiers
arrived at New-
haven

Sir Francis
Knolles ar-
rived

Execution of
souldiers for
drawing vpon
their cap-
teins

A proclama-
tion forbid-
ding resort of
souldiers to
Newhaven
without li-
cence

A long skir-
mish without
ame great
hurt
Canons plac-
ed to beate
the towne

She hundred
out of North-
folke, and three
hundred out of
Sussex.

cond and third of Iulie, there landed nine hundred
souldiors that came south of Northfolke and Sus-
sex, yelloe clothes and blew clothes verte well ap-
pointed, hauing to their capteins Ferdinando Lige-
gens, Philip Starleie, John Higghfield, and Edward
Dwyer. Also there came the same time fiftie carpen-
ters, fiftene sawyers, and eight smiths in hir
workes. Moreover, on the third daie of Iulie, about
ten of the clocke at night, the French gaue a great
alarme to the towne, beat in the scouts: but incon-
tinentlie issued forth five hundred souldiors out at
the sallient place, vnder the greene bulwourke, and
beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and
kept them waking all that night.

Captaine
Sanders
hurt and dis-
ceth.

The same time, capteine Sanders was hurt with
a shot in the leg, whereof he shortly after died: other
losse at that time the Englishmen receiued not. The
fift of Iulie, a proclamation was made for souldiors
to resort in time of alarms, vnto that part & quar-
ter, which was assigned to their capteins, and not to
beent themselves from their ensignes, whether it
were at alarms, watch, ward, or other seruice. The
sixt of Iulie, about thre of the clocke in the morn-
ing, the enimies planted thre canons, and thre
culuerings, discharging that morning to the num-
ber of foure score and ten shots: but perceiving they
did little hurt, they staied their shooting, saying that
now and then they shot into the bulwourke, and ouer
it into the towne: they also leuelled a peece, and shot
it off towards the new gallie, fise therein two men,
and hurt thre or foure other. The same daie, a canon
and a culuering were sent south of the towne to the
new fort. The twelue of Iulie, about foure of the
clocke in the morning, the French laid batterie to
the bulwourke of saint Adresses, continuing the same
all that daie. They also dismounted the same daie
the ordinance in the skieple of Petwhanen, and beat
downe the great bell, cleane defacing the skieple.
They discharged that daie against the towne (as
was gathered by due estimation) to the number of
twelue hundred canon shot.

Ordinance
planted and
discharged in
great num-
bers.

The ordi-
nance in the
skieple dis-
mounted.

William Ro-
binson killed.
William
Bromfield
hurt.

The same euening was William Robinson esqui-
er, waterballife of the towne of Petwhanen slaine
with a shot; and also William Bromfield maister of
the ordinance hurt with the same, and being con-
uied ouer into England, he shortly after died of
that hurt. The fourteenth of Iulie, sir Hugh Pau-
let knight landed at Petwhanen, bringing with him
eight hundred souldiors out of Wiltshire and Glo-
cestershire. The same daie came the Frenchmen
downe to the number of three thousand, euen hard to
the gates of the towne, beating the Englishmen
out of their trenches: but yet in the end, they were
forced to retire, and of Englishmen there were not
past twentie slaine, and about an hundred hurt. But
the Frenchmen (as was esteemed) lost about foure
hundred horsemen and footmen, albeit they toke
from the Englishmen at that present a culuering,
which was set forth to annoie them. But their force
at that time was such, as they preuailed, & so retired
with that peece, though they well paid for it. The
same daie also in the after none, the little galeasse
called the For, went out of the haven, fraught with
fiftie men, to stanke alongst the shore, and to beate
the Frenchmen with hir shot; but as she was shoo-
ting off at them, a linnen stocke fell into a barrell of
powder and set it on fire together with the vessel, so
that the suddentlie sanke, and all that were aboard in
hir were lost, sauing fiftene that saued themselves
by swimming.

The galeasse
burnt by cas-
ualtie.

The consta-
ble of France
cometh to
the siege.

The one and twentieth of Iulie, the constable of
France, accompanied with the marshalls Montmo-
rancie and Burdillon, and manie other lords and
knights of the order, came to the abbete of Grauil-

le, where the marshall Bissacks was lodged, who
had the generall charge in the armie, before the com-
ing of the said constable. They dined together
there in the said Bissacks lodging, and after din-
ner they sat in counsell together how to proceed in
the siege. Fridaie the thre and twentieth of Iulie, the
constable came into the trench that was cast ouer
against the bulwourke of saint Adresses, alongst by
the sea side, and sent his trumpet to summon the
towne. The lord lieutenant appointed sir Hugh
Paulet to go south, & make the answer in his name;
which was in effect, that the queens maiestie of Eng-
land had appointed him and others to keepe that
towne; and therefore they meant not to deliuer it to
anie other person, without hir graces especial com-
mandement. In the meane time, there were diuers
of the English capteins and gentlemen, which ac-
companied the said sir Hugh, offered the wine which
they had brought out of the towne with them in fla-
gons of silver and gilt, vnto such capteins and
gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by com-
mandement of the constable, to suruice the state of
the trenches, and Palisad, as the French writers
themselves confesse. Amongst others, there was
capteine Pontnes the lieutenant of one of the en-
signes coronels of monsieur Dandelot, with whom
capteine Leighton, being of acquaintance, had some
talke.

The consta-
ble summo-
neth the
towne.

Sir Hugh
Paulet an-
swer to the
constable.

Captaine
Pontnes.
Capteine
Leighton.

The Englishmen and Frenchmen were no longer
departed, they to their trenches, and the English-
men into the towne, but that the enimies hauing
planted that morning eight canons in batterie a-
gainst the castell, and the bulwourke of the haven,
caused the same to be shot off, continuing the same
till wednesdaie at none, being the eight and twen-
tith of Iulie. There were six other canons also plan-
ted by them in the meane space, which likewise made
batterie to the castell, and to the totnegate. In this
meane time also, Cutbert Claughan comptrolor,
departed out of this life, a skillfull man of warre, and
no lesse circumspect than hardie, both to preserue
those which he had vnder his conduction, and to in-
courage them to do manfullie, when time thereto
serued. Saturdaie, the foure & twentieth of Iulie, the
batterie still continuing as before, certeine peeces
were bent also to beat and trauesse the haven. The
Englishmen therefore setting fire on two wind-
mills that stood there, abandoned a trench which they
kept: and the Palisad, capteine Poiet, lieutenant
of an other of the ensignes coronels of the French
footmen vnder monsieur Dandelot, entred with his
band, and toke possession of a tower that stood at the
end of the said Palisad. The French yet had hot a-
biding there, notwithstanding all the diligence and
pollicie which they could vse to lodge there in safetie.
Among others, capteine Richieu maister of the
campe, was hurt in the shoulder with an harquebuse
shot.

The castell
battered.

Cutbert
Claughan de-
parteth this
life, his wome
thie plaist.

Windmills
on fire.

Richieu was
hurt of the
campe hurt.

The marshall Montmorancie caused a platforme
to be raised, ioining to the Palisad, where about eue-
ning the same daie he planted foure peeces of artil-
lerie. On sundaie the fise and twentieth of Iulie,
monsieur de Estrée, great maister of the artillerie,
accompanied with the seneschall of Agenois, vnto
all diligence that might be to place the artillerie for
batterie: wherevnto also, monsieur de Cailiac ap-
plied himselfe by the constables commandement,
who had compounded a matter in variance betwixt
him and monsieur de Estrée. This sundaie and
mondaie following, they were verte busie to bring
their purpose in that behalfe to passe, & likewise to
aduaunce their trench vnto the side of the breach. The
marshall de Burdillon abode in the trench there all
sundaie, and lost two of his gentlemen. The mar-
shall

Monsieur de
Estrée.

Monsieur de
Cailiac.

The marshall shall Montmorencie, accompanied with diuerse lords & knights of the order, remained all mondaie in the trenches, to prepare things readie for the batterie, not without some danger of his person. For the stones that were beaten with the bullets coming out of the towne flew verie fast about his eares, of the which there was one that lent him a blow on the shoulder, an other of them philipped him on the fingers, and lighting also in other parts of his bodie, if his armor had not defended him the better, he had not escaped without further harme. The same daie, the prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier came to the campe, and alighting at the conestables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the marshall Montmorencie, and to supplie his come, whilst he might in the meane time go to sup with his father, and so take his rest. Monsieur Despre, and the other that had charge about the planting and ordering of the artillerie, used such diligence, and were so earnestlie called vpon and encouraged by the prince of Conde, continually remaining in the trenches, that on tuesday in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the bulworke of saint Adresses, and other places.

This was done not without great danger of the pioneers and men of war that garded them, for as the French desperatlie made their approach, so they were made by English gunners to tast the bitter fruit that the canon & culuerings yielded. But such was the multitude of the Frenchmen that were now assembled together, in hope to recover that towne, which being possessed by the English, cut off all traffike from Rouen and Paris, and so consequentially from the chiefe parts of the whole realme of France, that with their generall aid, and drabbing the water boluine to the sea, the marshes were made passable and firme ground, which to men of great experience was thought a thing impossible. The castell, the walles, and other defenses of the towne were battered, breaches made, and the trench which before the comming of the conestable, was but brought to the point ouer against the bulworke of saint Adresses, was now within foure daies aduanced nere hand the space of two miles, vpon the causeie or breach which was all of stone, without anie earth to coner them: so that they were diuident to make the best shift they could with wallfakis, sandbags, baskets and fagots. Yet all this had neuer come to passe, nor could haue bene wrought without infinite slaughter, and far more losse of French blood, than necessarilie should haue bene spilt, if the great mortalitie of pestilence which entred the towne about the beginning of the summer, through a malicious infection, had not so greatlie increased, that it drew & toke awaie daillie great numbers of men, beside those that being sicke thereof, escaped with life; but were yet so feeble and weak, that they were not able to helpe themselves, nor to do anie seruice available at all.

There died so manie daillie through the vehemencie of the infection, that the streets laye euery full of dead corpses, not able to be remoued or buried, by reason of the multitude that perished. Here with they were greuouslie annoyed for want of fresh vittells; but the lack of fresh waters, which the entrie by long siege had cutt off. And now the shot of the canon, lying within six and twentie paces of the towne, was so terrible, as the like had not lightlie bene heard of: and sundrie breaches therewith were already made; namelye two verie great and easie for the enemies to enter. All these dangers and miseries notwithstanding, the worthy earle of Marwike with his capitaine and soldiers in courageous order stood at those severall breaches, readie to defend the same, if the enemies had presumed to haue giuen the assault,

nothing afraid of death nor bloudie wounds; before which he preferred the seruice of his prince. And albeit the aduenture was great, yet by his owne example he incouraged other to cast awaie all dread of danger, and to shew themselves bold, which to a soldier in battell is a whetstone to set him on edge. And surely in this point he was warrio:like minded, if a man may allowe the poets words in the like sence:

*Res magne non absque gravi discrimine sunt,
In dubijs prodest generosa audacia rebus.*

Which when the conestable perceived, he caused a trumpet to sound the blast of imparlae, that talke might be had for the concluding of a composition betwixt both the parties. This offer, considering that soze contagious mortalitie wherewith the towne was most greuouslie infected, hauing so greatlie infected the English forces within the same, was thought not vnmet to be receiued. Whereupon, after a faillie made by the Englishmen, and a faire skirmish betwixt them and the Frenchmen that laye afore the fort the 11th heure, on the tuesday the seauen and twentieth of Julie maister William Delham capitaine of the fort, with another gentleman and a trumpetter, went forth by appointment, and was receiued first by monsieur de Losses, who brought him to the marshall Montmorencie, and after by his appointment went with him by the Keingraues campe to the conestable: and till his returne a truce was accorded on that side of the fort. After that maister Delham had talked a space with the conestable, the matter was put ouer till the next daie, and so he returned.

The morrow after being wednesday, and the eight and twentieth of Julie, the conestable about seauen of the clocke came to the end of the trenches next to the towne, where sir Maurice Denis treasurer of the towne, sir Hugh Paulet, capitaine Hozseie, capitaine Delham, capitaine John Shute prouost marshall, and Nicholas Halbie secretarie to my lord lieutenant came forth, and passed ouer the haue to commune with him. And during the parlae betwixt them, a truce was accorded and assented to by both parts: the which neuer thelesse was broken two severall times through the vnrulie insolencie of certeine harquebutters. And though by the good diligence of the capitaine they were incontinentlie quieted and staied: yet the valiant earle of Marwike, standing at a breach in his hose and dublet in sight of his enemies, was by a lewd solbier of the French (contrarie to the law of armes) shot through the thigh with an harquebuse. The conestable and the English commissioners appointed, had long conference together; and before they concluded, the marshalls Montmorencie and Burdellion (and at length the marshall Billac also) came to the place where they were thus in parlae: but the conestable toke vpon him to haue onelie authoritie to accept or refuse such conditions as should be offered, or agreed vnto by the English commissioners in this treatie. And so at length they passed certeine articles in forme as followeth.

The articles of agreement touching the surrender of Newhaunen.



Item, that the earle of Marwike should render againe the towne of Newhaunen into the hands of the said conestable of France, with all the artillerie and munitions of war then being in that towne, and belonging to the French king and his subjects.

Item, that he should leaue the ships that were in the said towne at that present, belonging either to the king or his subjects, with all their furniture: and generallie, all such merchandize and other things, being likewise at that present within that towne, as

15 b b b b b, j. either

Capitaine Delham went forth to talke with the commissioners.

The commissioners appointed to talke with the conestable.

Additions to Lanquet. The earle of Marwike hurt.

The conestable toke vpon him to be chiefe in authoritie on the French part.

either belonged to the king or his subjects.

3 Item, for the more surtie of the premises, the said earle should presentlie deliuer into the hands of the said constable, the great tower of the said haven, so that the soldiors which were placed therein enter not into the towne: and that the said earle of Warwicke should cause the gates there towards the towne to be warded, till it were in the possession of the said constable, without planting any ensigns on the said tower, according to the said agreement; and also that the said earle should deliuer four such hostages as the said constable should name.

4 Item, that the next daie, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the said earle should withdraw his soldiors which are in the fort, to deliuer it immediately into the hands of the said constable, or such as should be by him appointed to receive the same at the said houre.

5 Item, that all prisoners which haue bene taken before the said haven, should be deliuered on either side, without paying any ransom.

6 Item, that the constable should for his part suffer the said earle of Warwicke, and all those that are in garrison in the said Newhaven to depart with all things whatsoever that belonged to the queene of England and his subjects.

7 Item, that for the departure as well of the said earle, as the removing of his soldiors, and other things before rehearsed, the said constable agreed to giue them six whole daies, beginning the morrow then next following; to wit, the nine and twentieth of Julie: during which six daies, they might franklie and frelie take and carrie awaye all the said things. And if wind or foule weather should hinder, that their passage could not be made within the said terme, in this case the said constable should grant them such further time of delaie, as might be thought reasonable.

8 Item, the said constable did likewise permit, that all the ships and English vessels, and all other that should be appointed for the portage and conueying awaye of the said things, should safelye and frelie passe into and fro the said haven, without anye stay or impeachment, either by the French armie or any other. The said four hostages were appointed to be master Oliver Spaners, brother to the earle of Arundell, capteine Welham, capteine Hoxseie, and capteine Leighton. In witness whereof, the said lords, the constable of France, & the earle of Warwicke signed these articles the eight and twentieth of Julie, 1562.

Additions to
Lanquet.
The earle of
Warwicke
commende.

The French
king commeth
to the campe
before New-
haven.

Thus the earle of Warwicke, as he had during the whole time of his abode there in that towne of Newhaven shewed himselfe a right hardie & vallant capteine; so now in the end he proued himselfe to be both prudent and politike. For by accepting of these honorable conditions to go with all armor, munition, ships, goods, bag and baggage, in any wise apprehending or belonging either to the queenes maiestie, or to any of his graces subjects, he saved the liues of a great number, which otherwise escaping the leourge of the infectiue plague, must needs haue fallen vnder the edge of the sword. The constable, during the time of the parley, sent his youngest sonne monsieur de Thoree to the king and queene mother, to aduertise them of the treatie of this peace. And after it was once concluded and signed by the earle of Warwicke, he sent his eldest sonne the marshall Montmorencie, to present the same unto them at Criquefort, halfe waie betwene Newhaven and Fecampe, who were right iofull of the news: and the next daie they came to the campe, shewing great signes of their conceiued gladnesse, for the recovering of that towne thus out of the Englishmens hands.

On saturdaye the most part of the Englishmen toke ship and departed homelwards: for glad might he thinke himselfe that could get sonest out of that vnwholsome and most vnfauorize aire. Manye suche persons yet were left behind, impotent and not able to helpe themselves. The miserie whereof Edward Randall esquire high marshall of the towne (who was appointed to carrie and see the bittermost of the composition accomplished) perceiuing, moued with naturall pittie of his countrymen relinquished without comfort, caused the said sicke persons to be carted aboard, not sparing his owne shoulders, at that time feeble and full of the plague, himselfe and his men still bearing & helping the poore creatures on shipboard. A rare fact worthy reward, and no doubt in recompence with God, the true recorder of mercifull deserts. Thus was the towne of Newhaven reduced againe into the hands of the French, more vndoubtedly through the extreme mortalitie that so outrageously afflicted the soldiors and men of warre within the same, than by the enemies inforcements, although the same was great, and advanced to the bittermost of the aduersaries power.

Besides the meane sort of those that died of the pestilence during the siege, these I do find noted as chiefe: Cutbert Waughan comptrolloer of the towne, Francis Summerfet cosine to the earle of Worcester, Auerie Darcie brother to the lord Darcie, John Zouch brother to the lord Zouch, Edward Dymchbie, Thomas Dymchbie alias Wolghard, Richard Croker, John Cockson, Thomas Kemith, John Pound, William Saule, Willfreid Antwisell. Besides these being captains in chiefe being there in that towne, or else sickening there and dying upon their returne into England, there were diuerse other gentlemen, and such as had charge, which likewise ended their liues by force of that cruell and most greivous pestilent infection. There were diuerse also that were slaine, as well by canon shot, as otherwise in the field in skirmish, as both the Tremains brethren of one birth, Nicholas and Andrew, capteine Richard Sanders, with master Robinson, and master Symfield, of which two before ye haue heard: also one Leighton a gentleman, & diuerse more whose names I know not, worthy neuertheless to be remembered & placed in ranke with such worthy men, as in their countries cause haue lost their liues, and are therefore by writers registered to liue by fame for euer.

But now to passe to other matters at home. As ye haue heard, the plague of pestilence being in the towne of Newhaven, throught the number of soldiors that returned into England the infection thereof spread into diuerse parts of this realme: but especially the citie of London was so infected, that in the same whole yeare, that is to saie, from the first of Ianuarie 1562, vntill the last of December, in 1563, there died in the citie and liberties thereof (containing one hundred & eight parishes) of all diseases twentie thousand, three hundred, three score and twelue: and of the plague being part of the number aforesaid, seuentene thousand, four hundred, and foure persons. And in the outparishes adjoining to the same citie, being eleuen parishes, died of all diseases in the whole yeare, three thousand, two hundred, foure score and eight persons: and of them, of the plague two thousand, seuen hundred, thirtie and two. So that the whole number of all that died of all diseases, as well within the citie and liberties, as in the outparishes, was twentie three thousand six hundred and threescore: and of them there died of the plague, twentie thousand one hundred thirtie and six.

The eight of Julie in the morning, happened a great tempest of lightning and thunder, where two rough a woman and three kine were slaine, in the

John Stow.
Walter C.
Edward Randall
full of pe-
tie and com-
miseration.

Chiefe per-
nages that
died of the
plague at
Newhaven.

Diuerse of
name by ch-
non that, &
slaine.

John Stow.
Pestilence
transpired
from New-
haven to Lon-
don.

One hundred
and eight per-
ishes in Lon-
don, besides
eleuen in the
suburbs.

Tempest at
London by
lightning and
thunder.
Content

Count garden nere to Charingcrosse. At the same time in Essex a man was torne all to peeces as he was carting haie, his barne was boine downe, and his haie burned: both stones and trees were rent in manie places. The counsell of king Philip at Brussels commanded proclamation to be made in Antwerpe and other places, that no English ship with anie cloths, should come into anie places of the low countries: their colour was (as they said) the danger of the plague, which was at that time in London, & other places of England. Nevertheless they would gladlie haue gotten our woolles, but the queenes maiestie thorough sute of our merchant aduenturers caused the woll fleet to be discharged, and our cloth fleet was sent to Emden in east Friseland, about Easter next following, in the yeare of our Lord 1564. Forasmuch as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the citie of London, there was no rearme kept at Michaelmasse. To be short, the poore citizens of London were this yeare plagued with a thousand plague, pestilence, scarcitie of monie, and dearth of vittells, the miserie whereof were too long here to write: no doubt the poore remember it, the rich by sight into the countries made shift for themselves, &c.

An earthquake was in the moneth of September in diuerse places of this realme, speciallie in Lincoln & Northamptonshires. After the election of the maior of London by the counsels letters, the queens maiesties pleasure was signified vnto sir Thomas Lodge then maior, that forasmuch as the plague was so great in the citie, the new maior elected should keepe no feast at the Guildhall, for doubt that thorough bzinging together such a multitude, the infection might increase. For that weeke there died with in the citie and out parishes, more than two thousand: wherefore sir John Whight, the new maior, took his oath at the bittermost gate of the tower of London. From the first daie of December, till the twelue, was such continuall lightning and thunder, especiallie the same twelue daie at night, that the like had not bene scene nor heard by anie man then liuing.

In the moneth of December was shuen on the shore at Grimsbie in Lincolnshire a monstrous fish, in length nineteene yaros, his taile fiftene foot broad, and six yaros between his eyes, twelue men stood by right in his mouth to get the oile. For that the plague was not fullie ceased in London, William tearme was kept at Hertford castell beside Ware. This yeare the thirteenth of Aprill, an honorable and full peace was concluded, betwixt the queenes maiestie and the French king; their realmes dominions and subiects: and the same peace was proclaimed with sound of trumpet, before hir maiestie in hir castell of Windsor, then being present the French ambassadoys. And shortly after, the queenes grace sent the right honourable sir Henrie Careie lord of Hunnesdon, now lord chamberleine (of whose honourable and noble descent it is thus written

cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
Regina genitrix Henrici nobilis uxor)

accompanied with the lord Strange, beside diuerse knights and gentlemen, vnto the French king, with the noble order of the garter, who finding him at the citie of Lions, being in those parties in progresse, he there presented vnto him the said noble order: and Carter king at armes inuested him therewith, observing the ceremonies in that behalfe due and requisite. The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceased in London, both Easter and Whitsommer tearmes were kept at Westminster. And here by the waie to note the infection of this plague to haue bene dispersed into other countries besides Eng-

land, it is read in Schardius *In epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando primo imperatore*, that the pestilence did so rage in Germanie, and poisoned such peopled places, namelie Rostimberge, Francoford, Magduburge, Danike, Hamburg, and their borders, that by estimation (saith he) there died of that contagion to the number of three hundred thousand. A grievous scourge of God (saith mine author) howbeit verie few thereby so terrified, that they reformed their wicked lines. Which plague in Germanie I therefore do here repeat, because by all likelihoods it is to be gathered, that as it raged in the same yeare both there and here; so the cause maie be all one that bred so venemous an effect.]

There was on the vigill of S. Peter a watch in the citie of London, which did onelie stand in the highest streets of Cheape, Cornhill, and so forth to Algate: which watch was to the commons of the same citie as chargeable, as when in times past it had bene commendable done. The first of August, the queenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and was of all the students (being inuested according to their degrees taken in the scholes) honourable and fullie receiued in the Kings college, where she did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The dates of hir abode were passed in scholasticall exercises of philosophie, physick, and diuinitie: the nights in comedies, and tragedies, set forth partlie by the whole vniuersitie, and partlie by the students of the Kings college, to recreate and delight hir maiestie, who both heard them attentiuely, and beheld them cherefully.

At the breaking vp of the diuinitie act, being on wednesdaie the ninth of August (on the which daie she rode thorough the towne, and viewed the colleges, those goodlie and ancient monuments of kings of England hir noble predecessors) she made within saint Maries church a notable oration in Latine, in the presence of the whole learned vniuersitie, to the students great comfort. A copie whereof I haue set downe, as I receiued it in writing at the hands of one that then was present, and noted the same as hir maiestie uttered it. Whose words vnto me in a letter, where-with the same oration was sent, I do here set downe *bona fide*. This hir maiesties extemporal oration (saith he) lieng among my papers these twelue yeares and more, I thought good now to send to you, that if anie occasion be fitlie offered in the discourse of hir highnesse reigne, you maie (if you please) insert it. In truth, I my selfe neuer else where read it, which hath made me euen religiouslie to preserve it. Master Abraham Hartwell in his *Regina literata*, dwelling vpon this onelie argument of hir comming and doings at Cambridge, glanceth in a dischord twaine at the effect hereof. But this is the thing it selfe, as I my selfe (as most vnworthie) being both an ear and also an eye witnesse, can testify.

Serenissimæ reginæ Elisabethæ oratio;
publicè Cantabrigiæ habita, coram vniuerso
academiæ coetu, anno 1564:
et regni sui sexto.



Isi feminilis iste meus pudor (subditi fidelissimi & academia charissima) in tanta doctorum turba illorum hunc sermonem et orationem me narrare apud vos impediatur: tamen nobilium meorum intercessus & erga academiam beneuolentia me aliquid proferre inuitat. Duobus ad hanc rem stimulis moueor. Primus est, bonarum literarum propagatio: alter est, vestra omnium expectatio.

The plague in Germanie whereof three hundred thousand died.

watch on S. Peters night.

Abraham Hartwell in *regina literata*. The queenes progresse thorough Cambridge.

A. F.

Tho. Newton,

Duo stimuli quibus mouebatur regia maiestas

in Academi-
orum cum non
nihil eloquentur.

110. Quod ad propagationem spectat, unum illud apud Demosthenem memini: Superiorum verba apud inferiores librorum locum habent, & principum dicta legum auctoritatem apud subditos retinent. Hoc igitur vos omnes in memoria tenere velim: quod semita nulla praestantior est, sine ad bona fortune acquirenda, sine ad principum gratiam conciliandam, quam ut gnauiter (ut capistis) studiis vestris exhibeatis operam: quod ut faciatis, vos omnes oro obsecroque. De secundo stimulo, vestra nimirum expectatione, hoc unum dico, me nihil lubenter pretermisuram esse, quod vestrae de me animae beniuola concipiunt cogitationes.

Regia maiestas
pollicetur se ali-
quod monimen-
tum in academia
relicturam.

Iam ad academiam venio. Tempore antemeridiano vidi ego aedificia vestra sumptuosa, à meis maioribus, clarissimis principibus literarum causa extructa. Et inter videndum, dolor artus meos occupauit, atque eam mentis suspiria, quae Alexandrum quondam tenuisse feruntur. Qui cum legisset multa à principibus posita monumenta, conuersus ad familiarem seu potius ad consiliarium, multum doluit se nihil tale fecisse. Haec tamen vulgaris sententia me aliquantum recreauit, quae etsi non auferre, tamen minuere potest dolorem. Quae quidem sententia haec est: Romam non uno aedificatam fuisse die: tamen non est ita seculis mea aetas, nec iam diuisit, ex quo regnare capi, quin ante redditionem debiti naturae (si non nimis citò Atropos lineam vitae meae amputauerit) aliquod opus faciam: & quandiu vitas habet regit artus, nunquam à proposito deflectam.

Si non ante sal-
tem post mortem
proficetur se pre-
stituram quod
pollicetur.

Et si contingat (quàm citò futurum sit, nescio) me mori oportere, priusquam hoc ipsum quod polliceor complere possim: aliquod tamen egregium opus post mortem relinquam, quo & memoria mea in posterum celebris fiat, & alios excitent exemplo meo, & vos omnes alacriores faciam ad studia vestra. Sed iam videtis quantum interfit inter doctrinam lectam, & disciplinam animo non retentam. Quorum alterius sunt complures satis sufficientes testes: alterius autem vos omnes nimis quidem inconsideratè testes hoc tempore effeci, quae meo barbaro orationis genere tam diu doctas vestras aures detinuerim. Dixi.

Outerier and
Selman for
the date.

Great bonds
in & Thomas.

Ex l. Sp. p. 1123
Creation of a
baron name-
d sir Robert
Dudley baron
of Denbigh.

The next daie, she went forward on hir progreſſe to Finchinbrooke by Huntingtoun. The thirtieth daie of August was enacted by a common counsell of the citie of London, that all such citizens as from thence forth should be constrained to sell their household stuffe, leases of houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cried through the citie by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outerier appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the shilling for his paines. The twentieth of September arose great floods in the riuer of Thames, where through the marshes nere adjoining were ouerflowed, and manie cattell drowned.

The creation of sir Robert Sutton alias Dudley knight of the garter, and master of the horse, to the quenes maiestie, who was created baron of Denbigh, and after earle of Leicester on Michaelmasse daie at saint James, with the gift of the manour of Killingworth, and other things there to him and his heires, to the yerlie value of foure and twentie pounds & better. First, the said lord attended on the quenes highnesse, to the chappell, and from the chappell to sernice, and when he was returned to the chamber of pſeſſence, the said lord with other departed to the lord chamberleins chamber, and shiffted

them: the said lord Robert in his furcet with the lwd, his mantle borne before him by the lord Hurston, and led by the lord Clinton lord admiral by the right hand, and the lord Strange on the left hand, in their parlement robes, Carter bearing the patent, & before him the officers of armes, and so proceeded into the chamber of pſeſſence, where the quenes highnesse sat under the cloth of estate with the noblemen on each side of hir, the ambassador of France was also present with another stranger an Italian.

And when the said lord with the other came in the quenes sight, they made their obeisance three times, the said lord kneeled downe: after the which Carter presented the letters patents to the lord chamberleine, and he presented the same to the quenes highnesse, who gaue it to sir William Cecil secretarie, who read the same with a loud voice, & at the words of Creatimus, the lord of Hunsdon presented the mantle to the quenes maiestie, who put on the same, where by he was created baron of Denbigh for him and his heires. Then the patent was read out to the end, after the which he deliuered it to the quene againe, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said lord, who gaue hir maiestie most humble thanks, and he rose vp and departed to the chamber they came from, the trumpets sounding before him.

Then he shiffted him of those robes, and put on the robes of estate of an earle, and being led by the earle of Suffolk on the right hand, and the erle of Huntingtoun on his left hand, the earle of Warwicke bearing his sword the pointell upward, and the girdle about the same, all in their robes of estate, the lord Clinton lord admiral in his parlement robes, bearing his cap with the coronall, Carter before him bearing his patent, and the other officers of armes before him, they proceeded as afore into the chamber of pſeſſence, where, after they had made their obeisance, the said earle kneeled downe, and Carter deliuered his patent to the lord chamberleine, who gaue the same to the quenes maiestie, & hir highnesse gaue the same to sir William Cecil secretarie to read, who read the same. And at the words Creatimus gladij, the earle of Warwicke presented the sword to the quenes highnesse, who girt the same about the necke of the said new earle, putting the point under his left arme, and after hir maiestie put on his cap with the coronall. Then his patent was read out to the end, and then the said secretarie deliuered it againe to the quene, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said new earle of Leicester, who gaue hir humble thanks for it.

And then he arose and went into the counsell chamber to dinner, the trumpets sounding before, and at dinner he sat in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid ambassador of France, and the said Italian, with diuerse other erles and lords. And after the second course, Carter with the other officers of armes, proclaimed the quenes maiesties stile, and after, the stile of the said earle, for the which they had fifteen pounds, to wit, for his baronie five pounds, & for his earle dome ten pounds, and Carter had his gowne of blacke velvet garned with three gards of the same, laid on with lace, lined thorough with blacke taffata, and garned on the inner side with the same, and on the sleeves eight and thirtie paire of aglets of gold. The earles stile was as foloweth: Du tresnoble & puissant seigneur Robert conte de Leicester, baron de Denbigh, cheualier du tresnoble ordre de la iaretterie, & grand esquier de la royne nostre souveraigne. On whose scutcheon, containing sunbeie cotes, interroned with the cognisances of both orders, as well S. Michaels as S. Georges, with other ornaments, were made these verses, now common to be read:

Quot clypeos atatum clypeo coniungis in uno,
Tot tibi virtutes atatum sunt pectore iunctae.

The earle
attendance at
this creation.

The creation
of the ceremo-
nies & officers
at this creation.

Creation of
an earle, and
namely the
earle of Le-
icester.

The quene
hir stile gi-
veth the sword
and girdle
about the
earles necke.

The officers
for fifteen
pounds at
this creation.

The earle
stile
at this creation.

*Somery pietas, & importunita Grej,
Intemerata fides, illustri, nobile pectus
Ferrary, Quinque probitas, bonitasque Boghani,
Martia Talbotti virtus, fulgissima dextra
Leachampi, Herculei mentis inconcussa Guidonis,
Barklai vigor, & generosa modestia Lisl.*

The second of October in the afternoon, and on the morrow in the forenoon, was a solemn obsequie at Paules church in London, for Ferdinando late emperor departed. ¶ Of this emperor it is said, that lieng sicke, and so sicke that Richard a preacher of his court then present could not hold him by: howbeit comming at last to himselfe and somewhat in recoverie, he said to the standers by; You thought that I would neuer come againe, naie mine houre is not so lone: I do certeinlie know that I shall not die before Whitsuntide. Now when he had liued till that daie, and eight daies after, as hauing the verie time of his departure told him by secret reuelation, (and satisfied at full touching the request that Dauid made to God about the length of his life, saieing:

Da mihi nōsse mea que sint fata tempora vite,

Et quando ultima sint fata futura mihi)

he said to them that were about him: It is the holie ghoſts pleasure that I should not die before saint James tide, that as he was a pilgrime among vs, so I with him should passe my pilgrimage out of this my native countrie. After which wordes spoken, his disease grew to greater force and sharpnesse, inſomuch that at last, euen at the verie time prefixed, namelye S. James daie, he departed this life, after he had liued sette yeares, nine moneths, and so daies. He gouerned the empire aboue the space of ſeauen yeares, & had to wife Anne queene of Hungarie and Boheme, by whom he had ſixtene children, ſome male; namelye, Arimilian, Ferdinand, John and Charles: also eleeuen females; to wit, Elisabeth married to Sigismund king of Poland, Anne, Marie, Margoline, Catharine, Elenor, Margarite, Warbare, Terleue, Helen, and Jane. He is commended for his carefulnesse, his watchfulnesse, his bountifulnesse, his gentlenesse, his vprightnesse, his discret-nesse, his peaceablenesse, and other qualites, wherein he had a kind of singularity. And thus much of him by waie of praife, as I found it readie to my hand. ¶

The ſeauenth of October at night, from eight a clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the north parts of the element ſeemed to be couered with flames of fire, proceeding from the north-east and north-west, toward the middell of the firmament, where after it had staied nigh one houre, it descended west: and all the same night (being the next after the change of the moone) ſeemed nigh as light as it had bene faire daie. The twentieth of Nouember in the morning, through negligence of a maiden with a candell, the stiffe falling in an hundred pounds weight of gunpowder, three houses in Bucklersburie were soze shaken, and the maid died two daies after. The one and twentieth of December began a frost, which continued so extremitie, that on Pelupearcs euen, people went ouer and alongſt the Thames on the ſſe from London bridge to Westminster. Some played at the ſotball as bolliue there, as if it had bene on the drie land: diuerſe of the court being then at Westminster, shot dallie at prickes set vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women went on the Thames in greater numbers, than in anie ſtreet of the citie of London. On the third daie of Ianuarie at night it began to thaw, and on the ſift daie was no ſſe to be ſene betwene London bridge and Lambeth, which ſudden thaw caused great floods and high waters, that bare downe bridges and houses, and drowned manie people in England: eſpecially in Yorkſhire, Doves hydge was borne aſwaie

with others.

The third daie of February, Henrie Stuart lord Darleie, about the age of nineteene yeares, eldest sonne to Mattheu earle of Lincolne (who went into Scotland at Whitsuntide before) hauing obtained licence of the queenes maiestie, toke his iourneie toward Scotland, accompanied with ſiue of his fathers men, &c. When he came, he was honorablie receiued, & lodged in the kings lodgings, and in the summer following, he married Marie queene of Scotland. About this time, for the queenes maiestie were chosen and sent commissioners to Bages, the lord Pontacute knight of the honourable order of the garter, doctor Motton one of hir maiesties honorable counsell, doctor Haddon one of the masters of requests to hir highnesse, with others: master doctor Aubric was for the merchant aduenturers of England: they came to Bages in Lent, Anno 1565, and continued there till Michaelmasse following, and then was the diet prolonged till March in the yeare 1566, and the commissioners returned into England.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, the ladie Margariſte countesse of Lincolne, was commanded to keepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the two and twentieth of June, and then conueſed by ſir Francis Knolles and the gard to the towber of London by water. On ſ. Peters euen at night, was the like ſtanding watch in London, as had bene on the ſame night twelue moneths paſt. The ſixteenth of Iulie, about nine of the clocke at night began a tempeſt of lightning and thunder, with ſhowers of haile, which continued till thre of the clocke in the next morning, ſo terrible, that at Chelmeſford in Eſſex 500 acres of coine was deſtroied, the glaſſe win- dows on the eaſt ſide of the towne, and of the weſt and ſouth ſides of the church were beaten downe, with the tiles of theſe houſes alſo, beſides diuerſe barnes, chimneis, and the battlements of the church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was done in manie other places, as at Leeds, Cranebroke, Douer, &c.

Chriſtopher prince and margraue of Baden, with Cleitie his wife ſiſter to the king of Sweithland, after a long and dangerous iourneie, wherein they had trauelled almoſt eleuen moneths ſailing from Stockholme, croſſing the ſeas ouer into Liſeland, from whence by land they came about by Poland, Pruſſie, Pomerland, Peckelburgh, Friſeland, and ſo to Antwerpe in Babant, then to Calis, at the laſt in September landed at Douer, and the eleuenth daie of the ſame they came to London, and were lodged at the eaſe of Bedfordes place nere to Iule byrde, where within ſoure daies after, that is to ſaie, the ſixteenth of September the trauelled in childbed, and was deliuered of a man child: which child the laſt of September was chriſtened in the queenes maiesties chappell of White hall at Weſtmiſter, the queenes maiestie in hir owne perſon being godmother, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the duke of Norfolke godfathers. At the chriſtening the queene gaue the child to name Edwardus Fortunatus: for that God had ſo gratiouſlie aſſiſted his mother, in ſo long and dangerous a iourneie, and brought hir ſafe to land in that place, which ſhe moſt deſired, and that in ſo ſhort time before hir deliuerance.

The eleuenth of Nouember, the right honorable Ambroſe earle of Warwicke married Anne eldest daughter to the earle of Bedford. For the hono- and celebration of which noble marriage, a goodlie cha- lenge was made and obſerued at Weſtmiſter at the tilt, each one ſix courſes: at the tourne twelue ſtrokes with the ſword, thre puiſes with the punch- on ſtaffe: and twelue blowes with the ſword at bar-

Henrie Stuart married the queene of Scotland.

Commissioners chosen to go to Bages

1565
Ladie Lincolne sent to the tower.

Standing watch at ar midsummer in London.

Tempest at Chelmeſford of lightning thunder and raie.

The marriage of margraue of Baden and his wife Cleitie great with child come to London.

She is deliuered of a child.

The queene giueth the name.

Marriage of the earle of Warwicke.

Robert Thomas
maister gunner
killed by casualty.

vices, or twentie if anie were so disposed. At ten of the clocke at night the same daie a valiant service-able man called Robert Thomas, maister gunner of England, desirous also to honour the feast and marriage daie (in consideration the said earle of Warwicke was generall of the ordinance within his maiesties realmes and dominions) made thre great traines of chambers, which terrible pealed forth the nature of their voice, to the great astonishment of diuerse, who at the firing of the second was unhappily slaine by a peece of one of the chambers, to the great sorrow and lamentation of manie.

Anno Reg. 8.

Pauls gate
blown open.

Order of saint
Michael.
1566

The foure and twentieth of December in the morning, there rose a great storme and tempest of wind, by whose rage the Thames and seas overwhelmed manie persons, and the great gates at the west end of St. Pauls church in London (betwene the which standeth the brassen pillar) were through the force of the wind, then in the westerne part of the wood, blowne open. In Januarie monsieur Rambulet a knight of the order in France was sent over into England, by the French king Charles the ninth of that name, with the order: who at Windsoze was stalled in the behalfe of the said French king, with the knight hood of the most honorable order of the garter. And the foure and twentieth of Januarie, in the chappell of his maiesties palace of Whitehall, the said monsieur Rambulet inuested Thomas duke of Norfolk, and Robert earle of Leicester, with the said order of St. Michael.

The marquis
of Baden re-
turned into
his owne
countrie.

The marquesse of Baden and the ladie Cecillie his wife, sister to the king of Swethen, who came into this land in the moneth of September last past (as before is declared) being then by the quenes especiall appointment at their arrivall honorable received by the lord Cobham, an honorable baron of this realme, and the ladie his wife one of the quenes maiesties privie chamber, now in the moneth of Aprill 1566 departed the realme againe, the marquesse a few daies before his wife, being both conducted by a like personage the lord of Arbarguennie to Dover. Certaine houses in Cornhill, being first purchased by the citizens of London, were in the moneth of Februarie crierd by a belman, and afterward sold to such persons as should take them downe, and carie them from thence: which was so done in the moneths of Aprill and Maie next following. And then the ground being made plaine at the charges also of the citie, possession thereof was by certaine aldermen in the name of the whole citizens, given to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Gresham knight, agent to the quenes highnesse, there to build a place for merchants to assemble in, at his owne proper charges: who on the seventh daie of June laid the first stone of the foundation (being byrchie) and forthwith the workemen followed upon the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of November, in An. 1567. the same was covered with slate. The commissioners before named, appointed for the matters of Flanders, keeping their diet at Bruges, agreed to refer the whole matter to the princes on both sides: and if they could not agree, then the merchants to have fortie daies to repare home with their merchandize, and in the meane time all things to stand as they were then. Our commissioners departed from Bruges about the six and twentieth of June.

The quenes
progress to
Windsor.

The one and thirtieth of August, the quenes maiestie in his progresse came to the universitie of Oxford, and was of all the students, which had looked for his comming thither two yeares, so honorable and joyfulle received, as either their loialnesse towards the quenes maiestie, or the expectation of their friends did require. Concerning orders in disputations and other academicall exercises, they agreed

much with those which the universitie of Cambridge had used two yeares before. Comedies also and tragedies were played in Christs church, where the quenes highnesse lodged. Among the which the comedie intituled Palemon and Arcit, made by maister Edwards of the quenes chappell, had such tragical successe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires, and great presse of the multitude three men were slaine.

Disfortune
at Windsor
at the placing
of a tragedy.

The first of September after disputations, the quene at the humble sute of certeine hir nobilitie, and the B. of Spaines ambassador, made a briefe oration in Latine to the universitie; but so wise and pithie, as England may receive that it hath so learned a prince, and the universitie may triumph that they have so noble a patronesse. The first of September after dinner, his grace comming from Christs church over Carfor, and so to St. Maries, the scholars standing in order according to their degrees even to the east gate, certeine doctors of the universitie did ride before in their scarlet gownes and hoods, & maisters of art in blacke gownes and hoods. The maiors also with certeine of his brethren did ride before him in scarlet to the end of Magdalen byrge, where their liberties ended: but the doctors and maisters went forward still to Shotouer, a mile and more out of Oxford, because their liberties extended so far: and there after orations made, his highnes with thanks to the whole universitie had them farewell, and rode to Ricote.

The quenes
majestie an
oration to the
universitie.

The valiant capteine Edward Kandoll esquier, lieutenant of the ordinance, and cozonnell of a thousand footmen, in September last past was with his band imbarked at Wistow, and within few daies after landed at Knockfergus in the north parts of Ireland; and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by which passeth the river Longfoile. There the said cozonnell in short space fortified, to the great annoiance of Shane O'Neil, and by great foresight and experience garded himselfe and his charge, till the said O'Neil (to hinder and disturbe his aboad there) the twelfth of November arrived with a great armie of Kerne Galowglashes and horsemen, with whom the said capteine Kandoll encountered, and him there so discomfited, as after that conflict he durst never approach the quenes power. And to his perpetuall fame, the said capteine by reason of his bold and hardie onset, that daie lost his life. Charles James the first of that name, son to Henrie Stuart lord of Darnley and Marie king & quene of Scots was borne in Edinburgh castell, the nineteenth of June last past: and the eighteenth of December this yeare solemnly christened at Sterling, whose godfathers at the christening were Charles B. of France, and Willibert duke of Savoy, and the quenes maiestie of England was the godmother, who gave a font of gold curiously wrought and inameled, weighing thre hundred & thre and thirtie ounces, amounting in value to the summe of 1043 pounds, nine shillings.

Souldiers
transported
into Ireland
to banquish
Shane O'Neil.

Young James
of Scots
christened.

Anno Reg. 8.

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart lord of Darnley before named B. of Scots, by Scots in Scotland was shamefullie murdered, the revenge whereof remaineth in the mightie hand of God. The two and twentieth of Februarie, the ladie Margaret Dologlas countesse of Lincolne, mother to the said king of Scots, was discharged out of the tower of London. Within the space of ten moneths last past died seven aldermen of London, the first Edward Bankes deceased the ninth of Julie, An. 1566: Richard Chamberleine late Shriffe, sir Martin Bowes, sir Richard Mallozie, sir William Hewet, and sir Thomas White late maiors, then Richard Lambert one of the Shrifves for that yeare, the fourth

B. of Scots
murdered.
1567

The countesse
of Lincolne
discharged
out of the
tower.
Seven alder-
men deceased
in London.

fourth of Aprill 1567. The like mortalitie to haue happened among them about a ten or eleuen yeares before, you shall read in the historie of queene Marie, in the fourth yeare of hir reigne.

The two and twentieth of Aprill by great misfortune of fire in the towne of Dinefrie in Wales, twelue miles from Shrewsburie, to the number of two hundred houses, to wit, seuen score within the walls, and thre score without in the suburbs, besides cloth, cozne, cattell, &c. were consumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after none, and ended at four, to the great maruell of manie, that so great a spoile in so short a time should happen. Two long streets with great riches in that towne was burnt in the yeare 1542: and likewise of thospe in the yeare 1564. The foure and twentieth of Aprill the fergeants scaf was kept at Greis inne nere vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made seuen new fergeants of the law. The seuenteenth of Maie in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke eight miles from Petuamarke, thirtie seuen houses besides barnes, stables, and such like were consumed with fire in the space of two houres.

Shane O'neil, who had most traitorouslie rebelled against the quenes maiestie in Ireland, and had done manie great outrages in the parts of Ulster, was this yeare with his great losse manfullie repelled from the siege of Dundalke by the garrison thereof: and afterward through the great balancie and foresight of sir Henrie Sidneie knight of the order, and lord deputie of Ireland, he was so discomfited in sundrie combats, with the losse of thre thousand five hundred of his men, that now foresceing his declination to be imminent, he determined to put a collar about his necke, and disguising himselfe, to repaire to the lord deputie, and penitentie to require his pardon to haue his life. But Jael Hackeuer his secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, perswaded him first to trie & treat the friendship of certeine wild Scots, that then laie incamped in Clan Iboie, vnder the conducting of Alexander Oge, and Mac Gilliam Busske, whose father and vnckle Shane O'neil had latelie killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scots. Heuerthelesse he well liking this perswasion, went to the said campe the second of Iune, where after a dissembled interteinement, & quaffing of wine, Gilliam Busske burning with desire of reuenge for his fathers and vnckles death, and ministring quarrelling talke, issued out of the tent, and made a straie vpon O'neils men, and then gathering together his Scots in a throng, suddenlie entred the tent againe, who there with their slaughter swords helued in peecces Shane O'neil, his secretarie, and all his companie, except a berie few which escaped by flight.

On saint Johns euen at night was the like standing watch in London, as had bene on saint Peters euen in the yeare last before mentioned. This yeare the emperour Maximilian the second of that name, being elected into the most honourable order of the garter, the right honourable Thomas earle of Suffex, &c. knight of the same most noble order, was appointed by the quenes maiestie to go vnto the said emperour, with the said order of the garter, according to his said election. Who being honozable accompanied with the lord North, sir Thomas Wilsmaie knight, Henrie Cobham esquier, one of the pensioners, and others, departed from London the five and twentieth of Iune 1567, vnto Douer, and there imbarked, landed at Calis, and his traine at Dunkirk, and so passed through the low countries to Antuerpe in Wabant, where he was honourable received by the English merchants and others, and being there went to visit madame de Parma, regent of the said countries, then resident within the

same towne.

From thence he passed vnto Colen, where as his lordship and traine mounted the river of Rhene, by sundrie continuall daies iourneies passed by the citie of Ments or Hagunce, vnto Oppenheim, & there taking his waie by land, passed through the countrie by the cities of Wormes and Spire till he came to Almes, standing on the riuer of Danow, where hee arrived the one and twentieth of Iulie: and the thre and twentieth his lordship rode in post to Auspurg, called in Latine *Augusta Vindelicorum*, nine Dutch miles from Almes. From thence he departed the five and twentieth of Iulie, and met with his traine at Donwert, being come thither vpon stotes downe by the said riuer of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourneie by Ingolstat, Keinspurg, in Latine *Ratibona*, by Passaw and other townes, till hee came to Linz, where his lordship staid the first, second and third of August, by reason of the high waters.

And departing from thence on the fourth of August, he passed by Stoan & Crem, by the said riuer of Danow, and so arrived at the citie of Vienna the first of August in this foresaid yeare 1567, where hee was receiued of the lord Smeckhoules, hauing twelue horses readie with their foteclotches for his lordship, and the most respected of his traine, and so brought him to the presence of the emperour, at that present within his castell there in that citie, by whom he was right honourable receiued, and afterwards conducted to his assigned lodging, where as all provision was prepared and made at the emperours charges. Here his lordship continued till the fourteenth of Ianuarie. In which meane time the emperour berie often (as time serued) had the said earle forth with him, vnto such pastimes of hunting the hart, boare, and such like, as the plentifulnesse of that countrie yeldeth. Moreover, during the time of his lordships abode there at Vienna, Charles archduke of Austria and Carinth arrived in that citie, whom my lord went to salute.

After this, vpon the quenes maiesties letters brought out of England by maister Henrie Woske, alias Cobham, one of hir gentlemen pensioners, the said earle of Suffex vpon sundate the fourth of Ianuarie in the after none, presented and deliuered vnto the emperours maiestie in his chamber of presence, the habiliments and ornaments of the most noble order of the garter, sir Gilbert Dethike knight alias Garter, principall king of arms, and officer for the said order, and William Dethike then Rouge-crosse, also officer of armes, giuing their attendance in their cotes of armes. And the emperour at his inuesture of the said habiliments, gaue vnto the said Garter his short gowne and vnder garment, furred throughout with luzerns, and then proceeded thence into a great chamber, adozned in forme of a chapel, where as all the other ceremonies belonging vnto the said noble order were obserued and accomplished. And the same night the said earle supped with the emperours maiestie, both being in their robes of the said order.

Now shortly after, his lordship with certeine of his companie taking leaue of the emperour, departed from Vienna the fourteenth of Ianuarie foresaid vnto Belsat, and so through the countrie of Sire vnto Gratz the chiefe citie of Carinth, where hee toke also leaue of the said archduke Charles: and from thence returning, passed those parts of the Alpes vnto Saltzburgh, where he met with the other part of his traine, and so by continuing iourneies came againe into England to the quenes maiestie towards the latter end of March. After a drie summer folowed an extreme sharpe winter, namelie the latter

The iourneies of the earle of Suffex during his abode beyond the seas.

The emperour interteineth the earle of Suffex.

Charles duke of Austria & the earle of Suffex salute each other.

1568

The earle of Suffex departeth from Vienna, &c.

John Stow. Anno Reg. 10. A sharpe winter following a drie summer.

latter part thereof, with such great scarcity of fodder and hote, that in diuerse places the same was sold by weight, as in Yorkshire, and in the Peate of Darbyshire, where a stone of hote was sold for five pence. There followed also a great death of cattell, namelie of horse and sheepe.

Rich. Grafton.
The queenes
ships sent
forth into the
narrow seas.

This yeare in the moneth of Januarie, the queens maiestie sent into the narrow seas thre of hir ships, and one barke named the Anthelap, the Swallow, the Aid, and the Phenix, the which were manned with five hundred men. And hir highnesse appointed the charge of the said ships and men to hir trustie seruant William Holstoeke of London esquier, comptrolloz of hir highnesse ships, who had commandement to staie the subiects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he vsed such diligence, as one having care vnto his charge, in garding as well the French as the English coasts, did the eleuenth daie of March next following meet with eleuen saile of Flemmish hoies open vpon Bullongne, which came from Rone, and had in them foure hundred and oduns of Gascoigne and French wines, which they intended to haue caried into Flanders: but the said Holstoeke staid all the said eleuen hoies, and sent them to London, where they made their discharge, and the Flemmings disappointed of those wines.

Eleuen saile
of Flemmish
hoies laden
with wines
surprised by
admirall
Holstoeke.

Moreover the eight and twentieth daie of the foze said moneth of March, the said William Holstoeke seruing in the Anthelap (at that present admirall) and in his companie being William Winter the yonger (at that time his viceadmirall) seruing in the Aid, and John Basing capteine of the Swallow, and Thomas Gouartie capteine of the Phenix met in the narrow seas with foureteene saile of great hulkes, which were come out of Portugall, and bound to Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall salt, and yet had good store of Spanishe roials of plate, and also of good spices. The which foureteene hulkes did mainteine their fight for the space of two houres. And after that they did perceiue that they could not pertaine, hauing talked of the ordinance of the queens ships to their great hurt, as well in slaughter of their men, as also in spoile of their ships, the said Holstoeke and his companie toke right of the said hulkes, whereof six were sent into the riuer of Thames. And the admirall and viceadmirall in the said hulkes being two great ships (which the said Holstoeke himselfe did take) were caried vnto Harwich, and there discharged.

Six Spanishe
hulkes laden
with diuerse
things taken by
the English.

John Stow.
Great Winds.
Archbishop of
Yorke deceased.

Monstrous
fishes.

New conduit
at Walbroke.

Anno Reg. II.
1569

A Frenchman
and two Eng-
lishmen
executed.
Murther of
pensioners.

A lotterie at
London.

The eighteenth of March, through vehement rage and tempest of winds, manie vessels on the Thames with two tillobotes before Craneleend, were sunke and drowned. The six and twentieth of June, deceased Thomas Wong archbishop of Yorke, at the manour of Sheffield, and was honourable buried at Yorke. The eleuenth of October were taken in Suffolke at Downam bridge, nere vnto Ipswich seuentene monstrous fishes, some of them containing seven and twentie fot in length, the other foure and twentie, or one and twentie fot at the least. At the costs and charges of the citizens of London, a new conduit was built at Walbroke corner nere to Dowgate, which was finished in the moneth of October, the water whereof is conueied out of the Thames.

The seven and twentieth of Januarie, Philip Spirell a Frenchman, and two Englishmen were drawne from Pelagate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartered, who had coined gold counterfeit, the Englishmen the one had clipped silver, the other cast testons of tin. The eight and twentieth of March, the pensioners well appointed in armor on horsebacke, mustered before the queenes maiestie in Hyde parke beside Westminster. A great lotterie being holden at London in Poules church

yard at the west doore, was begun to be drawne the eleuenth of Januarie, and continued daie and night till the first of Maie, wherein the said drawing was fullie ended. Sir Thomas Ro lord maior of London, caused to be inclosed with a wall of bricke nigh one acre of ground, nere vnto Bedlem without Bishopps gate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of such parishers in London as lacked convenient ground within their said parishers.

¶ On the southside whereof, ouer a folding gate this inscription is grauen in stone in great letters: Thomas Ro miles, cum prator esset Londonensis, hunc locum Republice in usum publicae sepulture communem, suo sumptu dedicauit: Anno Domini 1569. Which writing I haue here recorded, for that in viewing the same, I saw some of the letters defaced and vtterlie made awaie: which in time might likewise befall to the residue, and so the memoire of the gentleman there fired to so good an end banish and die. He also of a goodlie motion builded a convenient come in Pauls churchyard, on the southside of the crosse, to receiue a certeine number of hearers at the sermon time: as may appeare by some remembrances of his name there fired. Whobest, this gentleman thus well disposed, and like enough to haue proceeded in more such goodlie actions, was called out of this life the next yeare immediatlie following, forgoing all the pompe of this life, with no lesse god will, than he was forward by death to passe to eternal rest. His bodie was buried in Hacknic church, in the southside of the chancell, where (besides a monument of himselfe and his wife) this epitaph remaineth to be read in faire great letters, as followeth:

Curiall for
the dead re-
pared by Sir
Thomas Ro
called of Paul
churchyard.

A. F.

The resti-
tion or res-
toring ouer the
south gate of
the new
churchyard.

The death of
Sir Thomas
Ro knight
and lord maior
of London.

An. 1570. Septemb. 2.
Sir Thomas Ro lieth buried heare,
Of London knight and alderman,
Who late was maior and rule did beare,
To right the cause of euerie man:
A merchant venturer was he,
Of merchant tailors companie:
A citizen by birth also,
And eke his wife dame Marie Ro.
In wedlocke one and thirtie yeare,
They did continue man and wife,
Eleuen children she did beare,
But five of them haue left this life:
And six aliue doo yet remaine,
Foure of them sons and daughters twaine;
His soule with God we hope is blest,
And dooth remaine in Abrams brest.]

The epitaph
of Sir Thomas
Ro, wherein
his illie name
and female is
contained.

A standing watch on S. Johns euen at Spidmuer, and Sir John White alderman rode the circuit, as the lord maior should haue done. The seven and twentieth of August, Andreu Gregorenich Hauin, ambassadoz from Muscouite, landed at the towre wharfe, and was there receiued by the lord maior of London, the aldermen and shiriffes in scarlet, with the merchants aduenturers in cotes of blake velvet, all on horsebacke, who conueied him riding through the citie to the Muscouite house in Hedding lane, there to be lodged. The plague of pestilence somewhat raging in the citie of London, Michaelmas terme was first adiourned vnto the thirde of Nouember, and after to Hilarie terme next following. The eleuenth of October, Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk was brought from Barnam le side Windsor by land to Westminster, and from thence by water to the towre of London prisoner, Sir Henrie Peruill being his keeper. This yeare the lord maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth, as hath bene accustomed, but kept no feast at the Guildhall, least through comming togither of so great a multitude, infection of the pestilence might haue increased. ¶ At whiche

Ambassadoz
from Muscouite
land at
towre wharfe.

Termes adiourned.

Death of
Hoskyns
sent to the
towre.

Hoskyns
sent to the
towre.

from the one and twentieth unto the eight and twentieth of October, there died in the citie and out partes of all diseases one hundred fiftie and two, of the which, one and fiftie were accounted to die of the plague.

On Thursday the ninth of November, Thomas Percie erle of Northumberland received the queens maiesties letters to repaire to the court. And the same night, other conspirators perceiving him to be wavering and inconsistent of promise made to them, caused a servant of his, called Beckwith (after he was laid in his bed) to bustle in, and to knocke at his chamber dore, willing him in haste to arise, and shift for himselfe, for that his enemies (whome he termed to be sir Oswald Aldrop, and maister Laugham) were about the park, and had beset him with great numbers of men. Whereupon he arose, & conveyed himselfe awaie to his keepers house. In the same instant they caused the bels of the towne to be rung backward, and so raised as manie as they could to their purpose. The next night the earle departed thence to Branpith, where he met with Charles earle of Westmerland, and the other conspirators. Then by sundrie proclamations, they abusing manie of the queens subjects, commanded them in his highnesse name, to repaire to them in warlike manner, for the defense and fuertie of his maiesties person; sometimes affirming their doings to be with the advise and consent of the nobilitie of this realme, who in deed were wholie bent (as manifestlie appeared) to spend their lues in dutifull obedience, against them and all other traitors, sometimes pretending for conscience sake to seeke to reforme religion: sometimes declaring that they were driven to take this matter in hand, least otherwise foreign princes might take it upon them, to the great perill of this realme.

Upon Monday the thirtieth of November, they went to Durham with their banners displayed. And to get the more credit among the fauours of the old Romish religion, they had a crosse with a banner of the five wounds borne before them, sometime by old fashion, sometime by others. As soon as they entered Durham, they went to the minster, where they tare the bible, communion books, & other such as were there. The same night they went againe to Branpith. The fourteenth daie of the same month, they went to Darlington, and there had masse, which the earles and the rest heard with such lewd deuotion as they had. Then they sent their horsemen, to gather together such numbers of men as they could. The fifteenth daie the earles parted; he of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, & so to Boroowbydige; & he of Westmerland to Ripon, & after to Boroowbydige, where they both met againe. On the eighteenth daie they went to Wetherbie, and there taried three or foure daies, and upon Cliffoed more, nigh unto Bramham more, they mustered themselves, at which time they were about two thousand horsemen, and five thousand footmen, which was the greatest number that euer they were. From which they intended to haue marched toward Poike, but their minds being suddenly altered, they returned.

The thre and twentieth of November, they besieged Bernards castell, which castell was valiantlie defended by sir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the space of eleuen daies, and then beleuered with composition to depart with armes, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the queens maiestie caused the said earles of Northumberland & Westmerland to be proclaimed traitors, with all their adherents and fauours, the four and twentieth of November. The lord Serowe warden of

the west marches, calling vnto him the earle of Cumberland and other gentlemen of the countrie, kept the citie of Carleill. The earle of Suffre the queens lieutenant generall in the north, published there the like proclamations (in effect) as had bene published by his maiestie against the said rebels, and also sent out to all such gentlemen as he knew to be his maiesties louing subjects vnder his rule, who came vnto him with such numbers of their friends, as he was able in five daies to make about five thousand horsemen and footmen. And so being accompanied with the erle of Rutland his lieutenant, the lord Hunston generall of the horsemen, sir Rafe Sadler treasurer, the lord William Curers, that was after appointed to lead the reareward, and diuerse other, that with their tenants and seruants were come to him, remaining as then within the citie of Poike: he set forward from thence the fift of December being Sunday, and marched with his power which he had thus got together towards the enemies.

Sir George Bowes hauing surrendered Bernards castell (as before ye haue heard) met the earle of Suffre thus marching forward with his armie at Hallsaie, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton: and resting two nights there, they marched on to Crossbidge, then to Aile, and so to Durham, and after to Newcastell. And the twentieth of December they came to Heram, from whence the rebels were gone the night before to Patworth, where they counselled with Edward Dacres concerning their owne weaknesse, & also how they were not onlie pursued by the earle of Suffre & others with him, hauing a power with them of seven thousand men, being almost at their heeles; but also by the earle of Warwike, and the lord Clinton, high admerall of England with a far greater armie of twelue thousand men, raised by the queens maiesties commissioners out of the south and middle parts of the realme. In which armie beside the earle of Warwike, & the lord admerall, chiefe governors in the same, there was also Walter Deuereux vicount Hereford high marshall of the field, with the lord Willoughbie of Perham, maister Charles Howard, now lord Howard of Effingham, generall of the horsemen vnder the earle of Warwike, yong Henrie Knols eldest sonne to sir Francis Knols, his lieutenant, Edward Hopte captaine of the ile of Wight, with five hundred barquebussers out of the same ile, and captaine Leighton with other five hundred barquebussers Londoners, and manie other worthy gentlemen and ballant captains.

The coming forward of these forces caused the rebels so much to quail in courage, that they durst not abide to trie the matter with dint of sword. For whereas the earle of Warwike, and the lord admerall, being advanced forward to Darlington, ment the next daie to haue sent Robert Clouer then Portculeis, and now Summer set herald (who in his iourneie attended on the lord admerall, as Portculeis king of armes did vpon the earle of Warwike) vnto the rebels, vpon such message as for the time and state of things was thought conuenient: the same night aduertisements came from the earle of Suffre vnto the earle of Warwike, and to the lord admerall, that the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland were fled, as the truth was they were indeed, first from Durham, whether the said Clouer should haue bene sent vnto them: and now vpon the earle of Suffre his coming vnto Erham, they shanke quite awaie, and fled into Scotland, without bidding their companie farewell. The earle of Warwike and his power marched on to Durham. But the earle of Suffre pursuing those other rebels that had

The earle of Suffre went against the rebels.

The earle of Rutland and the lord Hunston, with others against the rebels.

The rebels and Edward Dacres consulted about their weaknesse.

The earle of Warwike and the lord admerall Clinton, sent against the rebels.

The rebels dare not stand to the trial of battell.

The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland fled into Scotland.

not

not meane to flee out of the realme, apprehended no small number of them at his pleasure, without finding anie resistance among them at all.

1570
Rebels
executed at
Durham.

A prentise
hanged in
London for
killing his
maister.

Rich. Grafton.
Lord Leonard
Dacres
rebellety.

The lord
Dacres was
die with his
power to sit
upon the lord
of Hunsdon.

Stout two
men among
the rebels.

Leonard Dacres
not to fight
his waie into
Scotland.

John Stow.
Rebels
executed at
York.

The fourth and fift of Januarie did suffer at Durham to the number of thre score and six, conestables and others, amongst whom the alderman of the towne and a priest called parson Plomtre were the most notable. Then sir George Wolves being made marshall, finding manie to be fautors in the foresaid rebellion, did see them executed in diuerse places of the countrie. The one and twentieth of Januarie a prentise of London was hanged on a gibet at the north end of Finch lane in London (to the example of others) for that he the thirtieth of December had stricken his maister with a knife whereof he died.

About the later end of Januarie, Leonard Dacres of Harlesie began to rebell, and procured the people of the north parts to assist him: so that he raised to the number of thre thousand men. At whose attempts when the lord Hunsdon lord warden of the east marches, and gouernor of Berwicke heard, he prepared to go against him: and hauing with him sir John Foster lord warden of the middle marches, they set forward towards the place where they thought they should find him. They had with them 300 chosen soldiers of the garrison of Berwicke, and twelue hundred borderers, and other of the garrisons there about the borders: so that they were in all sixteen hundred footmen and horsemen. They marching there with speed approached nere to a towne and castell called Palsworth, which was in the keeping of the said Leonard Dacres. And upon a morn, through the middle thereof a little riuer called Glest hath his course, the said Leonard Dacres the two and twentieth of Februarie was ready with his power in order of battell, ranged & set in arraie after the forme of a triangle, compassed and inuironed about with horsemen. And now upon the lord Hunsdon's approach, the said Dacres with great and stout courage gaue an hardie onset upon the said lord Hunsdon and his companie, nere vnto the foresaid riuer.

The fight was sharpe and cruell, and the euent verie doubtfull for a while: the rebels were so stiffelie bent to doe their bittermost indeuor in defense of their wicked quarrell. There were amongst them manie desperat women that gaue the aduenture of their liues, and fought right stoutlie. Manie therfore were slaine on both sides, to the number at the least of thre hundred persons. But such was the forward valiantie of the lord Hunsdon, that his people incouraged by his example (whome they might see so noble acquit himselfe, in aduenturing so farre as anie other of the whole troope) behaued themselves in such manfull wise, that the victorie in the end fell to him and his companie: and the said Leonard Dacres was forced to flee from his felie slaine and miserable people, taking his waie into Scotland, so fast as his horse might beare him. Captaine Keade and the other captains and soldiers of Berwicke bare themselves right valiantlie, and shewed proofe of their skill and hardie manhood in this skermish. After the which these holds and castles were taken and deliuered vnto the said lord Hunsdon: Palsworth which was committed vnto the keeping of maister Scrope, Kestwood, Greistocke and Rockleie, which were deliuered to the keeping of diuerse of the duke of Northfolks officers.

On good fridays the seauen and twentieth of March Simon Digbie of Askue, John Fulthorpe of Niblecke in the countie of Yorke esquires, Robert Penman of Stokellere, Thomas Bishop the younger of Pockinton in the same countie of Yorke, gentlemen, were drowne from the castell of Yorke to the

place of execution called Llanes more, half a mile without the citie of Yorke, and there hanged, headed, and quartered; their foure heads were set on foure principall gates of the citie, with foure of their quarters; the other in diuerse places of the countrie. A clope Clesbe was with them drowne to the gallows, and returned againe to the castell. William earle of Penbrooke baron of Cardiffe, knight of the garter, one of the priue counsell, and lord steward of the quenes maiesties household, deceased the eighteenth of Aprill, and was buried in saint Pauls church at London. This noble man liued in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quene Marie, and quene Elisabeth, and was by euerie of the said princes implicated in matters of great importance: and for his good and faithfull seruice greatlie honored, as appereth in an epitaph fired vpon his tombe in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, which I thought good here to laie downe.

Perpetua pietati sacrum.

Guilielmo Herberto Penbrochia comiti, equiti aurato prænobilis ordinis Anglici: Hen. viij. R. A cubiculo: Edward. vi. R. equitum magistro: Wallie prefidi. Tumultu occidentali cum Regis & Grato baronibus paribus asspicijs summa rerum preposito: Maria R. contra perduelles, ac expeditione ad Augustum Peromanduorum his, totius exercitus duci: his summo in agro Caletum, limitum prefido: Elisab. R. officiorum seu Magna Regia magistro. Pariter & Domina Anna ex vetusta Parrorum gente oriunda, Sorori Catharina R. Henr. viij. R. vi. matrimonio coniuncta, ac Marchionis Northamptonj: Prudentijs, fæminæ, pietatis, religionis, probitatis omnique auitæ virtutis retinentissimæ. Comitiss coniugi: Henr. F. ac comes, Ep. charijs. sibi ac suis marenis. P.

Obijt { ætatis } Ann. { 63. }
{ salutis } { 1569. }
Liberis relictis exprima.
Henrico Pemb. Comite.
Edwardo equite Aurato.
Domina Anna Baroni Talbot nupta.

Secunda coniuge superstitite, Georgiæ Salopia comite geniti, insigni præter antiquum probitatis decus, virtute fæminæ.]

The earle of Suffe, in reuenge of the enill demeanour of the Scots inhabiting nere to the English marches, as well in receiuing and succouring diuerse of the English rebels, as other naughtie practices, assembled such forces as he thought expedient in the night that followed the seauen and twentieth of Aprill, and hauing with him the lord Hunsdon gouernour of Berwicke and lord warden of the east marches, sir William Durie marshall of the said armie and towne of Berwicke, came to Marke, being twelue miles distant from the said towne of Berwicke: & then the next daie being the eighteenth of the same moneth, they entered into Tindall in Scotland, where marching in warlike order, they burned, ouerthrew, waisted and spoiled all the castles, townes and villages, as they passed, till they came to a towne called the Gosse towne, standing in a marsh, and belonging to the lord of Buckleugh, which likewise was rased, ouerthrowne and burned: and so marching forward, waisted the whole countrie before them, vntill they came to a great towne called Crapling.

The same daie sir John Foster warden of the middle marches, with all the garrisons and forces of the same, entered likewise into Tindall at Cuspe gate, distant fiftene miles from Marke, where in like order they burned and spoiled the countrie before them, till they came to a castell in the possession of

The earle of
Penbrooke
deceased.

D. Paulin
bist. Cantuar.
399.

The earle of
Suffe
deceased.

The Gosse
towne.

Sir John
Foster
warden of
the middle
marches.

They come to
Farnworth
and are inter-
med.

The lord of
Bedford with
the principals
of the allies
submit them-
selves.

The castle of
Farnworth
burned.

3. Into
the castle
of Farnworth.

The Scots
of Dunelm
burnt the
castle of
Farnworth.

The lord
of Dunelm
burnt the
castle of
Farnworth.

of the lord of Farnthorpe, being parcell of his sons
lands, which likewise was overthrowne, rased, and
burned, with all other castles, piles, townes, and vil-
lages, all alongst the said countrie, till they came to
Crantling, joining there with the lord lieutenants
powder. This towne was likewise burned and spoiled.
Thus they passed the river of Tuet, rasing, burning
and spoiling the castles, piles, stone houses, townes,
and villages alongst that river, untill they came to
Farnworth, where they lodged for that night, and were
of the magistrats of that towne courteously recei-
ued, who had made indifferent good provision for the
armie, both of vittels for men, and of haie and pro-
vender for horses. Whereupon proclamation was
publike made in the name of the lord lieutenant,
that no Englishman (upon paine of death) should
disturbe or wrongfullie take awaie anie thing from
anie of the inhabitants of the same towne, without
disburfing readie monie therfore. Which thing did so
much content the Scots, that the next daie the lord
of Bedford, warden of the middle marches of Scot-
land, with all the principals of his allies and kindred,
came in to the lord lieutenant, submitting them-
selves to him, and were receiued into assurance: for
that neither he nor anie of them had at anie time re-
ceived the English rebels, neither aided nor assisted
them, neither yet made anie invasion into England.
And whereas some of their men, and tenants, with-
out their knowledge had trespassed in such behalfe,
they were contented to abide and stand unto the erle
of Suffolke his order, for their said men and tenants.
And hereupon neither they nor anie of theirs recei-
ued anie hurt: but by his lordships commandement
were preferred from sustaining anie damage either
in bodie or goods: so glad he was of their submission,
and no lesse glad to give them occasion to be carefull
in performance of obedience. Unto which compassi-
on God (no doubt) had inclined the noble mans hart,
according to the poet words in this sense verie true:

*mollia pectora reddis
Ad pietatis opus, flammis ut cera liquescens
In varias formas fitoris ducitur arte.*

The nineteenth daie, the armie was diuided into
two severall parts, whereof one passing over the ri-
ver of Tuet, burned the castle of Farnthorpe, utter-
lie spoiling the same, and all other castles & townes
that belonged to the lords of Farnthorpe, Hunthill,
and Bedpoll, and so passed to Spinto, where both the
armies meeting, joined together againe, being not
past a foure miles from Farnthorpe, whither they mar-
ched directlie, intending to lodge there that night, be-
cause the bailiffes of the towne had offered to re-
ceiue the whole armie, and to make provision for the
soldiours of all things necessarie, they paieng readie
monie for the same, and the inhabitants to be assu-
red not to be hurt in bodie or goods, as was promi-
sed. But the Scots breaking the covenant before the
comming thither of the armie, had uncovered their
houses, carried the thatch into the streets, and there
set it on fire: and this done they fled their waies with
most part of their goods. So that when the armie ap-
proched, there was such a thicke smoke, that no man
might fearleslie enter the towne: and so for that night
the soldiours suffered great lacke of vittels, lodging,
and provision, as well for themselves as their horses.
But the fire which the Scots had of a malicious pur-
pose and subtiltie thus begun, was by the diligent
industrie of the Englishmen so increased: that both
the thatch and timber of the whole towne was consu-
med to ashes, a stone house pertaining to the lord of
Dunelm likewise onlie excepted, wherein the lord lieu-
tenant late that night. And because the said Dun-
elm was a friend assured, the said house was
spared, with all the goods and coine therein, whereof

there was great plentie.

The twentieth of Aprill, the armie marched toward
a faire proper house, belonging to the lord of Bu-
cleugh, which was blowne by with powder and vi-
terlie ruined. Here the armie was againe diuided
as before by the said lord lieutenant his appoint-
ment, and marching by north the river of Tuet to-
wards England, they burnt and spoiled all such ca-
stles, piles, townes and villages, as were belonging
to the said lords of Farnthorpe and Bucleugh their
kinsmen, allies, and adherents, & came that night a-
gaine to Farnworth, and there lodged. The one and
twentieth of Aprill, the armie diuiding it selfe againe,
the one part under the leading of the marshall sir
William Durye, passed to the river of Bowbent,
and there Thudale and Kibblesdale men meeting
him, all on both sides that river was burnt and poi-
led. The other part of the armie marching by the ri-
ver of Castle, wasted and burnt in like maner there
all that was found on both sides that river, belong-
ing wholie to the lord of Bucleugh, his kinsmen,
allies and adherents.

This done, they returned againe nere to Kelsie,
where the lord lieutenant lodged for that night, mea-
ning to haue besieged Hume castle. For the accom-
plishment whereof, the same night the lord of Hun-
nedon and his companie went to Marke, to bring
from thence the daie next following the great artil-
lerie. But because the cartage horses were returned
to Barwike, this could not be brought to passe, & so
the lord lieutenant with the whole armie returning
into England the two & twentieth of Aprill, came that
night to Barwike. In this iourneie there were ra-
sed, overthrowne and spoiled, aboue fiftie castles and
piles, and more than three hundred townes and villa-
ges: so that there were verie few in Thudale and
those parties there abouts, which had either receiued
the English rebels, or by invasion indamaged the
English borders, and good subiects inhabiting upon
the same, that had left to them either castle, pile or
house, for themselves, their friends, or tenants, beside
the great losse of goods which were wasted, taken a-
waie or consumed by this armie under the lord lieu-
tenant.

Now in the meane while that he with his power
thus afflicted the adversaries on that side, the lord
Scrope warden of the west marches the eighteenth
of Aprill entered Scotland on that side, with such
forces as he had assembled. And the first night they
incamped at Eglesham, and in the morning at the
dissolving of the campe, that towne was burnt; and
passing forward through the countrie, they burnt
and spoiled diuerse other townes, almost till they
came to Dunfrise, and had diuerse conflicts with the
enimies, gave them sundrie overthrowes, took ma-
nie of them prisoners. And hauing accomplished his
purpose, to his high praise and commendation, his
lordship returned in safetie with his people into
England; hauing burnt in that iourneie these pla-
ces following: Hoddon, Talletholow, old Cockpole,
Sherington, Blackethaw, Banke end, Rowell,
Logher wood, Wide kirke, and others. During these
invasions thus made into Scotland in that season,
the marches of England were so stronglie garded in
all places by the lord Cener, sir George Bowes, and
others; that the Scots durst not so much as once of-
fer to make anie invasion: so that in absence of the
armies, there was not so much as an house burnt, or
a cowe driven out of the English borders.

The fir and twentieth of Aprill, the earle of Suffolke
lord lieutenant, accompanied with the foresaid lord
of Hunnedon, master Durye, and diuers other cap-
tains and soldiours, to the number of three thousand
or thereabouts, set from Barwike about foure of the
clocke

In house of
the lord of
Bucleugh
blowne by
with powder.

Nothing but
wast & spoile
by fire and
sword.

The lord lieu-
tenant's pur-
pose to besiege
Hume castle.

What castles
& piles were
overthrowne
and spoiled in
this voiage.

The lord
Scrope with
his power.

The marches
of England
garded a-
gainst the
enemie.

The marshall
sent before to
Hume castell.

clocke in the afternoon towards Warke, where they arrived about nine of the clocke in the night: and continuing there till the next morning, in the meane time he put things in order necessarie for the assieg-
ging of Hume castell, the winning whereof his lord-
ship seemed to haue bowed. About the break of the
daie he sent forth master Durie, with certeine hor-
men and shot before, to inuiron that castell, and to
chose there such a plot of ground, where he might in-
campe best in safetie fro the shot of the same. Which
the said master Durie accordingly performed, and
there remained till the coming of the said lord
lieutenant with the armie; who setting forward the
footbands, cartage, and ordnance, made hast to fol-
low. But yet per he could passe the river of Twad,
and set ouer all the men, ordnance and cartage, it
was almost ten of the clocke. Here at this river, the
lord lieutenant caused all the horsemen to staie and
to take ouer the footmen.

The order ta-
ken by the
earle of Suff-
sex for the
safetie of the
armie.

Hume castell
besieged.

The earle of
Suffex view-
eth the castell
of Hume.

A Mount
raised at the
lord lieuten-
ants com-
mandement.

Batterie
made against
Hume castell.

This done, with good circumspection he appointed
the demitances and other horsemen to remaine be-
hind in the rere ward, and put the footmen in the bat-
tell, for the more safegard of themselves, the ordi-
nance and cariages. Then his lordship himselfe with
his owne standard, and the lord of Hunnedons gun-
don, marched forward towards Hume castell, com-
manding the rest of the armie with the ordnance to
follow after, and so about one of the clocke in the af-
ternone, he came before the castell: out of the which
the enemies shot at his standard verie hotlie; but
(God be praised) without doing hurt either to man
or horse, and incamped under a rocke or crag (which
the marshall had possessed) with his band of horse-
men and certeine footmen, as in a place most apt
from danger of shot out of the castell. Herewith a
companie of curriers and calliers were put for-
ward, and appointed to take an other rocke nearer
to the castell, which shot at them in the said castell; and
the defendants within it answered them againe ve-
rie roundlie, although without anie great hurt on
either part.

In the meane time the lord lieutenant himselfe,
accompanied onelie with the marshall master Duri-
e, rode sundrie times round about the castell to
view and surueie the same: at whome they within
shot verie sore, both with their great artillerie and
small shot; yet missing them, as God would, though
verie narrowlie. About six of the clocke in the eue-
ning came the whole battell, ordnance and cariages,
with ensignes spread, shewing themselves verie
brauelie; at whome also the castell shot lastlie: but as
God would haue it, without hurting either man or
boie. They lodged under another rocke nere adioin-
ing unto the lord lieutenant vpon the west side,
where there were appointed more small shot to go to
the trench, which shadowed themselves under the old
walls of the houses, which the Scots had burnt before
the coming of the Englishmen, and occupied them
so within the said castell, that one of them could not
so lone looke out at a lopp, but three or foure were
readie to salute him: and keeping them in such sort,
that they durst not well shew their heads; the capi-
taine of the pioners the same night by commande-
ment of the lord lieutenant, raised a mount vpon the
northeast side of the castell; whereupon the peeces of
artillerie might be planted in batterie.

This worke was so well applied, and with so great
diligence aduanced, that by five of the clocke in the
next morning it was finished. The eight and twen-
tith of April, the marshall master Durie verie
earlye rode about the castell, to surueie and view eue-
rie thing: which done, the great ordnance was
brought to the appointed place, and bent against the
castell, to wit, three canons, and two falcons. Here

with also the lord lieutenant caused summons to
be giuen unto them within to parle. And about seau-
en of the clocke the same morning, the whole tire
began to go off, and a great shout was made by the
armie, to the great terrour of the defendants, and of
all the countrie nere adioining. The foresaid peeces
continued shooting till two of the clocke in the after-
none, discharging within that space a three score
shots. During the time of this batterie, there was
no great stoze of shot discharged by the great peeces
within the castell, because their master gunner with-
in, after he had first shot off a peece, and done no hurt
therewith, as he was about to shoot againe, the ma-
ster gunner of the two English falcons hauing
espied him, took his leuell so right, that discharging
therewith one of the falcons, he displaced the en-
mies peece, and stroke the gunners leg off, whereby
their great ordnance within ceased, which was an
happie turne for the Englishmen.

About two of the clocke they within sent forth a
trumpet unto the lord lieutenant, requiring a respite
that they might talke with the marshall master Duri-
e, and to send a messenger to the lord Hume their
master, to know his further pleasure: for that being
put in trust by him with the keeping of that fortreffe,
they could not giue it by without his consent. And
then vpon the returne of the messenger, they trusted
to giue his lordship contented answer. The marshall
master Durie talked with them twise, and the lord
lieutenant was contented to grant unto William
Trotter, and Gilbert Greie the lord Humes wines
brother (being principall capteins appointed to the
keeping of the said castell) three houres respite: with
condition, that they should not be therein anie sub-
tiltie, or for the delaing of time: swearing by his
honour, that if they so did, he would not depart the
field till he had wonne it by force: and further, that
there should not one of them escape with life.

They being brought in doubt of their owne safe-
ties hereby, sent one in post together with a seruant
of master Duries the marshall, to the lord Hume.
And presentlie herevpon they shewed themselves
vpon the walles and rampires of the said castell: but
immediatlie the lord lieutenant sent to them a com-
mandement, stricte inhibiting them, that not
one of them should once on paine of death looke ouer
the wals or rampires, to the end to view the breach
of the batterie, for so much as in the time of parole it
was against the law of armes so to do. But now the
messenger that was thus sent to the lord Hume, com-
ming to him, declared in what case his house and
people stood, who being (as was supposed) not so farre
off, but that he might heare how lastlie the Eng-
lish canons did canuasse and batter his Humish ca-
stell walles, did now agree to meet the marshall ma-
ster Durie two miles distant from the said ca-
stell, and there to commune further with him in that
matter.

Vpon the coming backe of the messenger
with this answer, the lord lieutenant thought good
to send the said master Durie unto the place appoint-
ed: who coming thither met with the said lord
Hume. And after they had debated the matter toge-
ther, at length the lord Hume was contented that
the castell should be surrendered into the hands of
the lord lieutenant; with condition, that his people
therein might depart with life: which the lord lieuten-
ant was contented to grant, so that there were no
English men among them. Herevpon about eight
of the clocke in the evening, the gates were open-
ned, and the keyes deliuered to the marshall, who
presented them to the lord lieutenant: and then the
lord Hunnedon, the said marshall, and diuerse other
gentlemen entered into the castell, and by a by toke
possession.

The master
gunner with-
in the castell
hurt.

The Scots
sue for a re-
spit of war.

The captiue
brother Hume
castell.

The lord
lieutenant
sweareth.

The lord
lieutenant
commandes
merit on paine
of death.

The castell of
Hume deliue-
red to the
marshall.

possession thereof in the queene of Englands name, pulled downe their banner of defiance, and in place thereof set by the English banners, against all those in Scotland that would take the contrarie.

The Scots that were within it, being in number an hundred three score and eight persons, were put out in their common wearing apparell, without armour, weapon, or any baggage. They comming to the lord lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horsebacke, presented themselves to him: who according to his word and promise of honour, caused them to be safely conducted through the watch and scouts, to such place as they required. Amongst them there were two Englishmen, the one of them named Willard, the earle of Morumburgh man, the other was a vagarant person, or a roge (as we may call him) named William Godsaue his alias Lions, which both were carried to Warlike, & there executed the thirtieth of Maie next ensuing. In all this siege there were but four persons slain on both parts, two Scots, & two Englishmen: but there were manie hurt as well on the one part as the other. The castell of Hume being thus wonne, the lord lieutenant the morow after placed therein to keepe the house to the queenes maiesties, sixe, capteine Wood, and capteine Wisman, with two hundred souldiours. This done, his lordship returned towards England and came to Warlike. During this siege there were diuerse towncs and villages, situate within three or foure miles of the campe, set on fire by the Englishmen, and utterly spoiled. The lord lieutenant vpon his returne to Warlike, staied there for a time verie euill at ease, hauing in trauell about the siege taken such cold, as therewith he was brought into an extreame ague.

The fourth of Maie, his lordship sent master William Durie the marshall of Warlike, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and capteins, hauing with them about two thousand souldiours, to take Fast castell: the which vpon the first summons was deliuered into his hands, who receiving the keys being presented to him, entered the hold, and took possession thereof, in the queenes maiesties name: and compelling the Scots, being about the number of halfe a score (who according to covenant were suffered to depart with their liues saued) he put ten, or (as some haue) foureteene Englishmen into that castell, which were thought able and number sufficient enough to keepe it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong.

In this meane time the troubles increasing among the Scots, by reason of the murder committed in the person of the earle of Arrerie the late gouernour, the duke of Chatellerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of three thousand men, and comming to Lithquo, midwaie betwixt Sterling and Edenburgh, remained there for a time, and afterwards came to Edenburgh, in purpose to make warre against the lords of the kings part, who hauing sent to the earle of Lennox, then remaining in England, earnestly requested him to repaire into Scotland. Wherevpon he by the queenes maiesties licence, took his iourneie thitherwards, and came to Warlike, where he was also visited with sicknesse, and so remained certeine daies in that towne. And vnderstanding that the said duke of Chatelleraults power was such, that the lords of the kings side were not able to come together, nor he to go to them without the queene of Englands aid, he humbly sued vnto his maiestie by letters to haue some power by his appointment to conduct him into Scotland, and there to aid him and the other lords of that side against their aduersaries the duke and his complices. Wherevpon by his maiesties com-

mandement, the earle of Sussex, as yet not fully recovered of his sicknesse, ordeined master William Durie the marshall of Warlike, with such forces as were thought conuenient to go with the said earle of Lennox, for the execution of such exploits in Scotland, as seemed most expedient. And about the same time, to wit the first of Maie, the lord Scrope lord warden of the west marches, made a rode into Scotland, incamping the first night on the hither side of the water of Annan, and the next daie marched towards the water of Ophke, burning and spoiling all on that side of Annandale, namelie the lord Johnsons lands, finding small resistance, saying that the countie was a little troubled with a fortye or fiftie Scots horsemen; and so hauing done his pleasure, he quietly returned, without receiving other impeachment: notwithstanding the lord Herries was in Dunfrise, hauing gathered a great power, in purpose to hinder his enterpryse.

But now to returne to the earle of Sussex, who hauing instituted sir William Durie generall of those bands that should passe with the earle of Lennox into Scotland: because each gentleman, souldior, and senerall bands should outfullie obey the said sir William their new ordeined generall in all points of Warlike order, the said earle made an oration in such pitie forme and manner, as though he expressed the whole substance of the seruice, the vnfuerie of the season, the strange and malicious dealing of diuerse aduersaries: which points he so cunningly handled, as the excellencie of a perfect orator appeared fullie in his speech. At whose eloquence the hearers rather seemed astonished than vnsatisfied in any point or parcell of those matters: for he opened the verie bowels of rebellion, the practices of enmities, and suborning of traitors: and therefore perswaded euerie honest mind to haue a vniuersall consideration of his prince and countrie, in the defence and libertie whereof, both life, lands, and goods, are all waies to be offered.

After which oration in respect of further abun- ment as the custome is (for seruice past, and incon- ragement to proceed in the like worthie doings) he made these knights: Sir William Durie, sir Thomas Hanners, sir George Carle, and sir Robert Constable, and placing the said sir William Durie the appointed generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chiefeine. Now hauing heard the lord lieutenant thus speake, and seeing the means that he used to encourage them against the enemy; how could they one with another but be in mind, euen with the hazard of their hearts, to performe to their power no lesse than he in speech implied: How could they (I saie) but venture life and lim, hauing so often scene the perillous enterprises which he himselfe vnder- took against foren hostilitie, as to his owne danger so to the high praise of his heroicall prowesse: and not without desert, as one verie well noteth, saying:

—*Satrapas praelarius fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, inuiso Atavortis pectore campo.*

The same daie being the eleventh of Maie, diuerse foot bands with shot and armed pikes were set forward into Scotland, with certeine peces of artillerie, powder, and munition in good quantitie. First capteine Blackwell with his ensignes departed the towne, and then the companies of capteine Head, capteine Caruell, capteine Gamie, capteine Lambard, and capteine Crington. These old bands of Warlike contained five hundred souldiours.

After them followed the companie of sir Robert Constable, their sergeant maior of the hundred

After wil-
ham Durie
goeth with
the earle of
Lennox a-
gainst the
earle of Cha-
tellerault, &c.

The lord lieut-
enant's oration
on imploring
obedience of
the souldiours
to their new
generall.

Knights
made by the
earle of Sus-
sex.

Comes Suffexius
Camerarius,

CCCCI. shot,

Hostages deli-
uered by the
Scottish lords
on the kings
side.

The hostmen
and footmen
incamped at
Dunbar.

Scottish lords
of the kings
side.

The duke of
Chatterault
broken by
his campe.

The young
king at
Sterling.

The generall
goeth to view
Dunbretton,

shot, and the companie of sir Thomas Haners of two hundred shot. Lastlie marched forth capteine John Constable, and capteine Barwicke with two hundred armed men. These twelue hundred footmen with fise ensignes marched that night to Colbingham. Also for the better assurance of covenants and promises made on the behalfe of such lords of Scotland, as had made sute for this aid to be sent in to their countrie for their assistance against them of the contrarie faction, there were certaine hostages sent into England by the same lords as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing. The twelue of Maie, they marched forward, and the same daie sir William Dzurie, the earle of Lennor, and the other new made knights, with the hostmen, departed from Barwicke, and at the Peere nere to Dunglas they overtoke the footmen, and the same night all the hostmen and footmen came and incamped together at Dunbar, being in all not past sixtene hundred men. They had foure field peeces with them, & good store of powder. The next day being the thirtenth of Maie, and Whit-sun euen, they made such speed in their march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Porton, Mar, Glencarne, the lords Rithwen, Lindsey, Simple, Clames, Methuen, Dgiltre, and Catcart, with diuerse other gentlemen.

Here also they vnderstood that the duke of Chatterault and his partakers were departed from Lithquo, whither they were retired backe againe from Edenburgh, on knowledge had that the Englishmen were comming forwards towards them. The fourteenth and fiftenth day they laie still in Edenburgh, and the morrow after being the sixteenth of that moneth, they marched forwards to Lithquo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they received aduertisements that the said duke of Chatterault had broken by his campe, after he had upon his departure from the said towne of Lithquo attempted the winning of the castell of Glasco, & misling his purpose there, was driuen to retire with dishonour. The next morning being wednesdaie, the armie marched forwards, and the footmen laie that night at a place called Fankirke, a six miles from Lithquo: but the generall with the hostmen rode six miles further vnto Sterling, where they saw the young king. The next daie being the eighteenth of Maie, sir Robert Constable, Sargent Maior, with the rest of the capteins of the twelue hundred English footmen, & two hundred Scots footmen, the which were most part shot, marched a long iourneie, and came to lodge that night at Glasco, and the generall sir William Dzurie came to them with the hostmen, and the most part of the noble men of Scotland that were on the kings side, which entred the towne and lodged in the same, with manie hostmen and footmen.

The duke of Chatterault (as ye haue heard) had bene there, and besieged the castell that belonged to the king, but hearing of the Englishmens comming two daies before their appoaching thither, he raised his siege, and departed thence, with the losse of nine and twentie of his men. The nineteenth of Maie, sir William Dzurie generall of the English power, being determined aforehand on a iourneie towards Dunbretton, sent forth that morning before certaine vauenturous on horsebacke, to staie all such as they found vpon the waie. This done, he toke with him certaine gentlemen, and some shot, and rode forth towards Dunbretton, to view the straits and situation of that castell, within the which were at that present the lord Fleming, that toke vpon him as capteine thereof, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, and other their adherents, friends to the duke of Chatterault,

and enimies to the lords that were about the king.

After sir William Dzurie had viewed the castell, and taken the plot of the situation thereof, he sent his trumpettoe to know who were within it, and to whose vse they kept it. They within the castell required to know what he was that sent to know the same. It was answered that it was the queene of Englands generall of hir forces there in Scotland that made the demand. Whereunto answer was returned, that they knew well he was not so ignorant as he seemed (as in deed he was not) but that he did well know that this castell was, and of long time had bene kept by the lord Fleming: and that accordingly by him, his friends and seruants it was now maintained. Which answer being reported to the generall, he sent againe his trumpettoe, to know if the lord Fleming would come forth and parlee vpon assurance of honour to retorne safelie. Whereunto the lord Fleming consented, although not meaning so to doe: but by a subtil practise (as was thought) intended to wind him within danger. For there were some harquebusers secretlie conched in couert, within whose reach when the generall was come himselte alone on horsebacke, most dishonourlic (his trumpettoe not yet being returned) they shot at him with great despite, meaning to haue killed him, without anie regard to the law of armes, or feare of God. But through the goodnes of the Lord almighty, that wicked practise missed the pretended effect: for that worthy English knight received no bodilie hurt, but perceiving the ir dealings, with a bold courage he bestowed his pistols as fridlie at them as they did their harquebuse shot at him, and so returned to his companie backe againe in safetie, yielding to God due honour and thanks for his mercifull deliuerance from such a murderous practise of his deadlic foes.

Upon a new occasion to vnderstand the certaintie of that, whereof he had some inkling, the one and twentieth of Maie, sir William Dzurie accompanied with the said gentlemen and hostmen, went againe towards Dunbretton, to parlee with the lord Fleming vpon his further promise, that he would meet him thre miles from the said castell. Whereupon the said sir William Dzurie sent an Englishman and a Scottishman to view the ground, which should be appointed forth for their meeting, which they found to be so nere to the castell, as was subiect to all their shot both great and small, and cleane contrarie to the promise: and so they declared to the capteine named John Fleming, that was sent forth of the castell to appoint the same, how it was neither indifferent nor meet for such a purpose. The capteine answered, that his maister was a man of honour, and stood vpon the same, and therefore would not hazard himselte among hostmen wholie without the danger of the pece. Whereunto the messengers replied, that the lord Fleming for his late euill dealing, was not to be credited in this case; neither comparable to the generall of the English armie, for he was there for the queene of England. And further they said, that for so much as they had of late dealt so vniustlic contrarie to promise and the law of armes, and thereby so greatly cracked their credits, stained their honesties and honour: they could not but wish that their generall should be well aduised, yer he did hazard himselte anie more within their danger vpon their superie promises, except they would appoint some other place of parlee, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers, which would not be granted, and so they departed. Immediatlie whereupon, to shew some pece of their double dealings, and vniustlic faithfull practises towards the Englishmen: the Scots within the castell presentlie sent after the messengers

The generall
sunder to
know who
was within
the castell.

Lord Fleming
is required to
come to parlee
with the generall.

The dishon-
orable dealing
of the lord
Fleming.

Sir William
Dzurie goeth
againe to-
wards Dun-
bretton.

The land to
view the
ground where
they should meet
with the lord
Fleming.

This is a
common fault
in the Scots.

Scottish
soldiers.

leagers a culvering shot for a farewell. Thus did they by practise iustifie the opinion that strangers to them haue long conceiued of their dealing; and which he saw fall well (perhaps also proued in some part) that said of the Scotish nations vntrustinesse, &c:

*grauis pectus abundat
Frandus ingentis non eget arte magistra.*

Sir William Durie then perceiuing that the meaning of the lord Fleming was not to deale simplie in this matter, touching a conference to be had betwixt them, returned to Glasco, where sir George Carcie being maruellouslie inflamed with that vnhonest dealing of the lord Fleming, made earnest sute to the generall that he might send to him and offer him the combat in triall of this quarrell, sith it was more requisit that a gentleman souldier should stand in these questions than a generall, considering his calling and office. The generall thanked sir George verie courteously, but yet said, that it stood him vpon to search out these matters to the vttermost (as he would haue done in deed) were not his commission and charge (as was well knowen) to be otherwise imployed: Yet quoth he sith your sute is so reasonable (and the whole companie and lawes of armes alloweth of it) I grant your request, and therein do as best shall seme to your birth and estimation. Wherevpon sir George Carcie straightwaies deuised a letter of challenge, and deliuered it to an herald to beare from him vnto the said lord Fleming, the tenour whereof here insueth.

A copie of sir George Carcis
foresaid letter to the lord Fleming.

I Dd Fleming, if either your birth or bringing vp had wrought in you a noble mind, or estimation of credit, hardlie would you haue so much forgotten and stained your honour, as in a parole of late with our generall you did. At whom vilelie and vnhonorable shooting, you falsed that assurance of warre which souldiers submit themselves vnto: and trained him to your treason vnder trust, a thing heretofore not accustomed, nor presentlie to be allowed of. The assuriedlie pretending your owne and your friends good, commaditie to your countrie, and quietnesse to the state, twise abused and submitted himselfe, comming to confer with you thereof: but your pride toine with a harmefull meaning, to those that you professe best vnto, and selue willfall vaine glorie, without cause why, refused that which reason and honour commadned you to haue done. Therefore, because his calling is presentlie with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior; I summon you reasonable to excuse that fault supposed to be yours, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with your person against mine in fight, when, where, or how you dare. Otherwise I will backfall your good name, sound with the trumpet your dishonour, and paint your picture with the heels backward, and beare it in despite of your selfe. In the meane time I attend your answer. From Glasco, the 22 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed George Carcie.

The copie of the lord Flemings
answer.

Gorge Carcie, I haue receiued your vainelesse letter, making mention of my false and treasonable dealing against your generall, in shooting vnder trust, so vilelie against my honour and truth, traitorouslie trained him vnder my trust: which is altogether false and untrue. And howbeit your generall came by the house of Douglas by my appointment,

which I suffered, and I appointed one place of meeting, sir men of either partie which he refused, and he departed, and certaine of his companie came bragging by the rivers side towards the house, biewing the same and the ground thereabouts, shooting your harquebusses against the same: I could doe no lesse but present you with such as I had. Whereas you write of your generals calling to be presentlie better than mine, and yours not inferior; when your generall challengeth me therof, I shall giue answer. And as for you, I will not be inferior to a better than you, or anie souldier vnder your generals charge. Whereas you summon me (as you call it) reasonable to excuse that fault supposed to be mine owne, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with my person against yours: you shall wit, I haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers to me, as ye are to your generall, which may be your fellows, shall defend the same against you and your false and untrue inuented writing: and were not the charge I present, or how some I can be relieved of the same, I should lowlie my person to meet you sir English miles, or anie other person. Notobit ye be but one souldier, assure your selfe from this daie forth, I will not receive no such inuented message, for I haue little to do with Englishmen, ye may ralle vpon my honorable name as ye please. You shall haue as honorable gentlemen as your selfe against you fighting. Take this for answer.

John lord Fleming.

Thereplie of sir George Carcie
vpon the lord Flemings answer.

I Dd Fleming, often the Flemings aske none answer smaller moze of wine than wit. But as to that common crime, the custome of their countrie yeldeth them part of pardon; so your common acquaintance with the same condition, knowen to be verie great, shall to me somewhat excuse your witlesse writing, wherein first you disallow my right recitall of your traitorous dealing, by tearing it false and untrue. For answer, know this, the truth my pen hath written, by the witnesse of a number; and my hand I vowe shall mainteine the same before the world at all times. But you in denieng it, haue both falslie and untrue lie in your throte, and dare neither defend nor disproue that in deeds, which in words you haue done. Whereas you write, that our generall passed Douglas, by your appointment which you suffered, therein you do manifestlie saie vnhonorable and untrue; for that you had no knowledge of our first comming, but saluted vs with your shot: and we likewise furnished with your men euen at their owne strength, vntill we biewed the ground about at our pleasure. And touching the appointment of sir of either part, easilie that maie be knowen to be a plaine lie: seeing we had neither parole nor conference with you before, to appoint place or meeting. But whereas you saie, you could doe no lesse but present vs with such as you had, therein you confesse and acknowledge the dishonour and treason that I charged you withall, taking vpon your selfe that fault, which I supposed to haue bin of your seruants, for our generall retired his companie farre from him. And his trumpet being with you, approached himselfe alone to haue parled, when vnder trust you discharged two harquebusses against him: an act rather seemelie for a cowardlie traitor, than one that professeth to be a souldier.

Finallie, whereas you let me wit, that you haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers vnto you, that maie be my fellows, which should defend the

CCCCC.

challengers

Sir George Careie his answer to the lord Fleming's brag of his gentrie.

Oh brattant heart!

A muster of Scottishmen to the number of 4000.

The armie goeth toward Hamilton.

Sir William Durie talketh with the capitaine of Hamilton castell.

The English ordinance sheweth at the castell.

The duchesse of Chatelleraunt committed to the charge of an English knight.

Great ordinance sent for.

The earles of Lennox and Morton.

challenge that toucheth so nere your selfe, as with honor you should not haue refused it. First I thinke some to be anie waies inferior to you, though but a souldier, too honourable a name for you, being better in birth, and vntainted with reproch as you haue bene. Secondlie, I haue more, and as good gentlemen vnder my conduct, as your selfe haue vnder your charge, which shall answer as many as you can bring, if with number ye meane to combat, and will put them to that which you dare not do your selfe. But assure you, my quarell shall remaine euerslasting, except the proofe of your owne person against mine make end it: and when you shall dare come out of your crowes nest, I will be ready to ride an hundred Scottish miles, to meet with you in anie indifferent place. And until that time, I shall account you denoth of honestie & honor, vntill you be march vpon ground, or kepe companie with men. From Hamilton, the 29 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed George Careie.

Though manie waies were sought by message and otherwise, to moue the lord Fleming to defend with battell the fault and follie committed: yet it would not be; for he shifted off the matter, so as it well appeared, it was but lost labor further to attempt him therein. The two and twentieth of Maie, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earle of Glenearne, the lord Somple, and other his friends, feodaries & allies, mustered on the moore before the towne of Glasco the number of foure thousand horsemen and footmen, that were there assembled to serue him, in presence of sir William Durie, and other of the English capitaine. The thre and twentieth of Maie, sir William Durie, the earle of Lennox, and other the Scottish lords, and the whole armie marched towards the castell of Hamilton, and sending a trumpet, and one with him to parlee with the capitaine named Andrew Hamilton, he agreed to come forth, and one other with him, to talke with sir William Durie, and one other gentleman, such as he should thinke good to bring with him to a place somewhat distant, as well from the castell as the campe.

Whereupon sir William Durie with his sword and target, and sir George Careie with a case of pistols went forth to the appointed place, whither the capitaine of the castell also with an halbert, and one other with him, having likewise a case of pistols, came according to appointment. But after they had talked together, and that the capitaine would not in anie wise consent to deliuer by the castell, he with his associat returned to their hold againe, & the English generall, with sir George Careie, came backe to the campe, and thereupon the English ordinance was presentlie placed about the castell, and shot verie soze all that night: but did no great hurt, by reason they were but field peeces, and not fit for batterie. They in the castell likewise shot verie soze at the Englishmen, but did no great harme, sauing that there were three of the footmen hurt. In the palace which was a pretie house the duchesse of Chatelleraunt was at that time resident, to whom sir William Durie did repaire, offering hir all the courtesie he might, with all that to hir appertained, willing hir not to feare anie thing: and for hir more assurance, he committed hir to the charge of sir Thomas Spaners.

The foure and twentieth of Maie, the generall gaue summons vnto the castell. And because they within were stiffelie in dentall to make surrender thereof vnto him, he was drun to send to Striueling for foure great peeces of ordinance meet to make batterie. In the meane time, the earles of Lennox and Morton with the horsemen, and some shot, marched into the countrie to a verie faire house of the abbat

of Kiltwinings nere adjoining, whose name was Calwen Hamilton, which house they burnt and bitterlie defaced, spoiling it, and raising it downe to the earth. They burnt and spoiled also seuentene houses more belonging to men of that surname, situate nere thereabouts, whereof one belonged vnto a lord that had married with the sister of James Hamilton of Bodweie haugh, which due the regent. There were also burnt seven other faire houses belonging to others that were not of that surname: but yet were of their friends and allies. Moreover, there were diuerse other of their kindred and allies that came in with humble submission, and assured themselves, firmelie promising from themselves their obedience to the king.

The five and twentieth of Maie sir William Durie the generall retired his people vpon a policie from the castell, and left it without either watch or ward for that night. The next daie he sent sir George Careie to the castell with a trumpet, to know if they within would deliuer it by, before the great ordinance should come, which the capitaine bitterlie refused to do. Whereupon the small shot clapt suddenly round about the house, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culuering & a demie culuering came to them from Sterling, the which with foure of the English small field peeces were in the night following planted against the castell, and being shot off, a bullet of one of the great peeces passed through the walles into the castell.

The seven and twentieth of Maie about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall sent a trumpet to giue summons againe to the castell: vnto whome the capitaine answered, that he cared not for them, & so bad them do their worst, for he would not yeld the place to them at anie hand. Whereupon immediatlie the whole fire began to plaie in such sort, that within foure bolles both sides of the house were battered through: at the sight whereof the capitaine was so dismaied, that forthwith he cried for parlee, and so the shot was staied. Now vpon humble sute the capitaine was admitted to speake with the generall, and so comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeld: whereupon, the prouost marshall was sent into the castell to take possession thereof. The generall permitted them verie courteously to depart with their furniture, and other such stuffe as they could carie with them. There came out of the house nine and thirtie persons one and other, foure and thirtie men, thre boies, and two women, and therewith was the castell blowne by and rased, and the armie laie that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The next daie, being the eight and twentieth of Maie they departed from thence: the earles of Lennox, Mar, and Glenearne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the kings part taking their leaues, with their companie returned to Glasco: and sir George Careie with the horsemen came that night to Lithgow, where also the rest of the English forces met. A castell called Combernauld belonging to the lord Fleming was yelded to the generals hands, who vpon bond of assurance that the house should remaine at the deuotion of the queene of England, was contented to spare it from fire and spoile. But this was not the first nor last courtesie which the generall shewed in this iournie, vnto such as in anie respect were thought worthy of his fauour. Amongst other the ladie of Abington being great with child, mistrusting hir selfe (or hir husbands double dealing towards our countrie) in great feare began to flie. But sir William Durie hearing thereof, sent hir word he came not to make warres with women, but rather to shew pittie to the weake and comfortlesse:

The abbey of Kiltwinings burnt.

The castell summoned.

The castell of Hamilton battered.

The castell refused summons.

The capitaine of the castell demaiedly parlee.

The letter of Abington.

lesse, and thereupon she staid, and had no further harme.

The nine and twentieth of Maie, when the armie should dislodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the prouost of the towne, and commanded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iust punishment and correction thorough the whole towne for treason, and unpardonable offenses committed: and declaring that the inhabitants thereof had succoured and supported traitors to the realme of England, and likewise to their owne king, contrarie to the leagues and quietnesse of both the realmes of England and Scotland, for which cause he was fullie resolved to ouerthrow that town & receptacle of traitors. If therefore there were anie women in childbed or impotent people within that towne, he gaue warning thus aforehand to conueie them out of it: and herewith also commanding each capteine & souldier vnder his charge, to see due execution of that which he purposed in this behalfe to haue done, he willed the prouost to appoint a place conuenient, into the which the goods of the towne might be brought, to the end that the same should neither be spoiled by the English souldiers, neither yet consumed through vehemencie of fire, but to be preserved all whole to the Scottish mens vse. Further, he granted, that euerie noble mans lodging and capitains house should be saued from fire.

But now the time being come for this determined execution, the earle of Arbotnot, that still accompanied the English generall, offered himselfe as an intercessor to intreat and sue for a pardon, bringing afore the generall a multitude of wailing people, whose mournfull and most pitious cries were lamentable and verie importunate. The generall hearing their requests, made answer, that for manie causes the towne ought to be destroyed, considering how diuerse enemies (whose insolent practices were not to be suffered) had alwaies there a common resort to conferre of their wicked devices: and further (quoth he) the courtesie that is shewed to such places of repairs, hath imboldened the rest of Scotland to vse open violence and secret villanies, to the preiudice of Gods glorie, hinderance of the weale publike, and breach of god lawes and policies: and therefore it was fit and most meet for a warning to thousands in that case of extremitie, to rase out such monuments of mischief. But at length, notwithstanding these heauie wordes uttered by sir William Dzurie, the people of all sorts so pleased about him, & made such pitifull cries and sorrowfull noise, with children sucking of their mothers breasts, that he taking ruth of their miserable estates, at this their lamentable sute, and speciallie at the great instance of the earle of Arbotnot, who came bareheaded to speake for them, the generall was contented to saue the towne and people therein: taking god band and assurance of the prouost and chiefe of the towne, that they should follow the campe, and at all times appeare when they were called for at Berwikke, and there to submit themselves, their towne and goods, to the clemencie of the queens highnesse; and to such order as the earle of Sussex his maiesties generall lieutenant should by consent thinke necessarie: to which band & conditions they of Lithquo agreed. And for that their regent was laine, & none since instituted to whome they had giuen faith of allegiance; they confessed, that none might command them anie waie without licence of him, to whome they had made this band, fith to him both their promise and obligation was passed. And in this sort they continued bound to him for their good behauiours.

The duke of Chatelleraults palace in Lithquo was yet burnt and rased, and marching to another house

belonging to the said duke, called Bente, distant from Lithquo about a mile or more, they likewise burned the same. Thus having done their pleasures at Lithquo, and in the countrie about that towne, they marched from thence to a proper house and castle, belonging to the lord Seton, called Peitherie, which the enemies had fortified. But yet when the ladies of that house came to the generall, and made humble petition on his knees for his fauor, offering to him the keyes of that place in most humble wise, she found such courtesie at his hands, that with condition that she & a baron with hir should enter bands for assurance, that the castle should euer afterwards remaine at the queene of Englands pleasure, he took hir the keyes againe, leauing hir in possession of hir house and goods, without doing hir anie further displeasure.

This night the armie came to Edinburgh, where certaine of the companie that made hast to get thither somethat before the rest, receiued some discourtesie: for they were spoiled in the streets of their furniture, & such other things as they had about them. But when the generall with the rest of the armie was come nere to the towne, and had knowledge of such foule disorder, he thought not good to enter the towne, without standing so sure on his gard, that he should not need to doubt any double dealing, or crooked measure. Which sure handling of the matter did not onelie shew the deuiler thereof to haue good conduct and experience: but in verie deed auoided no small inconuenience and mischief, that by the enemies was finelie contriued (though a fraie to be made in the suburbs) so that a great slaughter had burst out suddenlie, and no small bloodshed followed, if God and god guiding of the people had not staid and turned awaie that imminent danger. To be short, the generall sent sir Thomas Spaners with two bands of souldiers, vnder one ensigne, to seize vpon the gates at their first arrinial, and so the pretended conspiracie was happilie prevented: for the residue of the powder was no longer entred the towne, but that keeping themselves in order to cleere the streets, and to command the inhabitants the better, they spent that night standing on their gard, as the case required. When the morning was come, sir William Dzurie smelling out the couert practice, and naughtie meaning of some, demanded iustice and strict punishment of such offenses and things as he would truelie laie to the charge of some in that towne: and told them flatlie, if remedie were not the soner prouided, and satisfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, he would be quicklie reuenged, to the displeasure and shame of all the contriuers of that same mad and mischeuous presumption.

Wherevpon, not onelie such things as had bin taken from those few souldiers, which first entred the towne ouer night, were not onelie restored: but diuerse malefactors were also deliuered to the generall, to be executed and ordered by his discretion: who seeing their submission, mercifullie & franklie sent them awaie vnto their capteins: & so these vxoiles were pacified and things set in quiet. After they had rested in Edinburgh a two daies, the first of June they disloded. The generall conuining to Seton the chiefe castle & house of the lord Seton, the ladies was readie there also to present him the keyes, with like humble submission as before: and thereupon receiued the like fauor for this house, as was shewed to hir for the other. That night they lodged at Waddington. It was determined that the pile of Anderwikke should haue bene ouerthrowne: but vpon sute and bands taken of diuerse gentlemen, the place was spared, and the offenders receiued to mercie.

¶ C c c c c. li.

And

raites palace burned.

Peitherie.

The ladies Seton.

Some of the English armie spoiled the Edinburgh.

T. Church-yard.

Sir Thomas Spaners with his two bands vnder one ensigne.

Restoration made of things taken awaie from the souldiers.

Seton castle spared at the sute of the ladies.

Anderwikke spared from ruine by occasion.

And so the next date, the generall with the horsemen came thorough to Berwik, a iourne of two and thirtie long miles.

The happle
success of the
foresaid viage
vnder taken by
the English.

I. Crow.
A bull from
Rome hang-
ed on the bi-
shop of Lon-
dons gate.

A. F.
See the view
of a seditions
bull ripped up
by John Iewell
late bishop of
Salisbury
printed 1582.

The forbands lodged the same night at Golding-
ham with sir Robert Constable, who the next date
the third of June came with them vnto Berwik.
And so ended this iourne, to the great commendation
of the generall and capteins: and consequent-
lie to all the gentlemen and souldiours that had bene
worthy in the same, as wel for the good successe which
it pleased God the author of all good and prosperous
euents to grant to them, as also for their dutifull o-
bedience to all warlike discipline, their painfull tra-
uels sustained, their manlie forwardnesse and skil-
full practise in martiall polices still shewed, as occa-
sion of seruice was anie where offered. But now
to returne to the doings at home. Whilest this iour-
ne was made (as ye haue heard) into Scotland, the
fine & twentieth of Maie in the morning was found
hanging on the bishop of Londons palace gate in
Pauls churchyard, a bull which latelie had bene sent
from Rome, containing diuerse horrible treasons
against the queens maiestie: for the which one John
Felton was shortly after apprehended, and com-
mitted to the tower of London. And because the
said bull may appeare and shew it selfe in nature and
kind, it is behoufull here to interlace some roings of
the same, as I haue gathered them out of one that I
am sure had a conscience to tell the truth: which I
therefore am the willingest to insert, that the world
may iudge the heinousnesse of Feltons fact, in fir-
ing so pestilent a libell vpon a prelates gate in a place
of common concourse, and against the queens ex-
cellent maiestie.

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*Sententia declaratoria contra Elisa-
beth, &c.

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Pius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, &c. Misere
sacris, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, cali-
batur illa (regina Elisabetha) aboleuit. Eadem
occupato regno supremi ecclesie capitis locum in
omni Anglia, eiusque precipua autoritatem atque iurisdic-
tionem monstrat sibi usurpans, regnum ipsum rursus in misere-
ritiam exitum reuocavit. Regium concilium Anglica nobi-
litate constitutum diremit. Homines obscuros compleuit. Ho-
minibus hereticis compleuit. Ad quam velut ad asylum
omnium infestissimi perfugium inuenerunt, &c. Declara-
mus predicta Elisabetham, etiam adherentes in predictis ana-
thematis sententia incurrisse. Quinetiam ipsam pretenso regni
predicti iure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate,
privilegioque priuatum. Precipimus & interdiciamus uni-
uersis & singulis praecribis, subditis, & populis, & alijs pre-
dictis, ne illiusque monitis, mandatis & legibus audeant o-
bedire: qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia in-
nodamus. Omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, &
iuramento huiusmodi ac omni prorsus dominij fidelitatis &
obsequij debito perpetuo absolutos declaramus, &c.

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*A sentence denounced against
Elisabeth, &c.

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the people. These countellores are not onlie poore &
beggierlie, but also heretikes. Vnto hir all such as
are the worst of the people resort, and are by hir re-
ceiued into safe protection, &c. We make it know-
en, that Elisabeth aforesaid, & as manie as stand
on hir side in the matters abouenamed, haue run in-
to the danger of our curse. We make it also know-
en, that we haue deppriued hir from that right she
pretended to haue in the kingdome aforesaid, and
also from all and euerie hir authoritie, dignitie, and
priuilege. We charge and forbid all and euerie the
nobles, and subiects, and people, and others aforesaid,
that they be not so hardie as to obieie hir or hir will,
or commandements, or lawes, vpon paine of the like
accusation vpon them. We pronounce that all who
soeuer by anie occasion haue taken their oth vnto
hir, are for euer discharged of such their oth, and also
from all fealtie and seruice, which was due to hir by
reason of hir government, &c.

Here hath euerie true subiect to see whether Fel-
ton was not a frend to Pius Quintus, in so easilie
being induced and drabone to prefer his proceedings
against the lords annointed; for whose sake if he had
had a thousand liues, true loialtie would haue inuited
him to the losse of them all, if occasion had so requi-
red; considering that his maiestie hath alwaies de-
serued well of hir people, for whom she euer had a
tender care, as one reporteth that saith he heard with
his owne ears his maiestie commending hir subiects
to the careful and wise gouernment of hir counsell
and iudges, when she spake thus vnto them. I haue
care ouer my people. You haue my place. Do you
that which I ought to do. They are my people. Eue-
rie man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without
mercie. They cannot reuenge their quarrell, nor help
themselves. See vnto them, see vnto them, for they
are my charge. I charge you euen as God hath char-
ged me. I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare
to me, my care is for my people. I praise God who
soeuer succed me be as careful as I am. They which
might know what cares I beare, would not thinke
I toke anie great soie in wearing the crowne.

Could a mother speake more tenderlie for hir in-
fant, than this good queene speaketh for hir people?
And shall the people be so ingrations to a prince so
gratious, as to attempt anie thing that should dis-
content hir highnesse? A mercifull hart she hath al-
waies had, before she attained the crowne, a merci-
full hart she hath now possessing the scepter: manie
times remitting and pardoning offenses intended
and practised against hir owne person: which C. O.
noteth in his Eirenarchia, ius Elisabetha, speaking of hir
maiestie in this point verie trauke & uncontrollable:

Nobili & praestans est ignorantia virtutis;
Hac quamquam potius est, vultu, excellit & vi-
uentis inest, iam strictis compescit habentis.
Delictis multam grauius quandoque remittens.
Hoc priuata prius nondum diademate sumpta
Fecerat, hoc facit & princeps diademate sumpta.

60

The seauen and twentieth of Maie, Thomas Dox-
ton and Christopher Doxton of Dorsetshire, being both
condemned of high treason for the late rebellion in
the north, were drabwen from the tower of London
to Tiborne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered.
In this yeare also conspired certaine gentlemen
with other in the countie of Dorsetshire, whose purpose
was on Midsummer daie at Warlesbone kille; with
sound of trumpet and drum to haue raised an armie
ber, and then to proclaime their ducty pretence
gainst strangers and others. This matter was vider
red by Thomas Ket one of the conspircators vnto
John Benleie, who shortly sent the same Ket with
a constable to the next iustice, before whose
the

See the view
of the semi-
ous bull, pag.
74, 75.

The queene
saw.

Amplius
Elisabeth
virtuti.

The Do-
rons exco-
municati.

Conspiraci-
on Dorset-
shire and
where-
upon it was
beginning.

ther iustices he opened the whole matter. Whereby on maffter Druie Druis immediatlie apprehended John Throckmorton, and after him manie gentlemen of the cite of Norwich, and the countie of Suffolke, who were all committed to prison, and at the next sessions of gaole deliuerie at the castell of Norwich, the seauententh of Iulie before sir Robert Catlin knight lord chiefe iustice, Gilbert Gerard the quenes atortie generall, and other iustices, ten of them were indicted of high treason, and some others of contempt. Diuerse of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentieth of August: and afterward thye of them were hanged, bowelled, and quartered, which were John Throckmorton of Norwich gentleman, who stood mute at his arraignment, but at the gallows confessed himselfe to be the chiefe conspirator, and that none had deserued to die but he, for that he had procured them. With him was executed Thomas Brooke of Rollesie gentleman on the thirtieth of August, and George Dedman of Cringleford gentleman was likewise executed the second of September.

The fourth of August, the duke of Suffolke was remoued from the tower of London to the Charter house nere vnto Smithfield. The same daie was arraigned at the Guildhall of London, John Felton, for hanging the foresaid bull of pope Pius Quintus on the gate of the bishop of Londons palace: and also two yong men for coining & clipping of coine, who all were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, & quartered. The eight of August John Felton was drawen from Newgate into Paules churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that morning before the bishops palace gate; and being cut downe aliue, he was bowelled and quartered. After this, the same morning the shiriffes returned to Newgate, and so to Liberte with two yong men, which were there executed for coining and clipping, as is aforesaid.

The two and twentieth of August the earle of Sussex, lord lieutenant generall for the quenes maiestie in the north, and the lord Scrope warden of the west marches, with diuerse others, marched from Carleill with the quens armie and force of the north as well of horsemen as footmen into Scotland, passing ouer the riuers of Clike, Leaine & Sacke, which riuier of Sacke parteth England and Scotland, and so to Donnoche wood belonging to Edward Wrothe, the lord of Bonshaw, and then to Annan a strong house of the lord Harris, which they rased and ouerthrew with others the reaboutes: from thence to Hodham, which they burnt and blew vp: from thence to Bennell, a towne belonging to the lord Colwhill, which they burnt: from thence to Donfrife, which they sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left, and also rased and ouerthrew a sumptuous house belonging to the quene of Scots, in the keeping of the lord Harris. Then passing the riuier of Longher, they burnt and spoiled Cotwilles, and Polwtrache, and returned to Donfrife, and so to the towne of Bankend, which they burnt, with another house pertaining to William Parwell of the Fles, and so to the castell of Carliuarocke standing in a marish, nigh to an arme of the sea, which parteth Annerdale and Gallowaie; which castell they blew vp, and returned homeward, transporting their ordinance ouer quicksands and bogs, where neuer the like was done before, and so came to Donnoche wood.

The eight of August they marched towards Carleill, where (by the waie) they burnt and ouerthrew two houses, the one being Arthur Creams alias Carleill, the other rich George, two notable theues. The same daie at night after the lord lieutenants coming to Carleill he made knights, sir Edward Ha-

kings, sir Francis Russell, sir Valentine Browne, sir William Hilton, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Henry Curwen, sir Simon Husgrane. This yere the first of October chanced a terrible tempest of wind and raine both by sea and land, by means whereof manie ships perished, & much hurt was done in diuerse parts of the realme, as by a little pamphlet set forth therof by Thomas Knell minister aperteth, the effect whereof insueth. About midnight the water ouerflowed so much, that men were faine to forsake their beds, & one woman drowned, where also were lost a great number of sheepe, oxen, kine, horse, and other cattell. Among other there, one maffier Cartwright gentleman, hauing his house inclosed round about, the water came in so much, that a cart being laden with thornes did swim about the ground. He lost by the same flood, sheepe, and other cattell, to the value of an hundred pounds. The same gentleman had a close gate by the high waies side, where the water ran ouer so extremelie, that at the fall thereof it made such an hole, that it was fortie foot deepe: so that no man could passe that waie without great danger. To the filling vp of the said hole or pit, was cast in by the men of the said towne fine and twentie lobes of faggots, & twentie lobes of horse dung, which said faggots and horse dung filled not the hole. Also one maffier Lee at the friers in Bedford, hauing a faire park, wherein was great stoe of elme trees, whereof therscore were blowne downe, with the roots pulled cleane out of the ground. Also he had a close of conies that were cleane destroyed.

The sea brake in betwixt Wiffich and Walsoken, and at the crosse keies drowning Tilneie, and old Lin, saint Marie Beding, saint Marie Tid, saint Johns Waulpe, Walton & Walsoken, Emmele, Farmans, and Stoto bridge, all being the space of ten miles. At the crosse keies the godman of the tinne had built an house with a strong foundation joining vnto an other house being old and not so strong, wherein were certeine ghefts. And when the water came in so violentlie, the godman of the house being in the stronger house, called the men out of the old house, and they would haue gone downe the stairs, but the water was so high that they could not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake an hole into the other house, where they went thorough, and the last man was no sooner in, but the old house fell downe. The walles of the houses were broken downe, and the horses that were tied at the manger (which was made fast in the ground) did swim in the water; when the stable was cleane carried awate, buttill the waters were allwaged, and were saued aliue, and the people were constrained to get vp to the highest parts of the house, and so to be carried awate in botes.

At Parmouth a great part of the bridge was carried awate. The house vpon the hauen called the hauen house, wherein was one Nicholas Rossellin the hauen man & his son, with all their toles, were carried into the marishes six miles from the hauen, where it stood by sight, and where they abode long without meat or drinke. Also at Fermanis Bridgestreet was verie much hurt done by the extreame floods that were there. Also one Thomas Smith of Parmouth lost a ship, with seauen men and a boie in it. Also at Newmarke by Parmouth were lost twelue saile. Also a great hulke, laden with oile and pitch, was lost at Woreie sand, and about twentie men lost therein, and thirtie saued by the hulke bote. These townes and villages were ouerflowne, that is to saie, Wiffich, Catborne, Warson Droue, and Hobhouse. This Hobhouse being an almes house (and the water breaking downe the walles of it) the wind blew the cloths off from the bed of a poore man & his wife: who

Tempest by sea and land which did much hurt.

Tho. Knell, what hurt this tempest did in Bedfordshire.

A wonder of an hole made in the ground by a watercourse.

what hurt this tempest did in the countie of Suffolke.

A piece of Parmouth bridge borne awate with water.

what hurt this tempest did in the countie of Suffolke.

Earle of Suffolke remoued. Felton arraigned with other offenders, and all condemned.

Felton and two yong men executed for treason.

Scrope and Scrope warden of the west marches.

Carleill sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left.

Carleill sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left.

who being cold, awaked, and suddenlie slept out of his bed to reach by his clothes, and slipt by to the belie in water, and then he thinking himselfe to be in danger (as he was in deed) and knowing the best waie to escape the danger of the water, he took his wife on his necke, and carried her awaie, and so were both saued.

what hurt
this tempest
did in Lin-
colne shire.

These were
sea vessels lost
in this tem-
pest.

Great losse of
cattell both
great and
small.

Scripture
abused.

what hurt
this tempest
did in Hun-
tington shire.

At the same time in Wilsbich was a garden, a ten- nise plaie, & a bowling allie walled about with bzicke (which was worth twentie pounds by yeare to the owner) was quite destroyed by the water. Humble chappell, the whole towne was lost, except three houses. A ship was broken upon an house, the sailors thinking they had bene upon a rocke, committed themselves to God: and three of the mariners leapt out of the ship, and chanced to take hold on the house top, and so saued themselves: and the wife of the same lieng in childbed, by climbing up into the top of the house, was also saued by the mariners, her husband and child being both drowned. Likewise, the church was whole ouerthrowne except the steeple. Betwene Boston & Petercassell were three score sea vessels, as small ships, craires, and such like, lost upon the coasts of Boston, Hummerton, Sparth chappell, Tetricie, Steptreie, Percots, Kelbie, & Grimbie, where no ship can come in without a pilot, which were all lost, with goods, coyne, & cattell, with all the salt cotes, where the chiefe and finest salt was made, were utterly destroyed, to the utter vndowing of manie a man, and great lamentation both of old and young.

Wentford bzidge, being verie strong, of eight arches in length, had three of the arches broken, and cleane carried awaie. Master Smith at the Swan there had his house (being three stories high) ouerflooded into the third storie, and the walls of the stable were broken downe, and the horses tied to the manger were all drowned. Manie men had great losse, as well of shepe, kine, oxen, great mares, colts of the breed of the great horses, and other cattell innumerable, of which the names manie of them shall here follow. Master Pelham lost eleuen hundred shepe at Humble chappell. In Summercote were lost five hundred shepe, that were of the inhabitants there. Also betwene Hummerton & Grimbie were lost eleuen hundred shepe of one master Spenser, whose shepheard about midday, coming to his wife, asked his dinner: and she being more bold than manerlie, said, he should haue none of his. Then he chanced to looke toward the marishes where the shepe were, and saw the water breake in so fiercelie, that the shepe would be lost, if they were not brought from thence, said, that he was not a good shepheard that would not venture his life for his shepe, & so went straight to daine them from thence, but he & his shepe were both drowned, and after the water being gone, he was found dead, standing by right in a ditch.

Master Himblebie lost two hundred and twentie shepe, master Dimocke lost foure hundred shepe, & master Sparth five hundred, master Spadison lost a ship, master William Askugh of Kelseie, Sir Hugh Askugh, master Sperin, master Fitz Williams of Spalthorpe, lost by estimation twentie thousand cattell, one and other. Some were ouerthrowne into the midwaie of the height of the church. Steeping was whole carried awaie, where was a waime lode of willow tops, the bodie of the waime with the willowes carried one waie, and the ariltrie and wheeles an other waie. In the towne of Saint Odes, the water flowed into the towne in such abundance, that it ran thorough the towne and church, being in the middest thereof, having about the churchyard a bzicke wall of two pards high, was so ouerthrowne, that

botes were rowed ouer it, without touching of the same. Also a little from Huntington, were three men riding upon the causeie, being then ouerflowne (the water on the causeie being not deepe) and thinking no danger therein, chanced to come into a place where the water had galled awaie the earth, and the grauell, were carried awaie with the water: and willowes growing on both sides the waie, two of them caught hold on the willowes, and left their horses, and saued themselves: and the third chanced to catch a verie little twig of willow betwene his fingers, hanging verie little hold, and forsaking his horse, which was carried a great waie from him, had much paine to keepe his hold on the twig, and hold his head about the water, and his horse returning with force against the streame, came againe vnto him, and vnder him: by which meanes he set his feet upon him, and gat better hold of the willow, and so saued himselfe, and the horse was immediatlie carried awaie, that he neuer saw him after.

Also Holland, Leuerington, Pelton chappell in the sea, long Stutton & Holbich were ouerthrowne. And in this countrie also was great losse of cattell. In the low parts in Spozeland, in a little towne called Cliffield, there was a man, his wife, and a sucking child in his armes ouerwhelmed and slaine by the violence of the waters, and of the boisterous winds. The water called Auen, that passeth by the towne called Stratford upon Auen, did run with such violence, that meeting with the water called the Seuerne, dyue it backe ten miles against the course, ouerflowing much ground, and drowning much cattell. In Peterport panell were two houses ouerthrowne, and in one of them an old man and an old woman were ouerwhelmed and slaine. And in the same towne, on the backe side of the Saracens head, the water sprang out of the hard grauellie ground, and flowed so fast, that certeine merchants (sitting there at dinner) were faine to rise and depart from thence to saue themselves. Sir Henrie Leie knight (dwelling at Quarrington) lost by the floods the number of three thousand shepe, besides horses and other cattell, a great number.

In the Wiltsh at Kie (a place so called) the water came in so suddenlie, and flowed so high about midnight, that it was eight or nine foot high in mens houses: insomuch that if one William White had not called them by, some of them had like to haue bene drowned. And the same William White hauing a bote, fetched a great compaignie of them out of their windowes, and carried them to drie land as fast as he could fetch them, which were in great danger and feare, and glad to escape with their liues. Spozouer, the water came in so vehemencie there, that it brake into the marishes, and made such waie, that where of late yeares, and now before this great flood came, a cockebote could not passe in at a low water, now a fisherman drawing six foot water and more maie come in at a low water, and at a full sea the greatest ship that the quenes maiestie hath may come in, and haue good harborough there. The continuance of the same will not onelie be profitable to the most part of the inhabitants there, but also commobious vnto all the quenes subiects travelling by sea.

And whereas one of the owners of a great part of the same marishes had certeine poles set up therein (and being verie meet and in conuenient place of the same marish) for the drying of their fishing nets, and receiued monie peeclie of those that dyed their nets there sufficientlie inough: yet he caused his seruant to pull up the poles, and laie them in an house standing in the same marish: and also commanded his seruant to giue them warning, that they should no

A man was
drowned
by this
drowning.

what hurt
this tempest
did in
Spozeland
shire and
warwick
shire.

What in
Huntington
shire by this
tempest.

What in
Spozeland
shire by this
tempest.

A strange
accident
by the
inundation
of the
water.

more hang their nets there, except they would come and compound with him for it. And the same night (by Gods providence) it came so to passe, that according to his saying (though contrarie to his good will and mind) they are not like to hang their nets there anie more, because of the depth of the water is so great, and like to continue. In hope of continuance of the same new opened haven, certeine men of the same towne have begun to build faire barks to travell the seas, the which in continuance of time will be a great furtherance to the maintenance of the queenes naute. At the blacke shore end, before the said floud, no bote could passe further than the shore end; and now a bote that draweth six foot water mate come in at a low water. Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was by two foot and more in the chanel.

Part in Kent
some came
impell and
drabbing in
the stream.

At Dzum hill marish, foure miles from Kite, the water came in so outrageouslie, that it brake downe the marish walls, one master Burle being owner thereof, who lost by the same a thousand one hundred threescor and two of his shepe, and it is thought that the marish is never like to be gotten againe. Also at Crish beach, a mariner riding by the marishes, seeing two maidens in the marishes, and perceiving the waters breaking in so fast, that the maidens were not like to escape, rode unto them, and one of them gat up behind him, & the other took hold on the horses taile, and by that means were both saved from drowning. In the same marish were drowned a great number of shepe. Also there in a marish land that was sowne, were two boies keeping crows in the after none, & seeing the water breaking in so vehementlie, gat them into a cart that was not farre from them, where they were faine to tarrie untill the next tide, which came in so boisterouslie, that it had like to have overthrowne both the cart & boies. And the one of them being more stronger than the other, kept the other in his armes, where he with cold, wet, and feare, died: so that he was faine to let him fall from him into the water, when he perceived that he was past recoverie. A little from that place were also drowned a thousand shepe, and also manie other cattell.

Part in Essex.

Part done by
the ship in
the harbor and
ships.

From a towne called Ralsnam, unto the towne named Pauldon, all along by the water side were the marishes all overfloden, wherein were a great number of cattell drowned. In Clate were two ships laden with Danike ware which came to shore, with no man in them, nor anie man could tell of whence they were. In Clate the dwellers there lost a verie great parcell of salt and herrings barrells, being housed in an house walled with bricke three foot thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe. Also, there was lost much saffron ground, with manie other things mo, to the great hinderance of manie a man. Also, in Walderfwicke, Duntwich, and Bladbroke, was great losse of boord, planke, timber, and salt. A great part of the bridge by Agbalene college was borne cleane awaie, and manie trees were turned up by the root.

Ano. Reg. 13.
The queenes
going to the
castle after
mass finished.

The queenes
came the
castle
change.

The thirde and twentieth of Februarie, the queenes maiestie, accompanied with hir nobilitie, came from hir house at the Strand, called Summer set place, and entered the citie of London by Temple bar, Fleetstreet, Cheape, and so by the north side of the Burle, to sir Thomas Creshams in Bishops gate street, where she dined. After dinner, hir grace returning through Cornhill, entered the Burle on the south side, and after hir highnesse had viewed euerie part thereof about ground, especially the Watone, which was richlie furnished with all sorts of the newest wares in the citie, she caused the same Burle by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclaimed the King

all exchange, so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.

The seventeenth of Februarie at a place called Binnaston, nere Sparlech hill in the countie of Hereford, was sene the ground to open, and certeine rockes with a peece of ground removed, and went toward the space of foure daies, making at the first a terrible noise as it went on the earth. It removed it selfe betwene six of the clocke in the evening, & seven the next morrowe forthie pases, carrieng great trees and shepecotes, some shepecotes with three score shepe in them, some trees fell into the chinkes, other that grew on the same ground, grow now as firmelie on a hill; and some that stood east, stand west; and those that stood west, stand east. The depth of the hole where it first brake out is thirtie foot, the breadth of the breach is eight score pards, and in length above twentie score pards. It overthroweth Binnaston chapel. Also two high waies be removed nigh one hundred pards, with the trees of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is six and twentie acres: and where tillage ground was, there is pasture left in place; and where was pasture, there is tillage ground gone by on it. The ground as it removed drawe the earth before it, & at the lower part overthrowed the ground, so that it is growen to a great hill of twelve fadams high. It removed from saturday till mondaie at night following, and so staid.

Whereover this yeare about Candelmas, sir Thomas Sackville, baron of Buckhurst was sent in ambassage from the queenes maiestie to Charles the ninth French king, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the emperour Maximilian, as for other weightie affaires. And as his ambassage was great, so was his charge no lesse in furnishing himselfe and traine accordingly, being both in number and furniture such in euerie point, as did aperteyne; and his receiuing and interteinement in France by the king and others was agreeable thereto, for he was receiued upon the coast by the gouernours of the fortified townes right honorably by order from the king. Among other the baron of Botenotell was one, who being verie well mounted and appointed, left not his lordship before he came to the court, and from thence accompanied him backe untill his imbarquement homewards.

In the maine countries he was accompanied with the gouernours and nobles of the places about. And in the good townes where he passed, he was presented by the chiefe magistrates, wherein their good wills were to be thankesfullie accepted, though his lordships rewards far ouervalued their presents. At his approachere to Paris he was incountried on the waie for courtesie sake, by two marchesses of Trans and Saluces; this being of the house of Savoy, and the other of the worshipful familie of Foix. These wanted not such as accompanied them, and the same even of the best sort. At the last ambassadors first audience, which was at the castle of St. Germain, otherwile called Billogtie nere Paris (where the king then late) the queenes Almaine coaches verie handelie furnished were sent to Paris for him; in one of the which his lordship with the marchesse of Trans rode towards the court, verie narrowly escaping from a thewed turne and great mishance; by reason the same coach was obstructed by the Dutch waggoners their negligence, who in a haierie galloping the field made an other most terrible overthrow with the marchesse was destroyed.

The lord ambassado: at his arrival at the place was right honorable receiued, he was banqueted by dinner, and that verie sumptuouslie: which by him was not left vniquested to the bittermost, and rather with the better. For his liberalitie unto the French

A strange
kind of earth
moving in the
countie of Here-
ford.

Sir Thomas
Sackville
ambassador to
the French
king.

This inter-
teinement be-
ing honorable.

The first
of the lord
ambassadors
audience.

The lord
ambassadors
banquet.

The lord
ambassadors
banquet.

The river of
Saine not
passable with
bessels.

was verie large, but his reward at the kings hands
was onelie a chaine waicring a thousand French
crotones. At that present there was a great dearth
a scarcitie of vittels in France. The river of Saine
that runneth through Paris was not passable with
bessels, by reason of the great frosts: and thereby not
onelie all kind of vittels, but also haie and wood hard
to come by, and not to be had but at excessive prices,
for countrie thereabouts having before bene soze
barried and spoiled by the ciuill tumults. By reason
whereof, not onlie the lord of Buckhurst for the space
he remained there, but also sir Henrie Poerice (now
lord Poerice) and maister Francis Walsingham
hir maiesties ambassadors, ligiers successiuelie,
were driven to an increase in expences, paying for
uerie thing they bought an higher price than ordina-
rilie had bene accustomed.

The ambassa-
dor returneth
into England.

After that the lord Buckhurst had bene feasted
and banketted by the king, and other of the French
nobilitie, and had accomplished the points of his am-
bassage, he took leave of the king, & departed home-
wards, arriving here in England a little before Ea-
ster. The second of Aprill a parlement began at
Westminster, wherein was granted to the queenes
maiestie toward hir great charges, in repressing the
late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the said re-
bels and their fautors, which were fled into Scot-
land) by the cleargie a subsidie of six shillings in the
pound; and by the temporallie two shillings, with a
subsidie of two shillings and eight pence in the
pound. The first, the second, and third of aprie was
holden at Westminster before the queenes mai-
estie a solemne iust at the tilt, tourney and barriers.
The challengers were Colward earle of Devon,
Charles Howard, sir Henrie Lee, and Christopher
Hatton esquier, who all did verie valiantlie, but the
chief honour was given to the earle of Devon. The
first of June, John Storie a doctor of the canon law,
who before had bene condemned of high treason,
was drawn from the tower of London to Thorne,
and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, his head
was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the
gates of the citie. Of this monster disguised in the
likenesse of a man, it is verie materiall to record
what maister Fox hath noted in his historie.

Abr. Fox
Iohan. Foxi
martyrologio.
Stories con-
dition and
birth.

Storie a
blondie per-
secutor.

Storie inuen-
ting new tor-
ments for the
martyrs.

Storie ap-
prehended.

Storie con-
vinced himselfe
after the seas-
on where he con-
fessed a blas-
phemy.

This doctor Storie (saith he) being an Englishman
by birth, and from his infancie not onelie nuyled in
papistrie, but also euen as it were by nature earnest
lie affected to the same, & growing somewhat to ripe
years, in the dates of queene Marie became a most
blondie tyrant, and cruell persecutor of Christ in his
members, as all the stories of martyrs almost do
declare. Thus he raging all the reigne of the fores-
aid queene Marie, against the insatiable truth of
Christis gospel, and the true professors thereof, neuer
ceased till he had consumed to ashes two or three
hundred blessed martyrs, who willingly gave their
lines for the testimonie of his truth. And thinking
their punishment in fire not euell enough, he went
abroad to inuent new torments for the holie martyrs
of Christ: such was his hatred to the truth of Christis
gospel, but in the end the Lord looking vpon the af-
fliction, and cruell bloodshedding of his seruants,
toke pitty vpon the queene Marie the great ruler of papie
in this world, who had caused so many English men
to be taken the bloudie sword of persecution from
raging, and sent for him, & caused the
same doctor Storie to be apprehended, and commit-
ted to ward with many other his accomplices, who were
carried to the Tower of London, and there
the said Storie during bene a while retained in
prison, at the last by what means I know not, he
fled forth of hold, and concealed himselfe in the seas,
where he continued a most blondie persecutor, till

raging against Gods saints with fire and sword. In
somuch as he growing to be familiar and right dare
to Duke Dalua in Antwerpe, receiued a speciall com-
mission from him to search all the ships for gods
foes, and for English bookes and suchlike. And
in this fauour and authoritie he continued there for
a space, by the which means he did much hurt, and
brought manie a good man and woman to trouble,
and extreme perill of life through his blondie
crueltie. But at the last the Lord, when the measure
of his iniquitie was full, proceeded in iudgement a-
gainst him, and cut him off from the face of the earth,
according to the prayers of manie a good man, which
came to passe in order as followeth.

It being certeinly knowne (for the brute thereof
was gone forth into all lands) that he not onelie in-
tended the subuersion and ouerthrow of his native
countrie of England by bringing in forren hosti-
lie, if by any means he might compasse it; but also
bawle and honelle murdered Gods people: there
was this platforme laid (by Gods providence no
doubt) that one maister Parker a merchant should
saile vnto Antwerpe, and by some means to conuie
Storie into England. This Parker arriving at
Antwerpe, suborned certein to repaire to doctor
Storie, and to signifie vnto him, that there was an
English ship come fraught with merchandize; and
that if he would make search thereof himselfe, he
should find store of English bookes, and other things
for his purpose. Storie hearing this and suspecting
nothing, made hast towards the ship, thinking to
make the same his preie; and coming aboard fear-
ched for English hereticall bookes (as he called them)
going downe vnder the hatches, because he would
be sure to haue their blond if he could, they claped
downe the hatches, hoisted by their sailes, hauing (as
God woulde) a good gale, and sailed away into Eng-
land, where they arriving presented this blondie
butcher and traitorous rebell Storie, to the no little
reioysing of manie an English heart.

He being now committed to prison, continued
there a good space; during all which time, he was la-
boured and sollicitous daily by wise and learned fa-
thers, to recant his diuillish & erroneous opinions, to
conferme himselfe to the truth, and to acknowledge
the queenes maiesties supremacie. All which he de-
ferre denied to the death, saying that he was sworne
subiect to the king of Spaine, and was no subiect to
the queene of England, nor the his soveraigne
queene. And therefore (as he well deserved) he was
condemned (as a traitor to God, the queenes mai-
estie, and the realme) to be hanged, and quar-
tered; which was performed accordingly, he being
laid vpon a hurdle, and drawn from the tower a-
long the streets to Thorne, where he being hanged
till he was halfe dead, was cut downe and stripped.
And (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner
had cut off his priue members, he rushing by vpon a
sudden gave him a blow vpon the eare, to the great
wonder of all that stood by. And thus ended this blas-
phemy of his tormented life, whose iudgement I
leave to the Lord.

The eighteenth of June, in the same terme, there
was a gentleman appointed to haue bene fought for a
certein manour & demaine lands belonging there-
unto, in the shire of Hertie, adjoining to the shire
of Bedforshire. The same day John Barre was
plaintiff, and had brought a writ of right against
Thomas Barre, who offered to defend his right
by battell. And vpon the plaintiffs offer, he accepted
to answer his challenge, offering likewise to defend
his right to the same manour and lands, and to
prooue by battell, that Barre had no right nor
good title to haue the same manour and lands. There
vpon

Storie chur-
ned a commu-
tion to search
for English
bookes.

Storie inter-
ned the
ouerthrow of
England.

A platforme
laid to ap-
prehend Storie.

Storie fear-
ched the Eng-
lish ships for
bookes, and
was apprehended
and brought
into England.

Storie a traitor
hanged,
drawne and
quartered.

A combat
appointed at
Cuthill was
not tried.

Come and
inter com-
municate.

upon the said Thomas Paramore brought before the iudges of the common ples at Westminster, one George Thorne, a big, broad, strong set fellow; & the plaintiffs Henrie Pailer, maister of defense, and servant to the right honourable the earle of Leices-ster, a proper slender man, & not so tall as the other. Thorne cast downe a gantlet, which Pailer toke vp, upon the sundaie before the battell should be tried. On the next morow, the matter was staied, & the parties agreed, that Paramore being in possession shuld haue the land, & was bound in fure hundred pounds to consider the plaintiffs, as upon hearing the mat-ter the iudges should award. The queenes maiestie abhorring bloodshed, & (as the poet verie well saith)

(Tristia sanguinei deuitans praelia campi)

was the taker vp of the matter, in this wise. It was thought good, that for Paramores assurance, the or-der should be kept touching the combat, and that the plaintiffs Low and Raine should make default of ap-pearance; but that yet such as were suerties for Pailer their champions appearance, should bring him in; the like wise those that were suerties for Thorne, should bring in the same Thorne in discharge of their band: and that the court should sit in Tuthill fields, where was prepared one plot of ground, of one and thwentie yards square, double railed for the com-bat. Without the west square a stage being set vp for the iudges, representing the court of the common ples.

The matter
callings
commence for
combat.

All the compasse without the lisses was set with scaffolds one above another, for people to stand and behold. There were behind the square where the iud-ges sat, two tents, the one for Pailer, the other for Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning timelike, Pailer about seauen of the clocke came thorough London, appareled in a dublet, and galle gascaine breeches all of crimson sattin, cut and rased, a hat of black velvet, with a red feather and band, before him drums and fises plaieng. The gantlet cast downe by George Thorne was borne before the said Pailer upon a sword's point, and his basson (a staffe of an ell long made taper wise tipt with thorne) with his shield of hard leather was borne after him, by Ak-ham a peoman of the queenes gard. He came into the palace at Westminster, and staing not long be-fore the hall doore, came backe into the Kings street, and so along thorough the Sanctuarie and Tuthill street into the field, where he staied till past nine of the clocke, and then sir Jerome Wolues brought him to his tent: Thorne being in the tent with sir Hen-rie Cheinie long before.

Called
the iustice
and his
associates
to the
court.

About ten of the clocke, the court of common ples removed, & came to the place prepared. When the lord chiefe iustice, with two other his associats were set, then Low was called solemnlie to come in, or else to lose his writ of right. Then after a certeine time, the suerties of Henrie Pailer were called to bring in the said Pailer, champion for Simon Low. And thortlie thereupon, sir Jerome Wolues, leading Pailer by the hand, entred with him the lisses, bring- ing him downe that square by which he entred, be- ing on the left hand of the iudges, and so about till he came to the next square, iust against the iudges, and there making courtesie, first with one leg and then with the other, passed forth till he came to the middle of the place, and then made the like obeisance, and so passing till they came to the barre, there he made the like courtesie, and his shield was held vp aloft ouer his head. Pailer put off his netherstocks, and so barefoot and barelegged, saue his silke scanilones to the ankles, and his dublet sleeves tied vp above the el-bow, and bareheaded, came in, as is aforesaid. Then were the suerties of George Thorne called to bring in the same Thorne: and immediatlie sir Henrie

Cheinie entering at the upper end on the right hand of the iudges, vied the like order in comming about by his side, as Pailer had before on that other side: and so comming to the barre with like obeisance, held vp his shield. Proclamation was made that none should touch the barres, nor presume to come within the same, except such as were appointed.

After all this solemn order was finished, the lord chiefe iustice rehearsing the manner of bringing the writ of right by Simon Low, of the answer made thereunto by Paramore, of the proceeding therein, and how Paramore had challenged to defend his right to the land by battell, by his champion Tho-mas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was by Low with his champion Henrie Pailer: & then for default of appearance in Low, he adiudged the land to Paramore, & dismissed the champion, acqui-ting the suerties of their bands. He also willed Hen-rie Pailer to render againe to George Thorne his gantlet. Where to the said Pailer answered, that his lordship might command him anie thing, but wil-tinglie he wold not render the said gantlet to Thorne except he could win it. And further he challenged the said Thorne to play with him halfe a score blowes, to shew some pastime to the lord chiefe iustice; & to the o-ther there assembled. But Thorne answered, that he came to fight, & would not plaie. Then the lord chiefe iustice commending Pailer for his valliant courage, comanded them both quietlie to depart the field, &c.

The lord
chiefe iustice
toucheth the
present case.

Pailer cha-
lengerth
Thorne at a
few blowes.

On the sixteenth of Julie, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Hertfetsham, was found culpable of poisoning the said Thomas Cham-ber hir husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone in the countie of Kent. For the which fact she (having well deserued) was there burnt on the next morow. The tenth of September, the duke of Norfolkke was removed from the Charterhouse, to the tower of London prisoner. The two and twentieth of Sep-tember deceased John Felwell bishop of Salisbu-rie, in his life a most eloquent and diligent preacher, but a far more painefull and studious writer, as his woorkes remaining doe beare witness, whereby his fame shall neuer die. The ninth of Nouember, a sermon was preached in Paules church at London, by maister William Foulkes of Cambridge, to giue thanks to almighty God for the victorie, which of his mercifull clemencie it had pleased him to grant to the christians in the Lenant seas, against the com-mon enemies of our faith, the Turks, the tenth of 50 October last past. His theame was taken out of the fiftenth psalme of Dauid's psalter, the fourth verse.

A woman
burnt at
Maidston
for poisoning.

Duke of
Norfolkke
sent to the
tower.
Bishop of Sa-
lisbury de-
ceased.

A sermon in
Paules
church for
victorie a-
gainst the
Turkes.

There were present at this sermon, the lord maior of London sir William Allen, with the aldermen and craftsmen in their lueries. And in the evening there were bonefiers made through the citie, with banketting and great reioicing, as god cause there was, for a victorie of so great importance unto the whole state of the christian common-wealth. In the which were taken one hundred and thirtie vessels, that is, one hundred and seuentene gallies, and thir-tye galleots, beside other vessels that were bon-ged, abandoned, and let go at large abroad in the seas, as gallies, foists, and galleots, to the number of fourescore, or thereabouts. And of their chiefe- teins name in that blondie battell, these we find by name as principall: Halie Bassa high admerall of the whole nanie, Amar Weie capteime of the Janis- saries, Assan Weie the sonne of Barbarossa, with his sonne Spehemet Weie gouernor of Pitellene, Oider Weie gouernour of Chio, Capfan Weie go- uernour of the Rhodes, Derris Aga gouernour of Africa otherwise Mahomed, Mustafa Seclu- bie high treasurer, Assis Clueaga capteime of Gal- lipolie, Tramontana chiefe maister of the Tur- 60

The assemblee
at this sermo.

Contareno,

Principals
among the
Turkes
name

Pailer prepa-
red himselfe
to fight
against
Thorne.

hith emperor's owne gallee, Caracoza, and also manie others, whose names were too long to rehearse: but the whole number that were slaine of the Turks could not be perfectly knowne, by reason that manie were drowned in the sea, which came not to sight.

Some yet affirme, that there were slaine of them in all, to the number of one and twentie thousand; although other speake but of sixtene thousand. But Contareno writeth, that there were slaine and taken 29990. Of which number he reckoneth 3846 to haue remained prisoners, and among them were these persons of name, Mahemet Beie, Sainus Beie, and Sirocho Beie. There escaped yet from this discomfiture, Bartan, generall of all the men of warre and souldiers by land, Ochialie, Spurate Raie with his sonne, and Bali Genouese, and with them about fortie galleies, foists, and fregats. Moreover, there were found in the Turkish galleies that came into the hands of the christians, one hundred and sixtene double canons, two hundred sixtie and five demie canons, and sixtene other great peeces of brasse. For it is to be remembred, that not onely the Turkish galleies, but also the christians were throughly armed, furnished, and appointed with men, munition, and ordnance in euery behalfe.

In Hali Bassa his gallee there were aboord three hundred harquebusiers Fanillaries, and an hundred archers. In the gallee of Don Clouan de Auritia chiefe admerall of the christians, were four hundred harquebusiers Spaniards, of the tierle of Sardigna, beside a great number of lords and gentlemen, and also beside the rowers: and in euery other gallee were 200 fighting men at the least, beside the rowers, & in some 300, & other some 400 according to the mould of the vessels. The number of the christian galleies and galliots, were in all two hundred and two, besides six great galleasses. The Turks had their galleies, galliots, and foists, to the number of two hundred and fiftie, as appeareth by the account afoze made, of those that were taken, abandoned, and escaped. There were deliuered and set at libertie, about twelue thousand, some say fourtene thousand christian captiues, whom the Turks kept for slaues, and had them chained there aboord with them in their galleies. But this victorie was not got without great losse of the christians, for beside Augustine Barbarigo, the principall prouident of the Venetians, there died senentene other gentlemen of Venice, being men of good estimation, John Cardone, & Barnardine Cardone Spaniards, Virginio and Horatio Ursini Romans, Troilo, Sabello, Sparco Molino, besides diuerse other nobles and gentlemen of name, as well Italians, as Spaniards, and Germans.

In all, there died of the christians to the number of seauen thousand six hundred fiftie and six, beside those that were hurt, being in like number to them that were slaine, among whom was don John de Austria, generall of all the christian armie there, Sebastian Veniero the Venetians generall, & the counte de Santa Flora with diuerse others. Moreover, there were christian galleies bouged, three of the Venetians, one of the popes, one belonging to the duke of Saouie, and another to the knights of Malta. There was one also taken & led auaire by Ochialie, and his companie. Such was the successe of this battell, which continued for the space of six houres, in the end whereof the victorie remaining with the christians, caused no small reioysing through all parties of christendome. For if this victorie had bene followed, with his gracious helpe and assistance that was the giuer thereof, the proud and losse borne of the Maestie had bene so brused, as peraduenture his courage would haue quailed to put forth the same so

spedilie as he did. But such is the malice of the time, that the christians haue more pleasure to drabe their weapons one against another, than against that common enemie of vs all, who regardeth neither protestant nor catholike (they may be sure) those of the Grekish church nor others, as if the mercifull prouidence of the Lord of hosts do not in time disapprove his proceedings, it will be too sone perceiued, though hapilie too late to stop the breach, when the flood hath got head, and once wonne passage through the bankes.

It were therefore to be wished of all those that tender the suertie of the christian commonwealth, that princes would permit their subjects to live in libertie of conscience, concerning matters of faith: and that subjects againe would be readie in dutifull wise, to obey their princes in matters of civil government, so that compounding their controuersies among themselves, with tollerable conditions, they might employe their forces against the common enemie, to the benefit of the whole christian world, which (the more is the pittie) they haue so long exercised one against another, to each others destruction. And as for matters in variance about religion, rather to decide the same with the word, than with the sword, an instrument full vnfit for that purpose, and not lightlie vsed nor allowed of by the ancient fathers in time of the primitive church. But sith this is rather to be wished than hoped for, by any apparant likelihood, considering the strange contrarietie of humors now reigning among men in sundrie parts of christendome, let vs leaue the success of our wish to the pleasure of God, the authoz of all good haps, who ruleth the harts of princes (as the poet saith) berie trulie

In manibus sunt regum animi; quousque voluntas fert sua, vertit eos.

and frameth the peoples minds as seemeth best to his diuine prouidence. And withall, let vs also humble offer to him our prayers, instantlie beseeching him to spare vs in mercie, and not to rewarde vs after our iniquities: but rather by his omnipotent powe to turne from vs the violence of our enemies, in abiding their forces, as it may seeme good to his mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

The thirtieth of December Reinald Greie was by the queenes maiestie restored earle of Kent. The thirtieth of Januarie deceased Sir William Peter knight, who for his iudgement and pregnant wit had bene secretarie and of the privie counsell to foure kings and queenes of this realme, and seauen times ambassadoz abroad in foren lands: he augmented Exeter college in Oxford with lands, to the value of an hundred pounds by yeare: and also builded ten almshouses in the parish of Fingertone for twentie poore people, ten within the house, and ten without the house, hauing euery one two pence the daie, a winter gowne, and two load of wood, and among them feeding for six kine winter and summer, and a chapleine to saie them seruice dailie.

The firste of Januarie the lord Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk was arraigned at Westminster hall, before George lord Talbot, earle of Shrewesburie, high steward of England for that daie, and there by his peeres found gillie of high treason, and had iudgement accordingly. The eleuenth of Februarie Renelme Warneie, and Edmund Spather were drawn from the tower of London, and Henrie Wolfe from the Sparthalsea in Southwoke, all three to Tiburne and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for treason: Warneie and Spather for conspircie, and Wolfe for counterfeiting of the queenes maiesties hand.

The queenes maiestie hearing crediblie by report, that certaine lewd persons, under pretense of

The whole number of the slaine, Bizari, Contareno.

Bizari.

Persons that escaped from this discomfiture.

Bottles that fell into the christians hands.

The number of the christian galleies & the Turkes.

Christian captiues set at libertie 14000.

Contareno. The number of christians that died. Bizari.

Contareno.

The space how long the battell continued.

A common fault among christians.

God counteth it that faith be the faith of Christ a true church.

Anno Reg. 16 Reinald Greie earle of Kent. 1 Sept. 1572 Sir William Peter knight.

1573 Duke of Norfolk was arraigned.

Spather, Warneie, Wolfe executed.

Concealing of executing commissions for inquiries to be made for lands concealed, contrarie to his maiesties meaning, chalenging lands, stocks of monie, plate, &c. letting not also to make pretense to the bells, led, and other such things belonging unto parish churches or chappels. His maiestie meaning spædilie to withstand such manner of vnlawfull practises, commanded, that all commissions then extant and not determined, for inquisition of anie manner of concealments, should be by *superfedi*, out of his exchequer reuoked. And also appointed spædilie remedie to be had against such extorcioners, as more at large appeareth by proclamation, concluding thus. Finally, his maiestie would his iustices of assise to haue some speciall care, not onelie to the premises, but also to the reforming of certeine couentous & inuiolous attempts, of diuerse that of late time by other colour than for his maiesties vse, had taken awaie the led of churches and chappels; yea and bells also out of steeples, and other common goods belonging to parishes: an example not to be suffered unpunished, nor vntermed. And so his maiestie entreated chargeth his iustices of his assise to promise seuerer remedie, both for punishment and reformation thereof. Dated at Westminster the thirteenth daie of February, the fourteenth yeare of his reigne.]

The tenth of March deceased sir William Paulet knight, lord saint John, earle of Wiltshire, marquisse of Winchester, knight of the honorable order of the garter, one of the quenes maiesties ptiue counsell, and lord high treasurer of England, at his manor of Walsing. This worthy man was borne in the yeare of our Lord 1483, the first yeare of king Richard the third, and liued about the age of foure score and seauen yeares, in six kings and quenes daies. He serued five kings and quenes, Henrie the seauenth, Henrie the eight, Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth. All these he serued faithfully, and of them was greatlie fauored. Himselfe did see the children of his childrens children, growing to the number of one hundred and thre. A rare blessing giuen by God to men of his calling.

On the five and twentieth and six and twentieth of March, by the commandement of the quenes maiestie his counsell, the citizens of London assembling at their severall halles; the maisters collected and chose out the most likeliest and active persons of euerye their companies, to the number of thre thousand, whome they appointed to be pikemen and shot. The pikemen were forthwith armed in faire cossets and other furniture according therunto; the gunners had cuerie of them his caliner with the furniture, and murrians on their heads. To these were appointed diuerse vallant capteins, who to traine them by in warlike feats, mustered them thirte cuerie weeke, sometimes in the artillerie yard, teaching the gunners to handle their peeces, sometimes at the Piles end, & in saint Georges field, teaching them to skirmish. In the which skirmish on the Piles end the tenth of April, one of the gunners of the goldsmiths companie was shot in the side with a peece of a scouring stick lef in one of the caliuers, wherof he died, and was buried the twelue of April in Pauls churchyard; all the gunners marching from the Piles end in battell raie, shot off their caliuers at his graue.

On Maie daie they mustered at Greenwich before the quenes maiestie, where they shewed manie warlike feats, but were much hindered by the weather, which was all daie showring, they returned that present night to London, and were discharged the next morrow. The fourth of Maie Walter Devereux, lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and vicount of Hereford was created earle of Essex; and Edward

Fines lord Clinton and Sale high admerall of England was created earle of Lincolne. The eight of Maie the parlement began at Westminster, and that same daie in the parlement by the quenes maiesties writs, sir Henrie Compton knight, lord of Compton in the Holo, sir Henrie Cheine knight lord of Todington, sir William Paulet knight of Walsing, & sir Henrie Peris knight lord of Ricot, were called barons into the higher house. In this parlement, for so much as the whole realme of England was exceedinglie pestered with roges, vagabunds, and sturdie beggers, by meanes wherof diuerslie happened diuerse horrible murders, thefts, and other great outrages: it was enacted, that all persons about the age of fouretane yeres, being taken begging, bagarant, & wandering disorderlie, should be apprehended, whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with a hot iron of one inch compass for the first time so taken.

The foure & twentieth of Maie, Martine Bullocke was hanged on a gibet by the well with two buckets in Bishops gate street of London, for robbing, and most shamefullie murdering of a merchant named Arthur Hall, in the parsonage of S. Martine by the said well. This Martine had procured the said Arthur Hall to come to the said parsonage, to buie of him certeine plate. But after the said Arthur had well viewed the same, he said; This is none of your plate, it hath docto Gardeners marke, and I know it to be his: What is true said Martine Bullocke, but he hath appointed me to sell it, &c. After this talke, whilst the said Arthur was weighing the plate, the same Martine fetcht out of the kitchen a thicke wadding batle, and comming behind him stroke the said Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the first stroke; and then strake him againe, and after toke the said Arthurs dagger, and stiked him, and with his knife cut his throte; and after would haue trusted him in a Danske chest, but the same was too short. Whereupon he tumbled him downe a paire of stairs, and after thinking to haue buried him in the cellar, his legs being broken with the first fall, and stiffe, he could not draw him downe the cellar stairs being winding. Wherefore he cut off his legs with an hatchet, and in the end trusted him with straw in a drie vat: and saieing it was his apparell and bookes, caused the same to be carried to the water side, and so shipped to Rie. But as God would haue it, there was suspicion gathered against the murder, wherby he was examined before alderman Brand then one of the thriffes of London; but so small likelihood appeared that he should be guiltie, that there was an honest man dwelling in saint Laurence Pontneis named Robert Cox a clothworker, who supposing the offender to be cleare in the matter, vnderooke for his forthcomming. Whereupon Bullocke being suffered to go at libertie, slipt awaie, first to Westminster; and there taking bote, passed by the riuer: and comming on land beyond Kingston, passed forth till he came to Whitham, in the forrest of Windsor, an eight miles beyond the towne of Windsor; and from thence (what moued him, I leaue to the secret iudgement of God) he came backe againe vnto London, lodging at the red lion in Holborne.

In the meane time the foresaid Cox, vpon knowledge had that Bullocke was withdrawn out of the waie, was not onelie had in some suspicion, but also committed to ward: albeit so as he had libertie to take order to send abroad such as should make sute after Bullocke. And amongst other that went forth, one of his seruants was sent to Rie, whether the drie vat was conueied: and comming thither, the same drie vat was opened, wherein the mangled corps of Hall was found: whereby the truth of the matter

Barons made.

Roges burnt through the eare.

Martine Bullocke hanged at the well with two buckets.

Fellonic and murder committed.

The manner of the murder committed.

Wh mercedesse murderer

The murder examined.

He hath libertie notwithstanding his offense.

The same bat,
wherein the
murdered
man was put
to be hand-
ported, de-
scribed.

Earle of Lin-
colne and o-
ther ambassa-
dors into
France.

The manner of
the ambassa-
dors inter-
tainment.

League with
France con-
firmed in
France.

The ambassa-
dors return-
ed out of
France.
The duke of
Norfolke be-
headed.

came to light, and by the good providence of God, the
reveler of such evil facts, Bullocke was at the ve-
rie same time discovered at the place in Holborne a-
foze mentioned, and there apprehended, did receive
(as ye have heard) due punishment for his heinous
and most wicked offense.

The six and twentieth of Maie, the right honorable
earle of Lincolne, departed from London towards
France ambassadoz, being accompanied with the
lord Dacres, the lord Rich, the lord Talbot, the lord
Sunds, and the lord Clinton, sir Arthur Chamber-
nourne, sir Jerome Bowes, and sir Edward Ha-
stings knights, with divers other gentlemen, who
taking ship at Dover, cut over to Bullongne, where
they were verie honorable received, and conveyed
by tournies to Paris, where they were lodged in a
house of the kings named le chasteau de Louure, be-
ing attended upon of the kings officers. Five daies
after they went to the king at a house called Spadill,
where the king with his two brethren, the admirall,
& the most part of the nobles of France met them a
distance from the place, & brought them to the house:
where they dined, and abode till sundae following,
from whence the king and his nobles with the nobles
of England came to Paris. The king, his two bre-
thren, & our ambassadoz riding in one coach together,
and the nobles of England and France being so pla-
ced also in coaches, came to the said castell of Louure,
and there dined. After dinner the king, our ambas-
sador, with the nobilitie of both realmes, went to a
church named saint Germaine, where the French
king, his brethren, and nobilitie heard evensong. The
noblemen of England withdrawing them into a
chappell till evensong was done, were then fetched
thence by the nobles of France to the king and his
brethren that awaited their coming, where was
confirmed the league which had bene concluded at
Blois the nineteenth of Apill, deputies being there
for the French partie, Francis Montmorency, Mel-
nold Birago, Sebastian de Laubespine, and Paule
de Foix: and for the queene of England, sir Tho-
mas Smith, and maister Walsingham ambassa-
dors.

This being done, they departed without the walls
of Paris, to a garden of pleasure, where they supped.
After supper, the king departed to his place of Spa-
dill, and the nobles of England unto the castell of
Louure. On mondaie, the admirall feasted the no-
bles of England: upon tuesday, the duke of Aniou
the kings brother, and on wednesday the duke of A-
lanson his younger brother, and so passed in feasting
and banquetting, with rich gifts on both parts. On
friday, the nobles of England took leave of the
king, and on saturday came to saint Denis, and after
to Bullongne, where they took ship, and returned
into England the fourth of Julie. The second of
June in the morning, betwene the houres of seven
and eight, Thomas Howard duke of Norfolke,
was beheaded on a scaffold netlike set up on tower
hill. & This execution in a short time was spread
abroad, for same, which (as the poet saith in few words
— *volat leuibis sublati per aethera pennis*)

had sounded the same farre and nere: insomuch that
in that of time, as men had leisure to late their col-
lections together, among other things this is recor-
ded: even of strangers. For the execution of an ho-
norable personage must needs be so much the more
notorious, as his murder is dishonorable. Touching
the duke therefore this I find in Schardius (howsoe-
ver he came to the knowledge thereof) a moderne
historien, and doctor of the lawes in Basil. The duke
of Norfolke, who (as we have said) was condemned
for treason the thirteenth daie of Januarie, was
brought out of the tower of London, to a plaine hard

by, which they call the hill; in the midst whereof a
scaffold had bene builded manie yeares ago serving
for execution: which being old was both rotten and
ruinous. For queene Elisabeth having with mercie
governed hir commonwealth, there was no punish-
ment inflicted there upon any for the space of four-
tene yeares. Wherefore a new scaffold must needs
be made. Which when the duke at seven of the clocke
in the morning had mounted, having on a fliken
doublet, & a long gowne of like fine stuffe, all blacke,
came like he beheld the people round about with his
cap on his head. Now when he had stood still a prettie
while, and cast his eyes upon the scaffold, he asked
whereabouts he might best stand to speake unto the
people: For the scaffold was foure square, and the
people came flocking from all places. Now when he
was directed to the east side thereof, and the people
had muttered and whispered diverslie among them-
selues, maister Alexander Howell deane of Paulles
besought them that were present to be silent and still.
Then began the duke to speake to the people as fol-
loweth.

The duke of Norffolkes vvords vtte-
red on the scaffold at tower hill when he
should be executed

Is no rare thing (good people) to see a
man come hither to die, albeit since this
queens most blessed reigne I be the first,
I praise God I be the last. The people said
amen. It is a hard matter for a man of my calling
to use long speech in such an audience, either for that
audacitie serves me not, or for that coming to such
an end as I do, the feare of death troubleth me: and
therefore I beseech you all heartlie to beare with me,
I will not be long, I will make a short speech and di-
vide my talke into thre parts. And first concerning
my offense towards my prince, wherein some thing
I have to confesse against my selfe, and in some
thing to cleere my selfe. I come not to complaine a-
gainst my peeres, I do acquit them, I have be-
lieved to die, it is not unknowne. I have dealt with the
queene of Scots in verie great and high matters,
without making my prince yssue thereunto, other-
wise than I ought to have done.

There is one thing, which greatlie grudgeth my
conscience, that is: when I was first delivered out
of this place, I made a submission, & promised the
queene never to deale further in that matter; and yet con-
trarie to my promise I meant & did otherwise, I am
sorry for it. It was reported I made a vow and took
a solemne oth, and received the communion upon it,
that is not true: the other was too much. It was re-
ported also I went about to destroy the citie of Lon-
don: I take God to my witnesse I never meant to
hurt this citie. I have dealt with suspected persons,
and such as have shewed themselves enemies to the
state; especiallie one I will name, to wit one Rabul-
pho, whom I never talked withall but once, and then
I liked not his dealing, he shewed me two letters
which he said came from the pope.

Then said one of the shriftes of London, God my
lord be short: he said, I will be short, I have not much
to saie, god gentlemen beare witnesse, I come not
to cleere my selfe. I saw two letters, the one incip-
red and the other deciphered. I was charged to con-
feder with the rebels, I take God to witnesse I did
never. The secundarie interrupted him and said, I
praise you my lord go not about to cleere your selfe,
you have bene tried as honorable, as any noble
man hath ever bene in this land: I praise you make
short, for the houre is past, it is upon the perill of the
lives (meaning the shriftes) they can not suffer you.

Forpen name
one heard and
more of the
queens busi-
nesses go-
vernment.

The attire
behaviour, &
gesture of the
duke at his
execution.

Howell deane
of Paulles the
dukes ghost
lie father.

The duke
confesseth his
offense against
the queene
matheus.

He is sorry
for the violating
of his promise
made to the
queene.

He maketh
them to cleare
himselfe in the
words poynt.

Schardius in reb.
gesti. sub Maxi-
mil. imperat. se-
cundo pag. 2513.

Remaneth
of religion.

Remaneth
of religion.

Remaneth
of religion.

Remaneth
of religion.

Remaneth
of religion.

Remaneth
of religion.

Remaneth
of religion.

Oh I praie you giue me leaue a little, I do confesse my fault. This is my confession, I do confesse it, notwithstanding my religion. It hath been reported I haue bene a papist, a confederate with papists; a friend to them and a maintainer of them and of their religion: I take God to witnesse I am none, nor euer was a papist since I knew what religion ment. I haue had friends, yea familiar friends, yea peradventure seruants that haue bene papists, with whom I haue bozine: but I take God to witnesse I am none, I utterly detest the pope and his religion, and I hope to be saved onlie by my faith in Iesus Christ: and I utterly abhorre all mans traitors. And if at any time I bid giue countenance to any papist, whereby any godman of the church was offended, I aske them merke: there is no man that alloweth better of this religion than I do. Then he was desired againe to be short. Now touching the goodness of the queenes maiestie, I am much bound to his grace. I do thanke his humble for that he hath forgiven all my offenses, and hath prolonged my life so long. Now see how good he hath been to me. I haue bene looked for here long before this time, God send his long ouer you to reigne. He hath promised me to be gracious to my poor orphan children. God grant my death maie end all troubles. And if any of you haue any one faction, or two, or three, or mo, let him giue ouer & forsake it. Spare with and desire diuerse things: but they know not what they wish. They seeke their owne destruction. If euerie man should haue his wish, God knoweth how manie would repent, whatsoeuer they are.

The queene hath promised in my death to forgive all, and I praie God that she maie liue manie yeeres. I remember well the words of that god father and holie martyr Latimer. He told the people, that for their wickednesse God would take awaie his blessing from them. I praie God the contrarie, that your god life maie be such, that God maie turne awaie those plagues that he hath thretened. He spake it in an honorable place, in the pulpit, before king Edward: yet let not this place discredit my words. I praie God preserve the queens maiestie, and that she maie liue and reigne ouer you manie yeeres: euen to the worlds end, which I beleue that some one aloue shall see. Then he kneeled downe and praied, and master Powell kneeled downe by him and wept, with manie others. His praier was vnto God for the continuance of the truth of his gospel; he praied also instantlie for the queens most prosperous reigne, and kneeling vpon his knees he said two psalms, to wit *Miserere* and *Domine ne in furore*, and in the first psalme he praied to build the walls of Ierusalem, according to the psalme. Master Powell said, That is meant of Christs church. I know that well (said he) I meane not the church of Rome, I abhorre it, but the church of England and of all the world wheresoeuer it be.

I haue forgotten one thing, I thanke the God that hath put me in mind of it. I forgive all the world and I aske all the world forgiveness: and I profess before God, if I knew any particular man I had offended, I would namelie aske him forgiveness. Then he read the other psalme, wherein adulterie is mentioned, and when he came to that point, he said: I would I were as cleare in euerie thing as in that, saying for thought, and that is as euill. Then he said a collect, and in the end he said, *In manus tuas Domine*, &c. in Latine and English. And then he desired the people to praie for him while he liued, for (quoth he) I loke not to haue any excuse after my death. When he imbraced sir Henrie Aie, and after a few secret words betwene them, Master Powell stood vp and said to the people, He doth desire you all with one voice to saie Lord haue mercie vpon him, and after

to saie no more words, nor to make any shew of stritching for troubling of him in his last visitation. When the duke kneeled downe, and master Powell bowed himselfe towards him with manie imbracings, and toke there leaue each of other. When the executioner desired him kneeling to forgive him: and he toke him by the hand and forgave him, and then requested sight of the are; Master Powell said, The sight will trouble you. He answered, No, let me see it: but he shewed it not, & then he laied his necke vpon the blocke. Then the executioner said, My lord your head lieth not well. I will make it lie well, saith he, & therewith lifting vp his bodie he laied his necke euen vpon the blocke, which done it was cut cleane off at one stroke. This was the end of the duke of Northfolke, a man whose life God had limited, as also the estate wherein he sometimes flourished: both which (as all things else) in a short time vanished. Let all degrees therefore learne, both by precept and example to know God principallie, secondlie their soveraigne Gods annointed, and finally themselves to be subiects: forgetting their owne honour, which passeth men by manie times with the wind of vaine glorie, euen to their owne ouerthrow, whilest they become insolent, and dreame that the transitorie advancements of this world will make them princes, princes pères, naie (monstrous madnesse) gods, whereas all things are mutable and momentarie, and the higher that a man doth climbe, the greater is his fall; as verie aptlie saith the poet in these words:

*Hoc fragili varijs voluntur casibus orbe
Omnia, celsa ruunt turris grauiore ruina.*

The discourse and catalog of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the time of the conquest.

Two sentences, the one an Italian pro-
uerbe, the other an old English byword
haue moued me to make this collection
(at the request of an other) of all the
dukes of England. First the Italian said that
France cannot abide any treasures, England
any dukes, nor Scotland any kings, the truth wher-
of need no confirming examples to be set downe,
sith (as saith the philosopher) things subiect to the sense
need no further proofe. Secondlie the English saying
hath been, that a pag of five shillings shall beare all
the dukes of England & Scotland, being spoken in
no sense of disgrace to that honorable title: but one-
lie to shew that the time should come, wherein there
should be no dukes in England or Scotland. Now
true the same is in England, and likelie againe to
be in Scotland (being once before verified in that
realme, for about five yeeres past, there was no duke
there also when the duke of Lincolne was banished):
uerie man doth well perceiue. For the death of this
Thomas duke of Northfolke, being the last of that
honour hath iustified the same in England. And the
tumults in Scotland may perhaps shortly verifie
the same in that countrie, in which there were neuer
so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and
smallest number: for being but one in that countrie,
and he verie yong (which is the duke of Lincolne) if he
should miscarie, the same would againe also be as
true there as it is now here. For which cause to per-
petuate the memories of such antiquities and titles
of honor, as age hath consumed with the persons
which inioied such prehemences in England, I will
from the first creation of any duke since the con-
quest recite the creation, descent, and succession of
all the dukes of England, shewing first the time of
the creation of such dukes, & secondlie the descent of
all such dukes as are lineallie issued out of that crea-

He kneeled
downe and
submitted
himselfe to
the are.

The collect
of Francis
Botetouille
alias Chin,
in the yeare of
Chr. 1589.

Edward the
blacke prince,
duke of Corn-
wall.

tion, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnamed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornwall the eleaventh of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yong. This yong prince was the first duke in England since the conquest, and Cornwall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chivalrie in his time, died about the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie.

Henrie Plantagenet
tagenet duke
of Lancaster.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Tort Colle (because his head leaned somewhat to one shoulder like the great Macedone king Alexander, whose valure in feats of armes this Henrie did also imitate) being sonne to Henrie of Monmouth earle of Lancaster, was in like sort earle of Lancaster by descent. After which he was created earle of Darbie, as some saie in the eleaventh yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1337, other saie in the fourteenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our saluation 1340. He was created duke of Lancaster as some haue in the six & twentieth yeare of Edward the third, as other haue the seauen & twentieth, and as the third sort haue the eight & twentieth yeare of Edward the third. He was lord steward of England, & lieutenant of Guines. This man was wise, glorious in fortune, and full of honoz in feats of armes, whilst he was yong: he died the five and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, being one of the first knights which were made at the first institution of the honorable order of the garter, and the second duke that was made in England. He had issue two daughters & heires, spawd married to William duke of Bauare, earle of Henalt, Zeland & Holand, which after became mad; & Blanch married to John of Cant, fourth sonne to Edward the third.

John of
Cant duke
of Lancaster.

John Plantagenet, surnamed of Cant in Flanders, where he was borne, the fourth sonne to king Edward the third, was first by his father in the five and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, made duke of Lancaster, so that he was duke of Lancaster, earle of Lincoln, Salisburie, Darbie and Leicester, king of Castile & Lirne, and steward of England. He married three wiues, the first was Blanch the daughter and heire of Henrie duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Lincoln, Salisburie & Darbie, in whose right he obtained all those titles of honoz, whome he married in the thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1359, and by hir had issue Henrie Plantagenet duke of Hereford: Philip married in the tenth yeare of Richard the second (in the yeare of Christ 1386, as some saie; or rather 1385, as others haue) to the king of Portingale; and Elisabeth married to John Holland erle of Huntingdon. His second wife was Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Castile, whom he married in the six & fortieth yeare of Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ 1372, by whome he had issue Margaret married to the king of Castile, which Constance died in the yere of Christ 1394, as saith Ypodigma. His third wife was Katharine the widow of Otho Swinford, and daughter to sir Paten Kuet *alias* Guien king at armes, whom he married in the ninthteenth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yere of Christ 1395, or as some saie 1396, by this woman he had before marriage Thomas Beaufort, John Beaufort, Henrie Beaufort cardinal of Winchester, & Jane married to Kase Penill earle of Westmerland, all which children were in the twentieth of Richard the second, being in the yeare 1396, legitimated by parlement: at which time the said John of Cant gaue them the surname of Beau-

fort. This John of Cant was also earle of Richmond and constable of France in the time of Richard the second, who made him also duke of Aquitaine in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare 1390. This John of Cant died in the two & twentieth yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare 1398, or as saith Ypodigma 1399, & was buried in the quere of saint Pauls church of London, on the north side.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Henrie of Bolinbroke so surnamed of the place of his birth, the eldest son of the said John, was by inheritance duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Salisburie, Darbie, and Lincoln, he was created duke of Hereford by Richard the second, who made him earle of Darbie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1386, and after made him duke of Hereford in the 21 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1397. Which Henrie of Bolinbroke married in the 2 yeare of the reigne of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1386, Marie the second daughter, & one of the heires of Humphrie Bohune earle of Hereford & Essex, and constable of England, which woman died in the yere of Christ 1394, about the eighteenth yeare of Richard the second. This Henrie was after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth.

Henrie Plantagenet
tagenet duke
of Lancaster
and Hereford,
king of Eng-
land.

Lionell Plantagenet surnamed Lionell of Antwerpe in Babant, because he was there borne, being the third son of king Edward the third, was erle of Ulster in Ireland by his wife, and created duke of Clarence in the 36 yeare of Edward the third, in the yere of Christ 1462; but other saie he was made duke in the 33 yere of Edward the third. He had two wiues, the first Elisabeth, some saie Eleanor (but rightlie as I do suppose) the daughter of William Burgh earle of Ulster, by whom he had issue Philip married to Edmund earle of March: the second wife was Felant or Felant daughter to Calcas duke of Millane, to whom he was married, as saith the English chronicle, in the two and fortieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yere of Christ 1368: which yere the Italians count 1367, by whom he had no issue. This Lionell was sometime regent of France, & died 1368.

Lionell Plantagenet
tagenet duke
of Clarence.

Edmund of Langley, first son to Edward the third made earle of Cambridge about the six and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, being the yere of Christ 1361, was made duke of Booke in the eight, or (as some haue) the ninth yeare of the said king Richard the second. He in the six and fortieth yeare of king Edward the third, in the yere that the word became flesh 1372, married Isabel one of the daughters of Peter king of Castile, and sister by the mother to Constance second wife to John of Cant duke of Lancaster, brother to this Edmund, who was about the twentieth yeare of Richard the second protector of England, while the king was in Ireland, which Isabel died in the yere of Christ 1394, being about the eighteenth yeare of Richard the second, & by the kings commandement was buried in the friers of Langley. This Edmund had issue by his wife Isabel Edward earle of Rutland, and duke Albermerle, Richard earle of Cambridge, and one daughter called Constance married to Thomas lord Spencer: he died the second (as some haue) or rather the third (as others haue) of Henrie the 4, in the yere of Christ, as hath Ypodigma 1402, and was buried at Langley.

Edmund
Plantagenet
duke of York.

Edward Plantagenet son and heire of Edmund of Langley duke of Booke, was in the fourteenth of Richard the second created erle of Rutland in his fathers life, in the yere of Christ 1390, and in the twentieth yeare of Richard the second, or rather the 21 of the same king, being the yeare of Christ 1397, he was made duke of Albermerle or Aumerle, and after his fathers death he was duke of Booke: he was slaine at the battell of Agincourt, in the third yeare

Edward
Plantagenet
duke of Albermerle
and York.

yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1415, he married Margarete, or rather more trulie Philip the ladie Fitzwater, and widow to sir John Collafer knight, baron sonne to sir John Collafer of Cercedone or Saresdone knight in Orfordshire. And here because I have mentioned the name of Collafer, although it be digressing from my first purposes, onelie to treat of the dukes of England, I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of these two knights, of the Collafers, sir John the father, and sir John the sonne. This sir John Collafer the father being the sonne of John Collafer esquier (whose ancestors as farre as I can learne had their first originall from Roger Collafer of Cercedone in the time of king John, and was buried in *Domo capitulari de Bruera in com. oxon.*) married Anne the daughter and heire of sir Thomas Langley lord of Langley in Orfordshire (now at this date in the yeare 1585, by grant of queene Elisabeth, in the possession of Robert Sutton or Dudley earle of Leicester) which Anne died shortly after without any issue by him. After whose death this sir John Collafer married Isabell the ladie of Willenden (dwelling at Willenden) and of Queintone in Buckinghamshire, she being daughter to sir Barnard Boccas. But this sir John Collafer having no issue by the said Elisabeth, and desirous by some means or other to continue his name (which yet he could not make perpetuall nor of any long continuance) made choise in the life of his wife Isabell of another woman, whom he used for procreations cause, and by hir had issue two bastards, one called Jenner Pulham after prioresse of Burnham by Windsoze, and an other bastard called after the father John Collafer, who in following time became a knight. Afterward this sir John the father died at Queintone in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and nine, falling partlie in the second and third yeare of Henrie the fourth, and was buried at the Graie friers in Orford, whose wife Isabell was after buried in Willenden priore.

After the death of this sir John the father, sir John Collafer knight his base sonne being lord of Langley, married Phillip ladie Fitzwater, after married to this duke of Yorke (as before is said) which sir John Collafer died at Wallingford, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and six, being the twentieth yeare of Richard the second, and was buried at Westminster, nere unto the towne of Richard the second. Which ladie Philip died in the time of Henrie the first, and was buried at Westminster, nere unto hir husband, whose state she towe is yet extant, on the south side almost directly oueragainst the towne of Richard the second. Thus this much for the name of Collafer; and so againe to the dukes of England.

Thomas Plantagenet, otherwile called Thomas of Woodstocke, first sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and seauen, the daie of his coronation before dinner. This man was high confiable of England, and created duke of Glocester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second, of whom is more especiall mention made in the treatise of the constables of England, pag. 867.

Thomas Holland, brother by the mothers side to king Richard the second, and sonne to the lord Thomas Holland (earle of Kent, in the right of Jane, daughter and heire to Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Woodstocke earle of Kent) was advanced to the title of duke of Surrie in the two and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand, three hundred, ninetie

and seauen, he married Alice the daughter of Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell. He had issue six daughters & heires; Margarete married to John Beaumont earle of Somerset, and marquesse Dorset; Alice married to Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury; Elisabeth, married to John lord Penill sonne to Rafe Penill the first earle of Westmerland, and after his death to Edward Chareleton lord Botwis; Joane married to Edmund of Langley duke of Yorke; and Blodget a nun at Barking. This man with others, at a parlement held the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and nine, was deprived of his name of duke, & of all honours, together with the dignities belonging to a duke, & was after in the same yeare (rebellling against king Henrie the fourth) taken by the men of Gloucester, and beheaded in the same towne, after that he had caused the towne to be set on fire.

John Holland full brother to Thomas Holland, and halfe brother to Richard the second, was created earle of Huntingdon in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and made duke of Gloucester at a parlement holden in the one & twentieth yeare of the same king, though some attribute that to the twentieth yeare of king Richard. This man at a parlement held in the first of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1399, was disgraced from his title of duke, and was after taken at Wyntwell in Essex in a mill, and beheaded at Plasse in the said shire, in the said first yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, he married Elisabeth the daughter of John of Cant duke of Lancaster, and had issue John Holland earle of Huntingdon.

John Holland earle of Huntingdon was (as it seemeth) made by Henrie the fourth (after the death of the duke of Gloucester his father) admitted to be duke of Gloucester, he married Anne the daughter of Edmund earle of Stafford, he had issue Henrie Holland duke of Gloucester, and Anne married to sir John Penill knight, brother of Rafe the third of that name erle of Westmerland, he died the six and twentieth of king Henrie the first on the six of August, being the yeare of Christ 1448, and was buried at St. Bartholomew nigh the tower of London. After which his first wife he married Anne the daughter of John Montacute earle of Salisbury, by whom he had no issue.

Henrie Holland sonne of John Holland was (after the death of his father) duke of Gloucester, he was therited in the first of Edward the fourth at a parlement held then in the yeare 1461, he married Anne daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to king Edward the fourth, which Anne at hir owne sute on the twelfe of Nouember in the eleventh yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, was divorced from the said duke of Gloucester. Shortly after which, in the yeare of Christ 1473, being in the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, this duke was found dead in the sea betwene Dover & Calis, but how he came there none could certenlie declare. He died without issue, leaving his sister Anne his heire, married (as before) to John Penill brother to Rafe earle of Westmerland.

Robert Here earle of Orford and marquesse of Dublin was in the yeare of Christ 1386, in the tenth of Richard the second created duke of Ireland, he died without issue at Louaine in great penurie and variation of mind, as hath Ypodigma, in the yeare of Christ 1392, being about the sixteenth of king Richard the second, he married the daughter of Ingelram de Coufie earle of Bedford, and after divorced from hir he married Lancerrona one of meane parentage.

John Holland duke of Gloucester.

John Holland duke of Gloucester.

Henrie Holland duke of Gloucester.

Robert Here duke of Ireland.

Margaret
Sagraue
duchess of
Norfolk.

Margaret ladie Sagraue the daughter and heire of Thomas Brotherton earle of Norfolk and marshall of England, was created duchesse of Norfolk in the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second, he had two husbands, wherof the first was John lord Sagraue, by whom she had issue Elisabeth married to John Potowzeie the third of that name. His second husband was sir Walter Hannic knight of the order, by whome she had a daughter married to John lord Hastings erle of Penbrooke. This duchesse Margaret died in the yeare of Christ 1399, being about the thre and twentieth of Richard the second, and was buried in the frier priors of London.

Thomas lord
Potowzeie
duke of Norfolk.

Thomas lord Potowzeie second sonne of Elisabeth Sagraue and John lord Potowzeie his husband was advanced to the dukedome of Norfolk, in the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of Richard the second. Shortly after which he was apeled by Henrie earle of Bullingbrooke of treason, and caried to the castell of Windsoze, where he was stronglie and safelie garded, hauing a time of combat granted to determine the cause betwene the two dukes the firste date of September, in the two and twentieth of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norfolk was banished for euer: wherupon taking his iourneie to Jerusalem, he died at Venice in his returne to the said cite of Jerusalem in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, about the yeare of our redemption 1399. He married Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Richard erle of Arundell Warren and Surreie, by whome he had issue John duke of Norfolk, and thre daughters, Elisabeth married to Michaell de la Pole the younger earle of Suffolke, Margaret married vnto sir Robert Howard knight, and Isabell married to sir James Barkleie.

John Potowzeie
duke of Norfolk.

John Potowzeie earle of Nottingham marshall of England and duke of Norfolk, baron Sagraue and Holmer, was buried in the Charterhouse within the ile of Erholme, he married Katharine the daughter of Rafe the first earle of Westmerland, by whom he had issue John duke of Norfolk.

John Potowzeie
duke of Norfolk.

John lord Potowzeie the first baron of the name of Potowzeie, sonne to John duke of Norfolk, was after his father duke of Norfolk. This John was buried in Letford priorie, who marieng Clenoz the daughter of William lord Burghier earle of Ewe, had issue John duke of Norfolk.

John Potowzeie
duke of Norfolk.

John the last duke of Norfolk of the surname of Potowzeie, the sonne of John the last before mentioned, was in his fathers life time created earle of Warren and Surreie by king Henrie the first, and after the death of his father was duke of Norfolk. This John the last duke died in his castell of Freymingham, in the yeare 1461, being the second yeare of king Edward the fourth. He married Elisabeth daughter to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, by whome he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, married to Richard duke of York second son to Edward the fourth.

Th. Plantagenet
duke of Clarence.

Thomas Plantagenet second sonne to Henrie the fourth, was created duke of Clarence in the eleuenth yeare of his father, being about the yeare of our redemption 1409, and was afterward in the 13 of the same king created earle of Aumerle, and high steward of England: he was slaine the two and twentieth of March, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of the victorious king Henrie the fifth, in the yeare of our redemption 1420, beginning the yeare of our Lord on the five and twentieth date of March. He married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Holland earle of Kent, and died without issue legitimat, hauing a base sonne called John the bassard of Clarence.

rence.

John Plantagenet third son to Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Bedford, at the parlement of Leicester, in the yeare of Christ 1414, in the second of king Henrie the first. Of this man is more large mention made in my discourse of the protectors of England.

Humphrey Plantagenet fourth sonne of Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Gloucester, who for the nobilitie of his mind and vertuous life, was made protector of England. Of whom is more spoken in my former discourse of the protectors of England.

John Beaufort (which name of Beaufort was given by John of Cant to his children which he had by Katharine Swineford, when they were made legitimate by parlement, about the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second as is before touched) was created marquisse Dorset by Henrie the fourth, and after advanced to the honour of duke of Somerset, in the first yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1412. He married Margaret the daughter of sir John Beauchampe lord of Powicke, he had issue Margaret married to Edmund Haddam earle of Richmond father to king Henrie the seventh: after the death of which Edmund he was married to Thomas lord Stonleie, afterward by Henrie the seventh created earle of Darbie, and after vnto Henrie sonne to Humphrey duke of Buckingham. This duke of Somerset died the two and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, and was buried at Winborne, in the yeare of Christ 1444. And his daughter the ladie Margaret died at Westminster on the nine and twentieth of June, in the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ a thousand five hundred and nine, about thre score and five yeares after the death of his father.

Thomas Beaufort sonne to John of Cant duke of Lancaster and Katharine Swineford was created duke of Excester, in the first yeare of R. Henrie the first, of whome is mention made in my protectors.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of John Beaufort duke of Somerset, was created earle of Dorset in the seventh yeare of R. Henrie the first. He was created marquisse Dorset and duke of Somerset by king Henrie the first, he was made regent of Normandie, and lost the whole countrie to the French: for which after his coming out of Normandie in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, he was on the first of December the same yeare, being the yeare of our Lord 1450, apprehended and put under arrest, and his goods by the commons folie despoiled and caried awate from the Blache freres. He was slaine at the battell of S. Albons in Paie, the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our Lord 1455, and was with Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Clifford buried at S. Albons. He married two times, the first was Clenoz the daughter of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick, who was to Thomas lord Roffe, by whom he had issue Henrie duke of Somerset, Edmund duke of Somerset, John marquisse Dorset, Margaret married to Humphrey duke of Buckingham, Elisabeth married to sir Henrie Lewes knight, Clenoz married to James Butler earle of Wiltshire, and after to sir Robert Spenser, Anne married to sir William Pastone knight, and Jone married to the lord Moth of Ireland. His second wife was Jone, who was after married to Henrie Boncfield knight, of the which Edmund duke of Somerset, and the other lords buried at saint Albons, thus writeth the worthy poet John Gower

Humphrey
Plantagenet
duke of Gloucester.

John Beaufort
duke of Somerset.

Thomas Beaufort
duke of Excester.

Edmund Beaufort
duke of Somerset.

Gower with these same verses hereafter following:

*Quos mors quos Martis fors saeva sua q. sororis
Bella prostrant, villa mediocque necant,
Mors sic occisos tumulauit hic simul ipsos,
Postq. necem requie causant habere perennem
Et medium sine quo vult hic requiescere nemo,
Hic hic pugna mors est qui terminat arma,
Mors fors & Mauros qui strauerunt dominos hos.*

Henric Beaufort eldest sonne to Edmund duke of Summerfet was after the death of his father erle of Northampton, marquisse Dorset, and duke of Summerfet, he was captaine of Calis: who with other nobles in the nine and thirtieth of Henric the first slue the duke of Yorke at the battell of Wakefield, in the peate of our redemption 1460; according to the accompt of England. Shortly after which, H. Henric the first, whom this duke supported all that he could, was deposed, & Edward the fourth crowned. Touching which deposing of the one, & crowning of the other, although it be impertinent to the treatise of the dukes of England, having here so good place therefor, I will set downe such verses as I haue found in I. Whethamsted, adding further such other verses also as I find in him, concerning a battell fiercely fought at Ferribig in Dorsetshire, in this sort:

*X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,
Postquam successit lex iuris, iurē rexit,
Anglorum regnum vis non ius rexerat ipsum
Iam noua progenies, quia caelo venit ab alto
Saturni soboles, quae nomine dicitur alto
Edwardus quartus, Richardo sanguine iunctus
Creditor a multis, redeunt Saturnia nostris
Temporibus secla, his visq. nephas simul vna
Deperiunt, iura lex & pax sunt reditura.
Fraus etiamque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus
Raptus auaritia, subeunt verumque fidesque:
Hac spes plebis erat, cleri chorus hacq. putabat.
Det censueratur regnum Deus ut statuatur,
Et plebs tranquille viuat clerus atq. quiete.*

Then of the time of that former recited warre, in which the northerne men were ouercome, there were these verses made, vpon the excesse and euill which they outragiously committed in the south parts of England, without regard of God, obedience to their naturall pynce, reuerence to the church, lone to their native countrie, or benefite to themselves:

*M. semel X. seno centum quater I. simul vno
In Martis mense terdena denique luce,
In patria Boreae Ferricrig prope ingera villa,
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis & satis atrox.
Vicerat Arcthos in bello Martius heros,
Iunior Edvardus Hector nonus alter Achilles
Prostravit multos Austro tunc cesserat Arcthos,
Et doluit casum supra X. bis millia, quorum
Quamplures domini plures & erant generosi
Illius patria flos ut fors tunc cecidere.
Et merito, quonia spoliarunt nequiter Austrum.
Laus igitur Domino, sit honor sit gloria Christo
Cessat nunc status grandis Boreaeq. boatus,
Ing. Austrum redijt, Acolus ventum variavit,
Est Boreas mordens, & valde ventus adurens,
Est Ausser iustus, vult morsu rodere morsus,
Est male mordentes bene vires tollere eidem,
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suavis frater & eius,
Hinc Boreasq. Aquilo pro nunc clauduntur in antro.*

Furthermore, touching the title of the same king Edward the fourth to the gouernement of the kingdome of England, and of his right and truth thereunto were these following verses composed, to declare the depodition of king Henric the first, as be-

foresaid in the coronation of Edward the fourth, and how the same kingdome of England, with all the members thereof, did belong to Edward the fourth, as unto the rightfull lineall heire to the same with his pedegree, prouing the same also in this sort:

*In sibi coniunctis^a Edwards semine natis
Ortus erat primus^b Leonellus^c Iohnque secundo,
Cedat lex regni vult iunior ut seniori.
Attamen^d Henricus heres genitisque Iohannis
Per vim sceptrigerum regimen tuleratque coronam,
Et tenuit multus sed non sine viribus annis.
Illi successit rex^e qui si non caruisset
Iustitia titulo, non Hector dignior ipso:
Non index Eacus, non ore politus^f Phylis.
Ipso defuncto successit^g filius in quo
Stirps ea cessauit. Heres rectus remeant
Scilicet^h Edvardus Leonelli proximus heres,
Hic petijt regimenⁱ rex obstat datque negamen.
Resagitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli,
Et palmam tulerat^j Henricus rex fugiebat
Bello finito, multo quoque sanguine fuso
Quoniam victor secum palmam ferreque triumphum,
Pendicet hoc iterum, plebs applaudebat eidem
Clamabatque sibi^k Vinat felicius omni
Rege vel Augusto, melior regat Octauiano.
Hac vox cunctorum, clamor fuit ac populorum.
Rex igitur factus, rex in solioque leuatus
Quod fractum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,
Iurē quo potuit, vim praestit, ius renouauit.
Sic verus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,
De male quaesitu vix gaudet tertius heres.
Stare diu nequit mala quaquam vis stabilis
Im, ne sitque mori, valeat licet ense feriri,
Ex bene patris bene crevit bonos quoque virtus.
O rota versatilis nimis obq. rotabilis axis!
Sorte nouercente fatog, modum variante,
Corruit^l Henricus ipso sub nomine sextus,
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat
Defectusq. bonus, heu pro moderamine sensus
Proq. bono campi cor defuit Hercules illi,
Matri non patri fuit ortus filius excors,
Matrem non coluit nimis^m a patre degenerauit
Quo melior miles non Teucer erat vel Atreides,
Sine timor Phryges Aiax robustus in armis.
Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis,
Attamen in factis nimisⁿ vir simplicitatis.
Hinc postquam triginta nouem rex praefuit annis,
Ceca manu fortuna rotam quasi fortis in armis
Voluerat, & regimen capiebat regis, eundem
Compulsi ac subit sic dicere, sum sine regno.
Oh fors prosperior, oh gratia sortisq. maior!
Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,
Sed mittendus erat, iam dante Deo veniebat
Hic Martii soboles, & nomine^o Martius heros.
Marte triumphante, ius sceptri usq. corone,
Et decuit sumpsi, ut debuit ac sibi iunxit,
Tunc bona spes fuerat, fors prospera quod reueniret,
Lataque pro voto colere plebs secla sub ipso
Det Deus, ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat.*

Thus after this long digression from the matter of the duke of Summerfet, because I would set downe all the verses of Whethamsted, I must yet also ad other verses found in his register, mentioning some part of the doings of the northerne men before spoken of: which verses although they should haue gone before, yet I thinke better here than not at all to write them in this sort. Shortly after the foresaid battell of Wakefield wherein the duke of Yorke was slaine, and before the depodition of king Henric the first, he had a battell at S. Albons, called the second battell of S. Albons with the northerne men (following the queene & this duke of Summerfets faction) & now were come as far as S. Albons, on shrouetide the seuententh daie of February in the

^a King Edward & third.
^b Lionell duke of Clarence third sonne to Edward the third.
^c John of Gaunt fourth sonne to Edward the 3.
^d Henric the fourth.
^e Henric the first.
^f Henric the first.
^g Edward the fourth.
^h Henric the first.
ⁱ Henric the first.
^j Edward the fourth.
^k Edward the fourth.

^l King Henric the first: his disposition described.

^m Henric the first.

ⁿ Henric the first.

^o Edward erle of March, after king Edward the fourth.

said yeare of Christ 1460, where the king was put to flight, and fled to the queene. Touching which battell also, thus writeth that learned abbat of saint Albons John Whethamsted in his ancient register :

*M. simul X. sena centum quater I. simul vno,
Quum lux septena fuerat mensis quodq; dena,
Nominis illius venerantur quod morientes,
Inter * Solares pugnantes & Boreales,
Magnis cohortes cecidit, duo millia plebs numeravit,
Sors apud Albani villam protomartyris almi,
Et pugnae campum, casis dedit & tumultum,
Quod dolet ac doluit annis multisq; dolebit,
Villicus ac monachus prope eos habitator & omnis,
Principio pugnae potiores Marte fuere
Australes, tandem vicit Borealesque triumphum
Abstulerat secum, stat sors mox versa retrorsum,
Martis ut euentum fore scires sic dubiosum.
Et veniunt cynepbes, culices, brisique locustae,
Et vastant segetes: alia misca quoque multa,
Sic aduenerunt similes illis Boreales,
Auspi totius. His index sit Radamantus,
Et Minos Creta, coniunctus eis Eacusque,
Atque modum poena pensent seu demeruerit,
Vix infernalis pro poena sufficit ipsi,
Aut focus aut furia licent essent agmine mille,
Gens est Cerberae, gens Sphingia, gens Briarea,
Latratu, raptu, spolij praedaeque voratus,
Lauis haec, laus Boreae, laus est haec laus sine laude.*

Thus to returne to the duke of Summerfet, we saie that afterward in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, the said duke of Summerfet fled to Pothe to king Henrie the first, and the queene, who altogether fled from thence to Berwikke, and so to Cedenburgh. Whereupon by parlement in the first yeare of Edward the fourth 1461, this duke was attainted, and his goods and lands seized for the king. But after that time king Edward the fourth besieging the castles of Wamburgh, Dunstunburgh, and Alnewike, this duke of Summerfet and others yielded those forts to the king on Christmas euen, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1463. For which cause this duke was taken againe into the kings favour, who gaue him a thousand marks by yeare, whereof he was neuer paid. Notwithstanding all which, in the yeare following, being the fourth yeare of Edward the fourth, in Haste, in the yeare of Christ 1464, this duke with others raised an armie against the king, in which battell he was taken (with Robert erle of Hangerford) by John Penill earle of Northumberland, and beheaded. He died without lawfull issue, leaving behind him a base sonne called Charles Summerfet, by king Henrie the eight created earle of Worcester.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of the foresaid Edmund, and brother and heire to this last Henrie duke of Summerfet, was also duke of Summerfet. This man in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, fleeing into the church of Teukesburie at the battell of Teukesburie (which queene Margaret the wife of Henrie the first and his sonne prince Edward had against king Edward the fourth) lost then the field. After which this duke was taken out of the church, and was there beheaded in the said eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, and died without issue.

Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, was created duke of Pothe by king Henrie the first: he was also earle of Cambridge, Willes and March, lord of Wiltmore and Clare, lieutenant of the realme of France and duchie of Normandie. Of this man see more in the protectors of England.

George Plantagenet the second sonne to Richard

duke of Pothe, was made duke of Clarence by his elder brother king Edward the fourth when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ 1461, being the first yeare of his reigne. Of this George I haue somwhat intreated in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 869, and in my discourse of the protectors of England.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne of Richard duke of Pothe, and brother to George duke of Clarence, was made duke of Gloucester by king Edward the fourth, in the first yeare of his reigne, being the yeare in which God tooke on him the forme of a seruant 1461, of whom I haue discoursed in my constables of England, pag. 869, and in my collection of the protectors of England.

Henrie Beauchampe, the sonne of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick by Isabell ladie Spenser his second wife, succeeded his father in all his inheritances the twentieth of Maie, in the seuenteenth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1439. For then the said Richard Beauchampe died at Rone in Normandie. This Henrie after that his inheritance had bene kept two years in the kings hands, was dismisst of his wardship, and restored to his livings with great glorie. For he was crowned king of the Ile of Wight (as saith John Stow) by the kings owne hand, and nominated chiefe earle of England, in the twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ 1442. Shortly after, in the two and twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption 1444, he was created duke of Warwick, unto whom the king gaue the castell of Wightstow or Wistow, with all the appurtenances which king John kept in his hands, to which duke also the king gaue the Isles of Carnseie and Jersey. About two yeares after which, on the four and twentieth of the same king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1446, died this duke of Warwick, whose stile was duke of Warwick chiefe earle of England, lord Spenser and Aburgauennie, king of the Ile of Wight, Carnseie and Jersey, and lord of the castell of Wistow. He died without issue, and was buried at Teukesburie, whereby his inheritance came to his four sisters, which were (by Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Warkeleie, wife and Teles, first wife unto his father) Margaret his eldest sister, married to John Talbot first earle of Shrewsburie of that name: Cecile the second sister, first married to Thomas lord Hesse, and after to Edmund duke of Summerfet, and Elisabeth the third sister, married to George Penill lord Latimer: whose other fourth sister (by Isabell the second wife unto Richard earle Beauchampe, daughter to Thomas lord Spenser, and mother also to the aboue named Henrie duke of Warwick, who died without issue) was Anne, married to Richard Penill earle of Salisbury.

Humfreie Stafford earle Stafford, created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1444, was slaine at the battell of Northampton. Of this man see more in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 868.

Henrie sonne to the said Humfreie duke of Buckingham was beheaded in the first yeare of Richard the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1483. Of this man is more set downe in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 869.

Edward Stafford, sonne to the said Henrie, was duke of Buckingham, being beheaded in the thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which was the yeare of our redemption 1521, of whom also I haue intreated in the said discourse of the constables

The 17 of February 1461 after the account of such as begin the yeare at Januarie. Southerne men,

Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerfet.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Pothe.

George Plantagenet

Richard Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloucester.

Henrie Beauchampe duke of Warwick.

Humfreie Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Henrie Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Stables of England, pag. 870.

William de la
Pole duke of
Suffolke.

William de la Pole earle of Suffolke created
marques of Suffolke in the two & twentieth of king
Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption
1444, was shortly after also created duke of Sul-
folke, & in the eight & twentieth of the said king Hen-
rie the first, falling in the yeare 1450, was banished
the realme for five yeares, to pacifie the hard opinion
which the commons had conceived against him. He
toke ship to perforce his banishment the third of
Maie, and sailed towards France, but was on the
sea encountered by a ship of the tower named the
Nicholas, by which he was taken and beheaded, and
his bodie cast by at Dover sands, and buried in the
charterhouse at Hull. He married Alice the daughter
and heire of Thomas Chancer, son to that famous
poet Geoffrey Chancer, by which wife the maner of
Cwelme, commonlie called Welme in Oxford-
shire came to the Poles. This duke & his wife did
there build a new parish church of Cwelme standing
on a hill, and founded a pretie hospitall called Gods
house, at the west end of Cwelme parish church, to
which house he gave the manours of Hamrige in
Hampshire, Conocke in Wiltshire, and Persh
in Buckinghamshire. He also founded an hospitall
at Donnington castell. This Alice wife of duke
William, surviving his husband, was after buried
in the parish church of Cwelme, on the southside of
the high altar, in a rich tombe of alabaster, with an
image in the habit of a dutchesse crowned, lieng on
the same tombe, and having this epitaph: *Orate pro ani-
ma serenissima principissa Alisia Sulfolchia huius ecclesie
patrona, qua obijt 20 die mensis Maij, anno Domini 1475,
littera dominicali A.*

John de la
Pole duke
of Suffolke.

John de la Pole son to the said William de la
Pole duke of Suffolke, was also duke of Suffolke
after the death of his father. This man on the eigh-
teenth of Aprill in the fiftenth yeare of king Edward
the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1415,
was knighted by the king. He married Elisabeth
daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to Ed-
ward the fourth, by whom he had issue Edmund erle
of Suffolke; John that by Edward the fourth was
created earle of Lincoln, and Anne, who by pro-
curement of king Richard the third was married to
the duke of Roxforde, eldest son to the king of Scots.

Richard
Plantagenet
duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet second sonne to king Ed-
ward the fourth, was by his father created duke of
Yorke, in the 15 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare
of our Lord 1474, at a parlement in the said fift-
teenth yeare of Edward the fourth. This duke on
the fiftenth of Januarie in the seauententh yeare of
king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our re-
demption 1477, was married to ladie Anne daugh-
ter and heire to John Mortimere duke of Suffolke,
and was in the first yeare of the reigne of the tyrant
king Richard the third his uncle most vnnaturalle
murdered in the tower, in the yeare of Christ 1483.

George Plant-
agenet duke
of Bedfords.

George Plantagenet third sonne to king Ed-
ward the fourth was created duke of Bedford by his
father, in the yeare of our redemption 1470, and died
without issue being but young.

John How-
ard duke of
Buckingham.

John Howard lord Howard (the son of sir Ro-
bert Howard knight, and of Margaret his wife, one
of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord How-
ards duke of Suffolke, earle of Nottingham, and
marshall of England) was created duke of Buck-
ingham, and marshall of England, in the first yeare
of the usurping king Richard the third, being the yeare
of our redemption 1483. This man following the
part of the said king Richard, was at the battell of
Bosworth in Leicestershire (fought in the third yeare
of the said king Richard, in the yeare of Christ 1485)
slaine with the said king Richard. He had two wiues,

Katharine the daughter of William lord Spolins,
by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Surreie, af-
ter made duke of Suffolke by king Henrie the
eight; Anne married to sir Edmund George knight;
Isabell married to sir Roger Mortimer of Essex;
Jane married to sir John Temperle; and Marg-
aret married to sir John Windham: his second wife
was Margaret the daughter of sir John Chedworth
knight, by whome he had Katharine married to sir
John Bourchier lord Buns.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie sonne of the
said John was created duke of Suffolke, in the first
yeare of king Henrie the eight, being about the
yeare of Christ 1514. Of him is more mention in
my discourse of the lord treasurers of England.

Thomas Howard created earle of Surreie in
the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, being high
admirall and lord treasurer of England, was duke
of Suffolke, after the death of his father, which fell
in the firstenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being
the yeare of our redemption 1524. Of this man is
also more intreated in my discourse of the lord trea-
surers.

Thomas Howard the third duke of the name of
Thomas, and the fourth of the name of Howard,
was son to Henrie Howard earle of Surreie sonne
to the last before recited Thomas Howard duke of
Suffolke. This man, being the last duke that lived
in England, & occasioned me to make this discourse
of the dukes, was beheaded on tower hill the sea-
uententh of September, in the thirtenth yeare of
the now reigning prince Elisabeth, being the yeare
of Christ 1571, and buried in the chapel of the to-
wer. He married three wiues; his first wife was Ma-
rie one of the daughters and heires of Henrie Fitz-
allen earle of Arundell, by whom he had issue Philip
earle of Arundell; his second wife was Margaret
daughter & onlie heire to Thomas Audley knight,
chancellor of England, and lord Audley of Saffron
Walden, the widow of the lord Henrie Audley
youngest son to John Sutton of Dudley duke of Nor-
thumberland, by which second wife this duke had is-
sue Thomas, William, Elisabeth, & Margaret; his
third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir James
Lesborne knight, and widow of the lord Daerres of
Gisland, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie the second son of king Henrie the seuenth
was by his father created duke of Yorke at West-
minster, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, be-
ing the yeare of our redemption 1495, or thereabouts.
This man was after king of England by the name
of king Henrie the eight.

Jasper of Hatfield the sonne of Owen Teuther
esquier, by Katharine daughter to the French king,
and widow to king Henrie the first, was by king
Henrie the first his brother on the mothers side cre-
ated earle of Penbroke, in the yeare of Christ 1452;
after which in the fift and thirtieth yeare of the said
king he was made earle of Cambridge: and lastlie,
in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the
seauenth he was created duke of Bedford on Sol-
mon and Iudas, in the yeare of our redemption
1485, but died without issue the eightenth daie of
December, in the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king
Henrie the seauenth, in the yeare of Christ 1496, and
was buried at Rensham.

Charles Brandon the son of sir William Bran-
don knight, slaine on the part of king Henrie the se-
uenth at Bosworth field, was created vicount Aisle,
and after on Candlemasse daie in the yeare of Christ
1413, being the first yeare of king Henrie the eight
he was created duke of Suffolke. He married three
wiues; the first was Anne daughter of sir Anthonie
Bpowne knight; the second Marie, secons daughter
of

Thomas Ho-
ward duke of
Suffolke.

Thomas Ho-
ward duke of
Suffolke.

Thomas Ho-
ward duke of
Suffolke.

Henrie Teu-
ther duke of
Yorke.

Jasper of
Hatfield duke
of Bedford.

Charles
Brandon
duke of
Suffolke.

of king Henrie the seauenth, & wido to the king of France, by whom he had issue Henrie earle of Anrouaine, and Francis married to Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke; his third wife was Katharine the daughter & onlie heire of William lord Willoughbie of Ersele, by whome he had issue Henrie and Charles both dukes of Suffolke one after another, who both died within one houre of the sweate at Cambridge. This Charles the father died in the yere of Christ 1545, and was buried at Windsor: & of the two dukes the sons thus writeth Iohn Parkhurst sometime placed in the bishops see of Poxtowich:

*Fratres Amyclei Pollux cum Castore
Potuere sic cum morte depacifier,
Et cum alter illorum esset mortuus, tamen
Alter superesset, & reuersus sortibus
Vicissim uterque utriusque morte viueret.
Cur Parca nunc crudelior est, quam olim fuit?
Fratres duos nuper ea, quales haec tenus
Nec vidit unquam, nec videbit Anglia
Lumina duo, duoque propugnacula
Fortissima virtutis, reique publica,
Crudelis ab uno peremisse funere.
Virtus nequaquam illam, nec egregia indoles
Mouit, nec Edwardi regis, nec optima
Matris, neque totius gemitus Britanniae.
O dura duramors! o saeva numina!*

Henrie Fitz
Roie duke of
Richmont.

Henrie Fitz Roie the base son to king Henrie the eight, begotten vpon Elisabeth Blunt the ladie Talboise, was by his father first created earle of Summerset and Poxtampton, and after duke of Richmont. This duke was verte forward in the knowledge of toongs, and also in knightlie activitie, as may appere by due consideration of the historie in place where he is mentioned. He loued Iohn Leland the reuerend antiquarie, who presented vnto the said duke a booke of copies, whereby he might learne to write Romane letters great & small, as appere by this herastichon, which I find among the said Iohn Lelands written epigrams in this maner set downe:

*Quo Romana modomansculalittera pingi,
Pingi quo possit littera parua modo,
Elic liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis
Princeps, Aonyspes & alumne gregis:
Qui tibi si placeat (quod certe spero futurum)
Maxima pro paruo munere dona dabis.]*

Ad illu. Crissi-
mum Henricum
ducem Rich-
monianum.

He died without issue the two and twentieth of Iulie, in the eight and twentieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of our redemption 1536, and was buried at Hertford in Poxtfolke, hauing married Marie the daughter of Thomas Howard duke of Poxtfolke.

Edward
Seimor duke of
Summer-
merfet.

Edward Seimor knight (the son of sir Iohn Seimor knight) was created vicount Beauchampe in Gaie, the eight and twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of our redemption 1536, & was after in the nine & twentieth yere of the same king on the eighteenth daie of October, in the yere of Christ 1537 created earle of Hertford. When king Henrie being dead, he in the first yere of king Edward the first, which was the yere of our redemption 1546, was made protecto of England, and immediatlie thereupon created duke of Summerset, being vncle by the mothers side vnto the said king Edward the first. This man had manie honozs and offices, as maie appere by his stile, which he prefixed before a missiue persualoie sent to the Scots for the marriage of their yong quene Marie to our yong king Edward the first in this sort: Edward by the grace of God duke of Summerlet, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe lord Seimor, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, lieutenant generall of his maiesties ar-

mies both by sea and land, tresuror and earle marshal of England, gouernor of the isles of Gernesie and Ierseie, and knight of the most honorable order of the garter, &c. This stile he had, which I haue bene the more willing to set downe, because I do not remember that anie subiect did with like thew publish anie such stile before his time. Which honozs he did not long inioie: for were it for malice of some of the nobilitie, disdainning such honoz; or for cause in him offending the laws, or for his ouer carelesse goddissposition, that suspected no such euill from his enemies: he was the second time on the first of October in the first yere of king Edward the first, being the yere of Christ 1551 committed prisoner to the tower, and the two and twentieth daie of Januarie following he was beheaded at tower hill, and buried in the tower chappell. He had two wiues, wherof the first was Katharine the daughter of sir William Filloff of Woodland knight, by whome he had a son called Edward: his second wife was Anne the daughter of sir Edward Stanhope, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Hertford, Henrie now liuing, and Edward, with Anne married the third of June, in the fourth yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in the yere one thousand five hundred and fiftie to Iohn lord Dubleie, eldest sonne to Iohn earle of Marwike and duke of Poxtumberland) Jane, Marie, Katharine, and Elisabeth.

Henrie Greie marquisse Dorset, lord ferrers of Grobie, Harrington, Boneuille and Alseie, was at Hampton court created duke of Suffolke, on the eleuenth of October, in the first yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one: who in the first yere of quene Marie, being the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, supposing that the quene would marrie a stranger, did die into Leicester and Marwike thres with a small companie, making proclamation against the quenes marriage with the prince of Spaine: but the people inclined not vnto him. Whereupon a companie being sent out after him, vnder the leading of the earle of Huntington, the first daie of Februarie proclamation was made at London, that the duke was discomfited and fled with his two brethren. After which the tenth of Februarie, the duke with his brother sir Iohn Greie was brought from Couentrie (where he remained thre daies after his taking, in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman of that towne) by the earle of Huntington, & attended with thre hundred men to the tower. Where remaining a certeine space, he was on the thre and twentieth of Februarie beheaded at tower hill; and buried in the chappell of the tower (as I haue heard.) He married Francis one of the daughters to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, by whom he had issue Jane, married to Gilford the sonne of Iohn duke of Poxtumberland, and died without issue; Katharine and Marie.

John Sutton of Dubleie created by king Henrie the eight vicount Lisle, being admerall, lord great chamberleine, lord great maister and earle of Marwike, was after on the eleuenth daie of October, the first yere of king Edward the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, created duke of Poxtumberland. He, after the death of king Edward, took armes, and proclaimed quene Jane, daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke; meaning to exlude quene Marie. But shortly after perceiuing quene Marie to be proclaimed at London, this duke did also proclame hir at Cambridge. Notwithstanding all which he was arrested in the kings college there by one maister Sleg sergeant at armes, and after anew arrested by the

Henrie Greie
duke of Suff-
folke.

John Sutton
son of Dobleie
duke of Poxtum-
berland.

earle of Arundell, Henrie Fitzallen (sent thither for that cause) who brought him to London, where this duke was the sixe and twentieth of Julie, in the said first yeare of queene Marie committed to the tolwer. Shortly after which, he was the eighteenth of August following arraigned at Westminster, there condemned, and beheaded on tolwer hill the two and twentieth of the same moneth: whose bodie with the head was buried in the tolwer, he being the last duke that was created in England. He married Jane the daughter of sir Edward Gilsford knight, the sister and heire to sir Henrie Gilsford knight, of whose children I will not speake, because they are yet fresh in memorie. And thus farre Francis Thin, touching the creation and the succession in lineall descents of all the dukes of England since the conquest.

Henrich
Arundell
was
sent
thither
for
that
cause
the
first
yeare
of
queene
Marie.

About the ninth of June, Francis duke of Montmorencie, chiefe marshall of France, gouvernour and lieutenant of the Ile of France, generall to Charles the ninth king of France, and Paule de Foix of the privie counsell of the said king, and Bertrand de Saligners, lord de la Motheville, knights of the order of S. Michell, ambassadors for the same king, arrived at Dover. The fourteenth daie they shot London bridge toward Summer set house at the Strand, where they were lodged. The sixteenth daie being Sunday, the said ambassadors repaired to the White hall, where they were honourable received of the queenes maiestie, with hir nobilitie: and there in hir graces chappell, about one of the clocke in the after none, the articles of treatie, league or confederacie and sure friendship (concluded at Blois the nineteenth of Aprill as is afore shewed) betwixt the queenes maiestie, and the French king being read, the same was by hir maiestie and his ambassadors confirmed to be observed and kept, without innovation or violation, &c. The rest of that daie, with great part of the night following, was spent in great triumph, with sumptuous bankets.

Henrich
Arundell
was
sent
thither
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of
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Marie.

Henrich
Arundell
was
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thither
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that
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the
first
yeare
of
queene
Marie.

The eighteenth of June, the feast of saint George was holden at Windsor, where the French ambassadors were roiallie feasted, & Francis duke of Montmorencie was knelled knight of the most honourable order of the garter. The eight and twentieth daie of June, the forenamed ambassadors departed from London toward France. The fourteenth of June, Thomas lord Wharton deceased in his house of Channon row at Westminster. The thirtieth daie of Julie, the queenes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cecil lord of Burghleie, lord high treasurer of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord privie seale: the earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine: sir Thomas Smith principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier capteine of the gard.

Henrich
Arundell
was
sent
thither
for
that
cause
the
first
yeare
of
queene
Marie.

A treatise of the treasurors of England
set downe out of ancient histories and records,
as they succeeded in order of time and
in the reigne of the kings.

Henrich
Arundell
was
sent
thither
for
that
cause
the
first
yeare
of
queene
Marie.

His adorning of sir William Cecil knight, lord Burghleie with the honour of lord treasurer of England, hath rowed my envious pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but what they do themselves, whereby gaine maie rise unto their posteritie) in this liberall sort to set downe the names and times of such treasurors as have lived in England, as hereafter I will do the chancellors, and that with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge any cunning to themselves, who suppose cuerie bla of their mouth to come forth of Trophonius den, and that they speake from the tri-

uet. As I will not arrogate any thing to my selfe, for in truth I saie with Socrates, *Hoc tantum scio quod nihil scio*, or derogate from them that which their worthinesse maie merit: so shall I be glad (with nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented or amended to and in it) that this maie shew those envious persons to deliver any thing to the world, that maie in controlling my labours benefit their countrie, which if they will not do, let them cease their euill speeches: for *Qui pergit dicere qua libet, quae non vult audire*. And truelie for mine owne part, I will *Canere palmidiam*, and yield them an honourable victorie, if any better shall be produced: and be heartlie glad, that truth (which is all that I seeke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue done; if thorough ignorance we haue committed any escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we elp any of our owne error; or if any other either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension shall open the same unto me: I will not for defence of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling upon authoritties, histories and records, willfullie persist in those faults: but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the liues of the lord treasurors (almost perfected) corrected them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I seeke for, which being had (either by good intention of my wellwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my envious emulators) I greatly esteeme not. And so to the matter.

Saint Dunstane (for I vse that name more for Saint Dunstane, antiquities than deuotionnelle cause) was treasurer to Edward or Edoed king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred fortye and six: of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in his booke of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of Edo Seuerus the two and twentieth bishop of that see: *Edmundo (the king of England) defuncto, Eadredus corona regia ab Edo ne redimitus, et rem publicam administrans, Dunstanum (de in eius vita plenius patebit) tam singulari amore prosequutus est, ut omnes regni thesauros illius custodire commendaret.*

Hugoline was treasurer and chamberleine to Edward the confessor, he gaue Deane and Southwiche to Westminster, which Edward the confessor did afterwards confirme to that house.

Edo halfe brother to William the conqueror erle of Kent bishop of Bathe and chiefe iustice of England, was treasurer in the time of the conqueror, who had at his death (as saith Anonymus M.S.) fiftie thousand pounds, *Excepto auro, et gemmis, et vasis, et palys.*

Geffreie lord Clinton treasurer and chamberleine to Henrie the first, he about the thirteenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and twelue, did found the priorie of Benelwoth, and was after accused of treason in the one and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the first: but (as it seemed) restored (in short time after) to the kings fauour.

Ranulph bishop of Durham, was treasurer to the king, whome Florentius Wigorniensis calleth *Præceptum regis placitorem et regni exactorem*, whose last word *Exactor* some men doe English treasurer. Of this man is more said in the chancellors of England.

Ranulph
bishop
of
Durham.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie treasurer & chancellor of England, as appeareth by Leland, writing in this sort: Roger bishop of Sarum treasurer & chancellor to Henrie the first, made the castell of Wiles such a collie and so strong a fort, as was neuer before nor since

Roger
bishop
of
Sarisburie.

since set by by anie bishop of England. The keepe or
dungeon of it set vpon a hill cast by hand, is a peere
of worke of incredible cost. There appeare in the gate
of it six or seauen places for portcullices, and much
goodlie building was in it. It is now in ruine, and
part of the front of the towers of the gate of the
keepe, and the chappell in it, were carried full vnprofi-
table to the building of master Beintons house at
Bromham, scant three miles off. There remaine
diuerse goodlie towers, yet in the vtter wall of the
castell: but all going to ruine. The principall gate
that leadeth into the towne is yet of great strength,
and hath places of seauen or eight portcullices. Thus
much Leland in his commentaries of England,
which I haue here set downe, partlie to proue Roger
bishop of Salisburie to be treasurer, and partlie to
commit to the world all such collections and notes as
I can get of his. Besides which, to proue the same
Roger treasurer at the latter end of the reigne of
Henrie the first, together with William de Pont-
learch at the entering of king Stephan into Eng-
land, thus writeth one Anonymall choricle M. S.
*Stephanus cum intravit Angliam, Rogerus Seresberienfem &
Williamus de Pontlearchus custodes thesaurorum ad se tradu-
xit: which William de Pontlearch was a witnesse
with William Stigill to a certeine charter which
Rannulph bishop of Durham made to the monkes of
Durham, commonlie called S. Cuthberts monks,
wherein he confirmed to them Blakeshene, Standzop
and Sandzophire, with the wood of Bentworth on the
east part of Warneburne, as farre as it goeth to the
sea. This Roger bishop of Salisburie died in the
yeare of our redemption one thousand, one hundred,
thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king
Stephan, of whome mention is made in the chan-
cellors of England.*

William de
Pontlearch.

Rigellus bis-
hop of Elie.

Rigellus the second, bishop of Elie, nephew to
Roger bishop of Sarum, and treasurer to Henrie
the first, was advanced vnto that bishopricke of
Elie, in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand,
one hundred, thirtie and three, the fift calends of
June, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne
of Henrie the first, at whose going downe to be in-
stalled in the said bishopricke, he was receiued, with
such soie, that all the whole street of Elie thorough
which he should passe, was hanged with curtains and
carpets, with seats set on each side, and the monks, ca-
nons, and clerks, meeting him with procession with
diuers other priests standing round about them. Af-
ter his installation he returned to the dispatch of the
affaires of the kingdome, committing the charge of
his bishopricke to one Rafe sometime a monke of
Glasterburie, and now become an apostata. Great
contention was betwene this man and king Ste-
phan. He bought the treasurerchip for the summe of
four hundred marks of Henrie the second for his
sonne Richard *Filius Rigelli*, or Fitz Pele, otherwise
called Richard of Elie. He gouerned the bishopricke
six and thirtie yeares, as most saie, and builded saint
Johns college in Cambridge.

But touching the time of his death, and the yeares
of his bishopricke, I cannot as yet set downe anie
thing perfecte; but onelic this contradiction found
in the written booke of Elie, which I suppose to haue
risen by the negligence of the transcriber: which is,
that he gouerned the sa of Elie six and thirtie yeares,
and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one
hundred fiftie and six, the third calends of June, the
first houre of the first ferie or trinitie. Which by no ac-
count can fall to be true, accounting from the time
of the first obtaining of the bishopricke in the thre and
thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our
Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and thre. For
if you adde the six and thirtie yeares of his gouerne-

ment to the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hun-
dred thirtie and thre, then must he die in the yeare of
grace one thousand one hundred fiftie and nine. And
if you will haue him to die in the yeare one thousand
one hundred fiftie and six, then can he gouerne but
thre and thirtie yeares: which thre and thirtie added
to the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thir-
tie and thre, in which he began his gouernement, as
all authoys agree, make the value of one thousand
one hundred fiftie and six yeares of our Lord. So that
considering the discordance of the time of his death
found in the written booke of his life, we cannot (I
saie) as yet set downe anie certainte of his death.
Though I suppose that to be the truest which I find in
Triuet, who affirmeth that he died in the yeare of
Christ one thousand one hundred fiftie and nine, and
the fiftieth of king Henrie the second, after that he
had gouerned six and thirtie yeares. He was hono-
rable buried in the church of saint Etheld of Elie
before the altar dedicated to the holie crosse.

Richard de Elie or Fitzneale, sonne of the said Richard
Rigellus bishop of Elie, was made treasurer to
Henrie the second, by the purchase of his father
Rigellus, when the king went to the wars of Tolous.
Of whom the historie of Elie writeth, that after the
buriall of Rigellus his father, this Richard being al-
so an entrie to the church of Elie, as his father had
bene before, made hast to passe ouer the seas to king
Henrie the second, fearing that some euill would be
prepared against him, if the church should haue sent
anie other thither before him. At whose coming to
the king, he accused the monks of manie things, and
did therewith so edge the king against them, that
the king sending into England, charged by Wun-
nerus one of his chaplens, that the prior of Elie
should be deposed, & the monks with all their goods
to be proscribed and banished. This man being trea-
surer to king Henrie the second, the treasure of the
said Henrie the second at his death came vnto one
hundred thousand marks; notwithstanding the ex-
cessiue charges of the king manie waies. Which Ri-
chard being bishop of London, by the name of Ri-
chard the third, and the kings treasurer, was chosen
to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thou-
sand one hundred eightie and nine, being the first
yeare of king Richard the first, and was consecrated
bishop at Lambeth, by Baldouine archbishop of
Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1190: he died
the fourth ides of September, in the yeare of grace
1198, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first.

William of Elie being of kin to the last Richard
bishop of London, was treasurer to king Richard
the first, and to king John. To which William then
treasurer, Richard his kinsman the bishop of Lon-
don An. Dom. 1196 being the seuenth yeare of the
reigne of Richard the first, and the same number of
yeares of the gouernment of the said Richard in the
bishopricke of London, did giue all his houses in
Westminster, which the said William did long after
giue to the abbat and monks of Westminster, as by
the charter therof appeers by me in this sort abridged:

*Vniuersis Christi fidelibus, ad quos presens scriptum pene-
nerit, Gualterus de Elie quondam regum Anglia thesaurarius
salutem. Nouerit vniuersis vestram dedisse, &c: Deo
& monachis Westminister, &c: pro animabus Richardi &
Iohannis regum Anglia, & pro anima Richardi London
episcopi, &c: domos meas, & curiam cum pertinentiis in
villa Westminister, &c: quas habui ex dono Richardi episcopi
London, & que sunt de feodo Westminister, &c: testis Eustachius
Fauconbridge domini regis thesaurarius, &c: He died
in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred
twentie two, being the first yeare of the long reigne
of king Henrie the third, as noteth Matthew Pa-
ris and Westminster, who write that then obijt Gual-*

William of
Elie.

mus Elicensis Anglie thesaurarius.

A deane of Pauls was treasurer to the king, as appereth by Mat. Parker, in the life of Hubert archb. shop of Canturburie, writing after this maner: *Exordium tempore* (which was a time betwene the creating of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ 1194, being the first yeare of Richard the first, and the death of the said Richard the first, which fell in the yeare of Christ 1199) *ecclesia Pauline decanus avarij regij custos fuit, sine (ut vocant) thesaurarius*: and so goeth on with a discourse of his miserable death.

Walter Grete bishop of Worcester, whom some call treasurer, in the eleventh of king John, whereunto I do not yet agree, leaving it to the iudgement of others, and to the finall receiving or rejecting of him, in the large booke of the whole lues of the lord treasurers of England.

Geffrey archdeacon of Norwich, treasurer to king John, who forsooke his master the king excommunicat by the pope: as writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in these following words: *Inter quos* (meaning the bishops, which durst not openly publish the excommunication of the king, but secretly cast libels about the high waies, which gave notice therof) *quoniam ad ipsum regium Gaufridus Norwicheus archidiaconus negotij regis intendens sedisset, caput assidentibus exponere excommunicationis sententiam, in regem iam latam, affirmavit que non esse tutum capellanis & ecclesiasticis dignitatibus beneficiis que affectis servire regi amplius. Ideoque aulam deserens, ad ecclesiastica beneficia (qua regis servicio acquisierat) secessit. Rex hunc tam proditorie a se deficientem per Wilhel. Talbot militem probendi & ad se reduci fecit, eumque in publica custodia servatum (donec sue pene sue conscientie radio peritus vitasset, & expiravit) detinuit: whose maner of death is in this sort set downe by Mat. Paris pag. 305, that he was committed to prison, *ubi post dies paucos, rege prefato* (which was king John) *inbente, caput indutus plumbeo, tam victualium penuria quam ipsius capae ponderositate oppressus migravit ad dominum*. Much about which time (as I suppose) which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and nine, being about the eleventh yeare of R. John, the cheker was by the king removed from London to Northampton (in hatred of the Londoners) untill Christmas.*

John Rishall *Custos officij thesaurarij*, as is proued out of the records of the cheker, had that office in the third yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeare 1219.

Eustachius de Fauconbridge, a iustice to receive fines, chancelor of the cheker & treasurer to Henrie the third, was by the bishop of Rochester consecrated bishop of London, in the pere of our redemption one thousand two hundred twentie & one, being the first yeare of king Henrie the third. Which Eustachius in the yeare 1222, with the deane & chapter of London, had great sutes against William abbat of Westminster: he was treasurer in the third yeare of king Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and nineteene: he died the daie before the kalends of November in the yeare of Christ 1228, being the thirtieth of king Henrie the third, and is buried on the south side of the queere of Pauls (besides Henrie Wingham) vnder a faire monument of marble, ouer whom on the wall is this inscription: *Hic iacet Eustachius de Fauconbridge quondam episcopus huius ecclesie, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesie sancti Pauli*.

Ioannes de Fontibus, or John de Fontnes was bishop of Elic and treasurer in the ninth and eleventh yeare of king Henrie the third, and before, as I take it. This man being abbat of Fontnes, and (as authors saie) *Vir simplex & iustus, ac recedens a malo*, was at Westminster made bishop of Elic, in the yeare of Christ 1220: he died after that he had bin bishop sine

peres & od moneths, in the yeare of Christ 1225, being the ninth yeare of Henrie the third, & was buried in the church of Elic, toward the altar of S. Andriu.

Walter Spalcerke or Skillese clerke, treasurer of England, was made bishop of Carleill, in the yeare of our Lord 1223, being about the seuerth yeare of Henrie the third, who in the yeare of Christ 1222, being the seuententh of the said king, was by the counsell of Peter de Laroche bishop of Winchester not onlie removed from his office of treasurer, but also put to the fine of 100 marks which he paid, with the losse of certeine holds, giuen him by charter, during his life. After which he would haue fled beyond the seas, but entering the ship at Douer, he & all his were staied and euillie intreated by the kings seruants. This man, in the yeare of Christ 1246, being the thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third, did on the daie of Peter and Paule at Wrenford enter into the habit of the frier preachers. After which, in the yeare of Christ 1248, being about the two & thirtieth of Henrie the third, he surrendered his soule to God.

Kanulph Briton by some is made treasurer of England, but vntreke as I suppose: for in truth he was but treasurer of the chamber, for anie thing I can learne, and removed from that place in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Grace 1232, in whose place came Peter de Riual. Of this Kanulph is mention had in the chancelors. Besides which, about this time I read, that Hubert of Worrolo was treasurer: for thus writeth Iohannes Londoniensis. *Rex* (about the yeare of our Lord 1232) *fecit ipsum* (which was Hubert of Worrolo) *sum iusticiarum principalem totius Anglie, & postea thesaurarium*.

Peter de Riual, in Latine called *Petrus de Riualis*, Peter de was treasurer of the chamber, and treasurer of the king, chamberleine of England and Ireland, gardian of all the forrests of Edgland, of all the cheats, of all the ports of the sea, and of all the pises of England and Ireland; being so dore to the king (as hath Matthew Westminster) that *Expulsis castrorum custodibus per totam fere Angliam, rex omnia sub ipsius Petri custodia commendarat*. This man was made treasurer after Walter Spalcerke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and thre, being about the seuententh yeare of king Henrie the third, and in the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the third, who (as I gather) was together with Peter bishop of Winchester, Stephan de Segraue, & Robert Passelew, called to accounts, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie & foure, for the kings treasure and scale euillie imploied & kept. Whereby, on Peter de Riualis hid himselfe in the cathedrall church of Winchester. Which Peter bishop of Winchester & Peter de Riualis the king removed by the persuation of Edmund of Abindon bishop of Canturburie, as they before had removed Walter Spalcerke. After which it seemeth that growing into fauor againe, this *Petrus de Riualis* was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & seuen, being the one & fortieth yeare of king Henrie the third, made treasurer of the chamber. For thus writeth Matthew Paris: *Circa festum sancti Michaelis* (which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & seuen) *mortuo Hurtaldo domini regis conciliario & clerico speciali ac thesaurario de camera regis, subrogatur Petrus de Riualis*. Under this Peter de Riualis did Robert Passelew keepe the kings treasure. Touching which Robert Passelew, whom some will haue onelie treasurer of the chamber, some to be treasurer of England, & some to be vnder treasurer vnder Peter de Riualis, I will set downe out of seuerall authors what I haue read therof, leauing to the reader to thinke thereof what he list at this time, with I determine

Walter Spalcerke bishop of Carleill.

Kanulph Briton.

Peter de Riual.

Robert Passelew whether treasurer of England or no,

termine fullie hereafter (not having now leasure therefore) to define the same in my large volume of the lynes of the lord treasuroz. Thus therefore touching him wryteth Matthew Parker. *Quo etiam tempore* (which was in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, being about the eighteenth yere of the reigne of Henrie the third) *Robertus de Passelaw, qui in thesauris regis custodiendis & augendis totus versatus est, coque nomine regi charus, ab ecclesia cathedralis Cicestrensis canonicis, qui regi placere studuerant, Cicestrensis episcopus electus est. Quod Bonifacius Cantuariensis archiepiscopus indigne tulit, & episcopis provincia sue concatus, in difficilissimis quibusdam & nodosis questionibus per Lincolniensem episcopum compositis serio examinavit, deinde electione rescissa hunc Robertum repulit, & Richardum quendam de Wintonia loco suo (inconsulto regi) substituit.* Pert wryteth Matthew Westminster, that in the yere of Christ 1233, being the seventeenth of Henrie the third, the nobilitie accused manie of the kings counsellors, amongst whome they placed Robertum Passelaw thesaurarium. As gaine a little after he saith: *Et sic abscondit se iterum Robertus Passelaw, qui post Walterum Carleulensem officium thesaurarii administraverat.* Of whose death Matthew Paris wryteth thus: *Eodem quoque anno* (which was 1252, being the five and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third) octavo idus Iunii, obiit apud Waltham Robertus Passelaw archidiaconus Lewis, &c: whome I will here leaue, although not in that place in which he should come, if I had once resolved with my selfe that he had bene treasuroz of England. But because I had to speake of him with Peter de Kiuallis, I thought here in one place to set downe what I had read of them both; and so to ioine them after their death, which were so fast ioined in offices during their liues.

Hugh Pateshull.

Hugh Pateshull, treasuroz of the erchebier, which was treasuroz of the grenewar, or of the scale, was also treasuroz to the king in the eighteenth and nineteenth yere of his reigne, and after made iustice of all England: as Matthew Paris hath set downe in these words, *Rex autem fecit consilio seniori* (in the yere of Christ 1234, being the 18 yere of Henrie the third) *Hugonem de Pateshull clericum filium videlicet Simonis de Pateshull, qui quandoque habebat moderatur totius regni iusticiarii, virum fidelem & honestum, loco predictorum* (which were Stephan Segraue chiefe iustice of England and Peter de Kiuallis treasuroz) *subrogavit.* Administraverat enim idem Hugo officium scaccarii antea laudabiliter, secundum quod appellatur secretum sigillum custodiendo, & definitam pecuniam a vicecomitibus recipiendo: quare plenior fides est ei adhibita, paterna fidelitate testimonio fidei perhibente. He was confirmed bishop of Conventrie, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred and fortie, being the 24 yere of Henrie the third, who (having bin the kings treasuroz before) did now wryth gre at solemnitie take his leaue of the barons of the erchebier with teares, and they all rose up and kissed him. Of whose election (in the yere of our Lord one thousand two hundred thirtie and nine) to that bishoplike, thus further wryteth the said Marth. touching the monks of Conventrie. *Eligerunt secundum predictum formam dominum Hugonem de Pateshull, &c: canonicum sancti Pauli London: & domini regis cancellarium, in episcopum & eisdem animarum suarum.* Concerning whome I collected this note out of the register of Westminster, that Philip Coleville knight, the sonne of William Coleville, the sonne of Agnes Foliot, gaue to Richard abbat of Westminster all his part of the inheritance which was Robert Foliot's brother to the said Agnes, in Langden, Dorton, and Chalneie; witnesses Rafe bishop of Chichester chancellor, and Hugh Pateshull treasuroz in the nineteenth yere of the reigne of Henrie the third, which Pateshull Matthew Westminster, in the yere of Grace 1234, calleth summum thesaurarium.

Galfridus Templarius, whome some will haue treasuroz, but by what reason I cannot conceine as yet, and therefore will not obstinate lie: he is not dead, he receiue him into this place of the treasuroz: of this man is moze spoken amongst the chancellors.

William Hauerhull, a canon of Pauls church in London, was made treasuroz to king Henrie the third, the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred and fortie, being the foure and twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Henrie, in which place he continued in the eight and twentieth yere of the said Henrie the third, being the yere of our redemption 1244. He died at London in the yere one thousand two hundred fiftie two, being the six and thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the third, as saith the addition to Matthew Paris fol. 1128, after which the said author fol. 1226, laied his death, in the yere of Christ 1256, being the 39 yere of king Henrie the third, such error is crept into histories by the negligence of the transcriber: but I suppose the first note of his death to be the truer, because the same is confirmed by Marth. West. speaking in the said yere 1252 of the death of this man, for whose epitaph these following verses were made:

Hic iacet Hauerhulle iaces prototthesaurarie regis,

Hinc Hauerhulle gemis non paritura talem:

Fercula culta dabas, empyrea vina pluebas,

A modis Christus cibis & esca tibi.

* Paris.

* Paris.

I haue also read a note of one William Hauerhull (which might be this man) which saith that William Hauerhull the sonne of Wistmarus de Hauerhull, gaue houses in Cheapside to the abbeie of Westminster, and that one Thomas de Hauerhull was the sonne and heire of William Hauerhull.

Richard de Barking abbat of Westminster, as witnesseth the liues of the abbats, was one especiall counsellor to Henrie the third, chiefe baron of the erchebier, and treasuroz of England, who I suppose did follow William Hauerhull. For his death, which happened on the thre and twentieth daie of November, in the thirtieth yere of king Henrie the third, in the yere of Christ 1246, after that he had bene abbat foure and twentie yeres, must needs ppoint him to be treasuroz before Philip Louell: yea and peradventure (as is most likelie) before Hugh Pateshull. Yet Matthew Paris, speaking of the death of Hauerhull, will needs haue Philip Louell to succede William Hauerhull, as after shall appere. This Richard de Barking was buried in Westminster church, before the middle of the altar in our ladie chapel in a tombe of marble, which after in the time of William Colchester abbat of that place, was pulled downe by frier Combe, a sacrificer of that house of Westminster, who laied a faire plaine marble stone ouer him, with this present epitaph thus inscribed:

Richardus Barking prior & post inclitus abbas,

Henrici regis prudens fuit iste minister:

Huius erat prima laus, infula rebus opime,

Altera laus eque Thorp, census, Octham, decimeque,

Tertia Mortone castrum simili ratione,

Et regis quarta de multis commoda charta,

Clementis festo mundo migravit ab isto,

M. Domini C. lxx. xl. sextoque sub anno,

Cui detur venia parte pia virgo Maria.

Philip Louell or Louell, was in this order advanced to the office of treasuroz, as appereth by these words of Matthew Paris upon the death of William Hauerhull. *Et cum crederetur quod dominus rex Johannem Franciscum officio Wilhelmi* (which was Hauerhull) *subrogaret, fabricatus rumoribus quod idem Johannes in partibus remotis Angliae Borealiibus* (viz contra quendam religiosis plantauerat) *obisset, constituit dominus rex Philippum Louell clericum, virum prudentem, facundum & generosum, in loco memorati Wilhelmi suum thesaurarium,*

* Paris.

Januarii, quod factum est apud sanctu Albanu, procurante ut dicitur Iohanne Mansell amico Philippi specialis. This man was tresuroz in the 35 and 36 until the 42 yeare of Henrie the third, & was in the same yeare deposed by the barons, he died at Hamestie, in the yeare of Christ 1259, whose executors were Philip Louell & Robert de Werceton. But his gods after his death the king commanded to be confiscat. And here before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse to note that some haue mistaken themselves in the accompt of the kings tresuroz much about this time, making these persons Walter Buzdell & Peter Catchpoze or Chacepoze to be the kings tresuroz, which by no accompt of yeares can be true, for they were the quenes and not the kings tresuroz, as may appere both by Mat. Paris and Mat. Westmin. whereof the first writeth thus: *obijt Walterus de Buzdell eiusdem regina thesaurarius*, which he placeth in the yere of Christ 1255, being the thirtie ninth yeare of king Henrie the third. Of the second person Chacepoze thus writeth Mat. West. in the yeare of Christ 1254: *Ponens autem rex ad mare nec ventum habes propter, apud Boloniam moratus est inuitus, ubi obijt Petrus Chacepoze natione Piccardensis, regina thesaurarius & regis clericus & conciliaris specialis.* And thus this much by the waie of the two tresuroz of the quens, supposed by some (but not rightlie) to haue bene the kings.

John Crakehall archdeacon of Bedford was tresuroz in 42, 43, 44 yeare of Henrie the third, to whom the king in the fourth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1260, gaue a prebendarie, therin being tithes, he was from thence remoued by a former collation therof made to one John le Gras. The said Crakehall after died the same yere at London.

John abbat of Peterborough was by the barons in the 44 yeare of Henrie the third made tresuroz, as the other officers of the king also were, Nicholas of Cle was then made chancellor, & Hugh de Spenser chiefe iustice, which office of tresurozship this John continued, in the 46 yeare of Henrie the first, 1262.

Nicholas de Cle so called because he was archdeacon of Cle, was tresuroz to the king in the seuen and fourtith of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1263, whereof I haue seene this note of record. *Memorandum quod in crastino Pasche, Anno 47 H. 3. In presentia Rogeri le Bigot comite Norfolk & marichalli Anglie, Hugo le Bigot, Arnoldi de Berkeley baron, de sacario magistri, Iohannis de Chisfull cancellarij, regis, &c. Recepit magister Nicholus archidiaconus Eliensis thesaurarius subscripta in thesauraria dom. regis, &c.* This man as before appeareth had bin chancellor, of whom is mention made in my following tretise of the chancellors.

Thomas Wilmundham. This man being chiefe chanter of Litchfield, was by the barons in the yeare of Christ 1258, in the one and fourtith yeare of king Henrie the third, made tresuroz (at the exchequer) of the seale or place where the writs be sealed with greene wax, after which he was tresuroz to the king in the 50, 51, & 52 yeares of king Henrie the third.

John Chisfull sometime chancellor was tresuroz in the four & fiftith yeare of Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred thre score and nine. He was deane of Paules, chiefe bishop of London in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie and thre, and consecrat to that place in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, in which place he continued about five yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption 1279, being in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of the victorious prince king Edward the first of that name. See more of this Chisfull in my following discourse of the chancellors.

Philip de Cle was tresuroz (as appeareth by the records of the exchequer) in the 56 yeare of king Hen-

rie the third, and in the first yeare of king Edward the first, partlie falling in the yeare of our redemption 1272, and 1273.

Joseph de Chancie, whom one anonymall author calleth John de Chancie, but not rightlie as I suppose, was tresuroz in the second yeare of the scourger of the Scots king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1274.

William Gifford bishop of Bath and Wells was tresuroz to Edward the first, he was remoued to Poike in the yeare of Christ 1265, this man is by manie chronicles, and that perhaps most trulie called Walter Gifford. He died in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1279 as hath Nicholas Trivet. Of this man see more in the chancellors of England.

Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and Wells chancelloz of England, and tresuroz to king Edward the first, is by the Welsh historie pag. 328, called chiefe iustice of England. Leland reporteth that an abbat told him how that a bishop Burnell built the castell of Acon Burnell. Of this man shall be more spoken hereafter in the chancellors of England.

Joseph de Chancie the second time tresuroz to king Edward the first, in the first yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1278, was also prior of St. Johns Jerusalem in Anglia, as I take it; and by an other name called the lord of St. Johns of the knights of the Rhodes in England.

Thomas Becke archdeacon of Worcester, was tresuroz in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1278 as some haue, but 1279 as other haue (by the witnesse of Leland, out of a monke of Glaffenburie) in his booke De assertione Arthuri, reciting the words of the said monke in this sort.

Anno Domini 1267: Eadueardus rex Henrici tertij filius, venit cum regina sua Glasconiam. Die vero Martis proxima sequenti, fuit rex & tota curia accepta sumptibus monasterij. Quo die in crepusculo, fecit aperiri sepulchrum incliti Arthuri, ubi in duabus cistis imaginibus & armis eoru depictis, ossa disti regis mira grositudinis separata inuenit. Imago quidem regina coronata, imaginu regie corona fuit probata, cum absissione sinistra auricule; & vestigijs plage unde moriebatur: inuenta est scriptura super his singulis manifesta. In crastino, videlicet die Mercurij rex ossa regis, regina ossa regina, pallijs pretiosis reuoluta, in suis cistis recludentes, & sigilla sua apponentes, praeceperunt idem sepulchrum ante maius altare celeriter collocari, retentis externis capitibus propter populi deuotionem; apposita huiusmodi scriptura: Hec sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arthuri, quae anno dominice incarnationis 1278, decimo tertio calendis Maij, per dominum Eadueardum regem Angliae illustrum hic fuerunt sic collocata, praesentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem regis consorte, & filia domini Ferandi regis Hispaniae, magistro William de Middleton nunc Normicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke archidiacono Dorstensis, & praedicti regis thesaurario, domino Henrico de Lase, comite Lincolniae, domino Amides comite Subaudiae, & multis magnatibus Angliae. Thus farre the monke of Glaffenburie.

Richard Warren or de Ware abbat of Westminster, was made abbat about the yeare of Christ 1260, being about the foure and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, who was made tresuroz, as hath Iohn de Eueriden, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred & foure score, being the eight yeare of king Edward the first: which yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred and foure score, some do fallie make to fall in the tenth, some in the eleuenth yeare of the said Edward the first, which contrarie tis hath onelie risen by the default of the transcriber. But most certeine it is that he was tresuroz in the ninth, eleuenth, and part of the twelke of the said king Edward the first. This man going to Rome for

Joseph de Chancie,

William bishop of Bath,

Robert Burnell,

Joseph de Chancie,

Thomas Becke,

Richard de Ware,

his consecration, brought from thence certaine
workemen and rich purpurie stones, whereof and by
whom he made that rare pavement (containing a dis-
course of the whole world) which is at this date most
beautifull, and to be seene at Westminster before the
communion table: a thing of that singulartie, curi-
ousnesse, and rarenesse, that England hath not the
like againe, in which pavement are circularie writ-
ten in letters of brasse these ten verses following:

*si lector posita prudenter cuncta reuoluat,
Hic finem primi mobilis intueniet.
Sepes trima canes, & equos, homines superaddas,
Cervos, & coruos, aquilas, immania cete,
Mundum quodq; sequens preceuntis triplicat annos,
Sphericus archetypus, globum hic monstrat microscopum.
Christi millennio, bis centeno, duodeno,
Cum sexageno, subductis quatuor anno,
Tertius Henricus, rex, urbs, Odoricus & abbas
Hos compere purpureos lapides.*

Anno Domini
1268 Henricus
tertius urbs Ro-
ma Odoricus ce-
mentator & ab-
bas Richardus de
Ware fecerunt
id pavementum.

The full explanation of which verses shall be at
large set downe in the whole discourse of this ab-
bats life, in my large booke of the liues of the lord
treasurers. Which abbat with those workemen and
those stones did also frame the shryne of Edward the
confessor, with these verses, carued out of stone and
also gilded set about the same shryne or monument:

*Anno millennio Domini, cum septuageno,
Et bis centeno, cum completo quassideno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus dixit in actum,
Romanus cuius. Homo, catsum noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus sancti presentis amicus.*

This abbat died the second daie of December, in
the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred
four score and thre, being the twelue yeare of king
Edward the first; after that he had gouerned the
monasterie thre and twentie yeares and more, and
was buried there at Westminster, in the foresaid
plaine pavement of purpurie on the north side nere
vnto the toome (as is yet well to be seene) of Domes-
or Rimer de Valence earle of Penbrooke, on which
grauie is ingrauen this brasse epitaph here insuing:

*Abbas Richardus de Ware qui requiescit
Hic portat lapides quos hic portauit ab urbe.*

Walter Wen-
locke.

Walter Wenlocke abbat of Westminster, whom
Matthew Westmister calleth William de Wen-
loke, was made abbat of Westminster after the
death of Richard de Ware, & was treasurer to king
Edward the first, as hath the register of the liues of
the abbats of Westminster, and other records that I
haue seene. Which office it seemeth that he had, meane
betwene the twelue and the fourteenth yeare of the
said king Edward the first, as I suppose. This man
after that he had bene abbat fir and twentieth yeares
lacking six daies, died the five and twentieth of De-
cember on the Christmas daie at night, in his ma-
nour of Pireford in Gloucestershire, in the first yeare
of Edward the sonne of Edward (which was Ed-
ward the second) being the yeare of our redemption
one thousand three hundred and seven, and was bu-
ried in the church of Westminster, besides the high
altar then standing without the south doore of saint
Edwards shryne before the presbiterie there, vnder a
plaine pavement and a marble stone decentlie ado-
ned with this epitaph to his high commendation:

*Abbas Walterus sacerdos sub marmore reclusus,
Non fuit austerus sed miris, fimine reclusus.*

Bishop of
Conuentic.

A bishop of Conuentic (and Lichfield) was trea-
surer of England in the fourteenth yeare of king Ed-
ward the first, being the yeare of our redemption
1286, in whose place in the same yeare came John
Kirkebie.

John Kirkebie deane of Wirburne and archdea-
con of Conuentic, & treasurer to king Edward the
first, was on the seventh calends of August in the

yeare of our Lord 1286, being the fourteenth yeare
of the said Edward (then at Paris) made bishop of
Elie, whom Leland (the recorder of all names deoth
in his coment vpon his song of the Swan in the word
Winchellaga thus termeth; Johannes Chercheus episcopus
Angularimus regi a thesauris. This man was treasurer
in the sixteenth, seventeenth, & part of the eighteenth of
Edward the first, in which yeare (as it seemeth) being
part of the yeare of Christ 1290 this bishop died, the
seuenth calends of Aprill, after that he had bene bi-
shop thre yeares some moneths and some daies, and
was buried by Malcpole bishop of Norwich in the
church of Elie, on the north part of the quere before
the altar of saint John Baptist.

William de Marchia or Guilelmus Martius was
treasurer in Gaister terme, in the eighteenth yeare of
the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he
continued about five yeares, & was removed from
that place on the 23 yeare of the said king Edward
the first, and Peter of Leicester baron of the exche-
ker, with the two chamberlains executed all functi-
ons of that office vntill a new treasurer was made.
This William de Marchia was made bishop of Bath
and Welles, in the yeare of Christ 1293, being the
22 yeare of king Edward the third, in which he
remained almost ten yeares, and died in the yeare of
our Lord 1302, being about the 32 yeare of the said
king Edward the first, and was buried in the church
of Welles in the wall, betwene the doore of the clo-
ster and the altar of saint Martine, at whose toome
in time past (as the nature of that credulous age did
hastilie beleue) were manye miracles done; as some
haue left in memorie to the following posteritie.

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield and Co-
uentrie was made treasurer after William de
Marchia, in the 23 yeare of king Edward the first, in
which office he continued (as I gather) during the life
of king Edward the first, which fell in the 35 yeare of
his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1307,
and was then removed and imprisoned in the tower
with two men onelie by Edward the second then
comming to the crowne, because the said Walter
Langhstone had caused king Edward the first to
imprison, and as some haue to banish this new king
Edward the second for breaking downe the parkes
of the said bishop Walter Langhstone. During the
time that this Peter de Willebie was under treasu-
ry or lieutenant of the treasurer, for the words be
Locum tenens thesaurarij, in the thirtieth, one and thirtieth,
two and thirtieth of Edward the first, this Walter
was made bishop of Conuentic and Lichfield, in the
yeare of our redemption 1295, being the thre and
twentieth yeare of king Edward the first, and the
same yeare that he was made treasurer. He died a-
bout the yeare of our redemption 1321, being about
the fourteenth yeare of king Edward the second, to
which bishop the lord Cobham now liuing his heire,
as being descended from Margaret the sister and
heire of John Beuerell the cosine and heire to this
Walter Langhstone, which Margaret was married
to sir William de la Pole of Albie knight, to whom
the lord Cobham is issued. And here sith I haue be-
fore made mention of the death of Edward the first,
although it be somewhat impertinent to the treasu-
ry; yet for that I do not remember that the same
verses are set down in any of our late English chro-
nicles, & for that I would haue a perpetuall memorie
of them, I will here deliuer such epittaphicall verses
as I haue found touching king Edward the first:

*Dum viguit (rex) & valuit tua magna prestatu,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honestu,
Scotos Edwardus, dum vixit, suppeditauit,
Tenuit, affixit, deprestit, dilaniavit.*

Walter Keinolds scholemaster to Edw. 2. bishop

William de
Marchia.

Walter Langh-
stone bishop of
Lichfield.

Walter Keinolds
of

of Worcester, and after of Canturburie, and chan-
celor of England, was advanced to the place of the
lord tresuroz of England, in the 1. Edw. 2. being the
yeare of Christ 1307, after which in the yeare of our
Lord 1308, he was made bishop of Worcester, he
continued in the office of tresuroz untill some part
of the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, at
what time came in his place John Sandall, who
was lieutenant unto the said Walter in place of the
tresuroz, as appeareth by manie writs directed unto
him by the name of John Sandall *Locum tenenti W.
episcopi Wigornie*. Whom is moze spoken in the chan-
celloz of England. But here I cannot passe over
somebooth skilfull in antiquitie, & persons of no small
name by reason of their office, whereof the one in
print, and the other in a booke of the nobilitie of Eng-
land since the conquest unprinted, doe make Hugh
Spencer the elder tresuroz of England, which as
yet I cannot find to be true, for that I doubt that
king Edw. 2. louing him so entierlie would euer af-
ter remouue him, & for that the full succession of trea-
suroz before set downe, being true and taken out of
ancient and most certeine records, will not affoord
him anie place among them. But leauing that mat-
ter to others who can better defend the same, I will
descend to the other tresuroz.

John de Sandall being clerke, Scutifer regis, chan-
celor of the ercheher, and chancelor of England, ha-
uing bene before vnder tresuroz or deputie for the
high tresuroz, came now in the fourth yeare of Ed-
ward the second to be made chiefe tresuroz, & ente-
red into that office in Easter terme about the begin-
ning of the said fourth yeare of Edward the second.
But in the yeare following, which was the first of Ed-
ward the second, he gaue place to another. He was
chosen bishop of Winchester in the ninth yeare of
Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemp-
tion 1316. Of whom thus writeth Anonymus M.
*S. Obierunt episcopus Winton & Eli viri sacra professione
in signum, quorum primo successit Iohannes de Sandall cancella-
rius Anglie vir cunctis affabilis & necessarius communitati.
Secundo successit Iohannes de Horham scaccarius regis, vir squi-
dem scientia penitus ignarus, qui statim episcopatus ascensu
culmine, ad honorum pariter & officij thesaurarij rex ipsum
in sui fauorem sublimauit. Of which John Sandall, and
also of John Hothum, shall be moze said hereafter.*

Walter Porzwich, knight, tresuroz in the first
yeare of Edward the second, and afterward in Ea-
ster tearme in the eight yeare of king Edward the
second, did on the third daie of October in the said
eight yeare of king Edward the second receiue the
office of the tresurozship, and on the same daie toke
a corporall oath before the barons and chamberleins
of the ercheher, to behaue himselke well and faith-
fullie in the same office, which he had receiued of king
Edward the second, by his letters dated at Porke
the fir and twentieth daie of September, in the eight
yeare of the said king Edward the second, which he
kept not long at that time.

John Sandall was the second time lord tresu-
roz, in the fir and seuenth yeare of king Edward the
second. This man being bishop of Winchester, was
tresuroz. Of him see moze in the chancelloz of Eng-
land.

Walter de Porzwich being tresuroz as before in
the eight yeare of king Edward the second, did not
long insoy the same, but as I suppose gaue place to
John Drokensford.

John de Drokensford, the fourteenth bishop of
Bath & Wells, had (as I haue read) the great scale
deliuered vnto him, and was also tresuroz of Eng-
land. But because I find not as yet in what yeare, al-
though it were in the time of king Edward the se-
cond, I cannot set downe the certaintie. Of whom

thus writeth the register of the bishops of Bath. *Io-
hannes Drokensford thesaurarius 14. Bathon episcopus post
Walterum Haselesham, successit in episcopatum Bathon, annis
19. iste episcopatum pluribus edificijs insigniuit, franchises
per reges episcopatus concessus non solum literatorie renouauit
sed etiam ampliauit. Et quo ad ditionem & exaltationem
parentela sua fere fuit equalis predecessori suo Roberto Bornell.
Et Wellie sepelitur ante altare sancti Iohannis Baptiste.*

John Hothum Bishop of Elie (as is before no-
ted out of one anonynall chronicle) obtained the
place and honour of tresurozship, in the eleuenth
yeare of king Edward the second, which he did not
long insoy. For in the Michaelmas tearme in the
twelue yeare of king Edward the second, came Wil-
liam Malwaine. Of this John Hothum is mention
made in the discourse of the chancelloz hereafter.

William Malwaine tresuroz of England in
the twelue yeare of king Edward the second, being
about the yeare of our redemption 1318, was (as it
should seme) for his negligence and vntowrthines
of the place most vntowrthlie remoued at the parlement
at Porke, in such sort that he possessed not that place
(as I coniecture) about halfe a yeare. For in the same
twelue yeare came the bishop of Winchester.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, vpon the
remouing of Malwaine, was in the same twelue
yeare of king Edward the second admitted into the
office of the tresurozship, untill the king should o-
therwise determine. Which bishop found not in the
treasurie about nine & twentie pounds seuentene
shillings and eight pence, which might well be the
cause of the displacing of the said Malwaine, who
had ouer prodigallie disperfed the kings treasure.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester was trea-
suroz in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the se-
cond, being the yeare of our redemption 1319, in
which I suppose he continued untill the fiftenth yeare
of the said king, being about the yeare of Christ 1321.
Of this man dooth moze follow.

Walter Porzwich knight was the third time
made tresuroz, which place he inioyed in the fiftenth
yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of
our redemption 1321, or thereabouts. Wallingham
saith that in the second of Edward the third *Obijt
William de Porzwich.*

Roger Porzborow Scutifer or keeper of the
scale, being taken by the Scots at the battell of Ba-
nockesburne about the seuenth yeare of Edward the
second, in the yeare of our redemption 1313, was
also cleark of the wardrobe, and tresuroz in the six-
teenth of king Edward the second, being the yeare of
our redemption 1322. Of whom thus writeth one ano-
nymall chronicle *M.S. Anno Domini 1321 obiit Walterus
de Langtone episcopus Cestren. cui successit in episcopatus hono-
re per via impressionis & ambitionis Rogerus de Northburgh,
clericus, de regis garderobia, sibi regis in cunctis fauentibus
auxilio & voluntate. I haue read of one Godfrete de
Northburgh bishop of Chester that died in the thre
and thirtieth of king Edward the third, being the yeare
of Christ 1359, which perhaps should be this Roger
Porzborow, Godfrete being by the transcriber pla-
ced in stead of Roger. But I will not at this time de-
fine anie certaintie thereof, although I find an other
note of one Roger Porzborow consecrated bishop
of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of Christ
1321, who sat in that see eight and thirtie yeares, which
eight and thirtie yeares added to the yeare of Christ,
in which this Roger was made bishop, doe make by
the number of the yeare of Christ 1259, in which it is
said that Godfrete Porzborow died.*

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, the second
time tresuroz in the eighteenth yeare of king Ed-
ward the second, & before, was remoued in Easter
tearme in the same yeare. In which Easter tearme
C e e e e .ii. was

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was William bishop of Exeter also made treasurer, as is proved by the pell of Exitus, that terme being thus intituled, *De termino Pasche anno 18 Ed. 2. tam tempore W. episcopi Exon. quam W. archiepiscopi Eborum.* This Walter being elected to the bishopricke of Exeter, in the yeare of our redemption 1307, did sit in that place twentie yeares, and was beheaded at the coming into England of queene Isabell to depose Edward the second, in the twentieth yeare of the said king Edward the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1326. The cause of whose beheading was, for that he had procured the banishment of the said queene Isabell, and of hir sonne prince Edward.

William
Delton.

William Delton archbishop of Exeter made lord treasurer in Easter terme, in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the second, kept the same office untill the deposition of himselfe from that place, & of his master from his kingdome, in the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the second, and then gaue place to John Stratford.

John Strat-
ford.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester was the second time made treasurer of England, in the twentieth yeare of the deposed king Edward, after the death of Walter Stapleton. This John the fourteenth daie of November, in the said twentieth yeare of Edward the second, coming into the exchequer, brought thither the kings patent, or open writ, or commandement, under the seale of Edward the kings eldest son, to witnes his election and creation to that place of treasurer: the tenor of which writ I haue thought good to set downe, because it was done by the son in the fathers name, and vnder the teste of the son, the father yet being king in thew; but the son indeed as gouernor of the realme: which title he inioined, untill that he most vnnaturalie by the malice of his mother, the ambition of himselfe, and the flatterie of his followers had deposed his father. The tenor of which writ was in these wordes, as followeth.

Edwardus rex Anglie, & dominus Hibernie, baronibus & camerarijs suis de scaccario suo salutem. Quoniam pro eo quod venerabilis pater W. archiepiscopus Eborum nuper thesaurarius scaccarij predicti, circa diuersa negotia in partibus borealibus est occupatus, quominus intendere possit ad ea quae ad officium illud in dicto scaccario pertinent exercenda: constituerimus venerabilem patrem Iohannem Wintoniensem episcopum, tenentem locum thesaurarij scaccarij predicti, quousque de officio illo aliter duximus ordinandum. Percipiendo in eodem officio (cum illud sic tenuerit) secundum consuetum prout in literis nostris patentibus prefato episcopo inde confectis plenius continetur. Vobis mandamus, quod ipsum episcopum ad officium admittatis, & ei in his quae ad officium predictum pertineant intendatis in forma predicta. Teste Edwardo filio nostro primogenito custode regni nostri. Apud Hereford sexto die Nouembrii, anno regni nostri vicesimo.

Adam Carle-
ton.

Adam Carleton, or de Dyleton borne in Herefordshire, being Decretorum doctor, was made bishop of Hereford by the pope at Aulnion in the yeare one thousand three hundred and seauenteene, about the tenth or eleuenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the second, being he that made the sermon for the deposition of king Edward the second, and wrote the amphibologicall epistle for the death of the king, containing these wordes, *Regem occidere nolite timere bonum est*, which hath by a comma or point made at *Timere* one sense, and by a comma made at *Nolite* another sense. Which Adam was made lord treasurer in the first yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in which office he continued not long. For in the Easter terme of the said king came Henrie bishop of Lincoln. This man was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand three hundred

thirtie and siue, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third: in which seat he sate twelue yeares. The death of which Adam (who gaue Henningfield parsonage to the church of Hereford) sir Thomas de la More doth most plentifully set forth.

Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincoln was lord treasurer in Easter terme, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, in which office he continued untill the second yeare of Edward the third, and was afterward remoued.

Thomas bishop of Hereford inioined the honorable place of the lord treasurer, in the third yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and nine: but in the yeare following another came in place.

Robert Wodhouse possessed the roome of the high treasurer of England, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of the said young king Edward the third, being the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was also treasurer some part of Michaelmasse terme, in the fifth yeare of king Edward the third, who in the yeare following did giue place vnto another.

William archbishop of Exeter was againe treasurer of England, in the fifth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and inioined that place some part of Michaelmasse terme in the said yeare, after whome came the bishop of Norwich.

W. bishop of Norwich was made treasurer in Michaelmas terme in the said fifth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third: in which terme there had bene three lord treasurers successiue (a thing seldom or neuer heard, nor I thinke likelie againe euer to be) which office this bishop kept all Michaelmasse terme, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, and somewhat more in the end, yet yielding that hono: to another.

Robert le Ailestone, being lord treasurer in the seventh yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, continued in the same office vntill the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred thirtie six, which was about three yeares, the same being a longer time than any other had possessed that place, since the beginning of the reigne of the said king Edward the third.

Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincoln was againe treasurer the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, in which yeare (as hath Scala chronorum) the king holding his parliament at London, was aduised by his counsell to prosecute his title to the crowne of France. Whereupon king Edward sent ambassadors to the duke of Bawiere emperor (which had married the other sister to the earle of Henalt, as king Edward the third had married one) for suertie of alliance, and to reuite noble men about him with no small charge, which ambassadors were Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincoln, and the earles William Pontacute of Sarum, and William Clinton of Huntington, who returned to the parlement at London with their answer well liked. Of this man see more in the chapters, being yet after his ambassage treasurer in some part of the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third.

Richard de Berte bishop of Durham did inioine the hono: of lord treasurer, in the eleuenth yeare of the

Henrie Burwash
bishop of Lincoln.

Thomas bi-
shop of Here-
ford.

Robert Wod-
house.

William
Delton

W. bishop of
Norwich.

Robert le
Ailestone

Henrie Bur-
wash bishop of
Lincoln.

Richard de
Berte bishop
of Durham.

the reigne of king Edward the third: he was a man of great granitie, and much esteemed of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the north. Of this man is moze spoken in the chancelloz of England.

William de la Zouch borne of the noble house of the lord Zouch, was treasurer of England, in the twelſe yere of king Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight; he being bishop of Poſke was vicegerent to the king in the north parts, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, and in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, at what time he toke David Bruce king of Scots. This man went to Rome, and after a long contention betwene him and William Kelsie, Kilsbie, or Kelsie (for all these different names are found in authoꝝ) touching the archbishoprike of Poſke, he was after two yeaes thus spent consecrated bishop of Poſke by pope Clement the first. After which this William in the eleventh yere of his bishoprike, being long troubled with a greivous disease, began the worke of a chapell on the south side adjoining to the church of saint Peters in Poſke, where he purposed to be buried: but died before it was finished, and lieth interred in the said church before the altar of saint Edward the confessor.

Sir Richard Sadington knight was treasurer in the fourteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred & fortie. There was one Robert Sadington living about this time, of whom is more mention in the chancelloz of England: but as yet I well know not whether they were both one man or no; sith authoꝝ maie misplace Robert for Richard, as they haue often done.

Robert Poſthorow, being at that time (as I judge) bishop of Conventrie, was treasurer of England, in the fourteenth yere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, in which yere he was removed, whom with the chancelloz the king meant afterward (as after shall appeare) to haue sent into Flanders as pledges for monie that the king owgth there. After whom I suppose that Sadington came in place, although I haue a little misplaced him at this time, following the fancies of other men more than mine owne.

A bishop of Chester was lord treasurer of England in the fifteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yere that the word became flesh, one thousand three hundred fortie and one, in which office he did not long continue.

Robert Durning or Dornicke was lord treasurer in the Easter terme, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and one, being the fifteenth yere of king Edward the third, in which yere also he was made chancelloz, and so continued both offices a while, untill in the sixteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, as I gather by all circumstances of times, records, and histories: who in the seuenteenth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and three (as appeareth by the booke of the law) being chancelloz, deliuered a record with his hands into the court of the kings bench. Of this man more shall be set downe hereafter in my discourse of the chancelloz.

Roger Poſthorow (as I take it) being then bishop of Conventrie, did honorable possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England, in the sixteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and two. Of whom thus writeth Matthew

Parker in the life of John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie: *Ibi* (meaning at the tower) *conclusion initum est, tandemque definitum, ut archiepiscopus & episcopus Ciceſtrenſis regni cancellarius & Conventrenſis theſaurarius, una cum alijs satellitibus & licitoribus deprehens, ad publicam custodiam rerum a se absente rege, gestarum rationem redditari ducerentur. Mox accedunt satellites Lametham, sed archiepiscopus ei prius decesserat: tum Londinum reuersi Conventrensem & Ciceſtrensem episcopos cum alijs designatis capiunt, captos ad turrim deducunt, &c.*

William de Cusans, being lord treasurer in the seauenteenth yere of Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, fortie and three, continued in the same office all Michaelmasse tearme, in the eighteenth yere of the said Edward the third, and the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure: and being a yere more. Betwene whom & Thomas Henle abbat of Westminster was great contention about the surdation of the hospitall of saint James in the parish of saint Margaret in Westminster, which hospitall is now a statelis house belonging to the prince, and built by king Henrie the eight called the manor of saint James with a parke walled about with hycke.

William de Edington, lord chancelloz and treasurer of England, and bishop of Winchester, was lord treasurer in Easter terme the nineteenth yere of Edward the third, being about the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred fortie and five, in which office he continued untill the two and thirtieth of the said king, one thousand three hundred fiftie and eight, being fourtene yeaes, which was (as I thinke) as manie more yeaes as aie one man did possesse that place, since the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the third, untill the time of this William Edington. He was so surnamed of the place where he was borne, being the towne of Edington in Wiltsyre: he was made bishop of Winchester (as some haue) about the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and seven, being about the one and twentieth yere of king Edward the third. This man (chosen bishop of Canturburie, but yet neuer bishop) died (as hath Walsingham) in the fortith yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fiftie and six. I haue read of a bishop of Poſke which that should also be treasurer in the foure and twentieth of Edward the third, which must fall in the time that this Edington did continue that office: but how true it is, I leaue to others to consider, untill I haue in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurers dissolved that, and all other doubts and contrarieties that are here touched, or by authoꝝ reported.

John bishop of Rochester was lord treasurer in the two and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption 1358, in which office he continued in the thirtie three and thirtie fourth yere of Edward the third.

Simon Langham, being of the priorie of Westminster, made abbat of that house, was shortly after made lord treasurer of England, which office he held in the five & thirtieth and six and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, who being bishop of London (as hath Matthew Parker) was in the yere that the word of the father toke on it the forme of a seruant, by due account 1361, being the five and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, by the pope made bishop of Elye, where he sat five yeaes, and was after in the yere of our redemption, one thousand, three hundred, fiftie and six, being the fortith yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, chosen bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated in the yere of our redemption 1367, as saith the same Matthew Parker. On which date of his consecration he demanded homage

John Stratford.

William de Cusans.

William de Edington bishop of Winchester.

John bishop of Rochester.

Simon Langham bishop of Elye.

homage of the erle Stafford of Thomas Kesse, John Kirell, Robert Brockill, & Rafe Senteleger, knights for their lands which they held of the see of Canturburie. Shortly after which in the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, sixtie and eight, being the two and fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the thirde, he was made cardinall, & died at Aulmore the two and twentieth date of Julie, about the yere of our redemption, as saith one Anonymus M.S. 1376, being the fiftieth yere of king Edward the thirde, and was buried besides Aulmon, in a place which he had raised from the foundation: those yeres after which his bones were brought to Westminster where at this daie he hath one honorable toime on the south side of the chyn amongst the kings, on whose toime the monks of Westminster did sometime place this same epitaph in the remembrance of him:

*Simon de Langham sub petris huius tumulatus,
Istius ecclesie monachus fuerat, prior, abbas,
sede vacante fuit electus Londoniensis
Praesul & insignis eligit, sed postea primus
Totius regni, magnus regisque minister:
Nam thesaurarius & cancellarius eius,
Ac cardinalis in Roma presbyter iste,
Postque Praesulatus est factus episcopus atque
Nuntius ex parte papae, transmittitur istuc
Orbe dolente pater, quem nunc revocare nequimus
Magdalena scilicet millesimo septuagesimo
Et ter centeno sexto Christi fuit anno:
Hunc Deus absoluat de cunctis quae male gessit,
Et meritis matris sibi calica gaudia donet.*

Of this man I have intreated in my discourse of the cardinals pag. 1165. and in my collection of all the chancellors of England hereafter following.

John Barnet
bishop of Worcester.

John Barnet made bishop of Worcester in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and two, being the six and thirtieth yere of king Edward the thirde, was treasurer of England in the seven and thirtieth yere of Edward the thirde, in which office he continued, being treasurer in Michaelmasse tearme in the eight & thirtieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward the thirde, which fell in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie & foure, and so he continued in the three & fortieth yere of king Edward the thirde till treasurer. He was made bishop of Bath in the yere of our redemption 1363, in which bishopricke he remained three yeres, and was by Urbane the first then bishop of Rome translated from Bath to Cleve in the yere of Christ 1366, being the fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the thirde, in which place he sat six yeres: and being a verie old man, and having bene treasurer about six yeres, he died at Hatfield the seventh ides of June, in the yere that God became man one thousand three hundred seuentie and three, and the seven and fortieth yere of the often named king Edward the thirde, he was buried in the church of Cleve besides the high altar on the south part.

Richard de
Chesterfield.

I have read and sene by manie noted that one named Richard de Chesterfield was treasurer to the king in the one and fortieth yere of king Edward the thirde, whome they will have lord treasurer: which by no possible means as farre as I can yet conceiue maie be true: because it appeareth by record that John bishop of Cleve (which was this Barnet if you marke the time of his translating to Cleve) was treasurer in the same yere: but it maie be that he was treasurer of the chamber or household to the said king in the said one and fortieth yere of his reigne.

Thomas de
Bantington.

Thomas de Bantington, being treasurer for the king in the parts of Guisnes marches and Calis, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and seven, being the one and fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the thirde, was made bi-

shop of Excester by especiall letters of the king in the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred sixtie and eight, being the three and fortieth yere of the said Edward the thirde, and was lord treasurer of England in the foure and fortieth & five & fortieth yere of Edward the thirde: in which five and fortieth yere, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and one, he was in a parlement at the petition of the lords removed, at what time also there passed a law, that the chancelor, treasurer, and clerke of the priuie seale, shuld no more be spirituall men: but that secular men shoulde haue those offices.

Sir Richard Scrope or Scrobs knight lord of Bolton and chancelor of England, was treasurer of England in the six and fortieth, seven & fortieth, & eight and fortieth of Edward the thirde, and then gaue place to sir Robert Ashton knight. This Richard made out of the ground the castell of Bolton consisting of foure great strong towers, and of other statele longings, which castell was created eightene yeres, the charges whereof came yerele unto a thousand marks, which was eightene thousand marks, or twelue thousand pounds: the ounce of silver being then but at twentie pence, which being now treble and at five shillings, doth at this daie amount vnto six and thirtie thousand pounds, which castell he finished before Richard the second died. He bought the heire generall of saint Quintine, that was honor of Hornelie castell in Richmonthshire, which heire he was content one Coniers a seruant of his thould marrie, and haue the preferment of that ward, and so Hornelie castell came to the Conierses, of which house the first lord was William Coniers, grandfather to him that died in the time of queene Marie without heire male, whereby his inheritance came to his three daughters. Which William the first lord Coniers of that name did much cost vpon Hornelie castell: being before but a meane thing. I have read of this lord Scrope, that he had a sonne called William, whereof we will speake more hereafter, that was earle of Wilshire, who being beheaded in his fathers life, left no issue behind him. After which the father suruiuing was made treasurer to the king and died in honor, although he was not restored to his dignitie of chancelorship: but at what time he shoulde be the second time treasurer (after the death of his sonne William) in the time of Henrie the fourth, I can not as yet certeinlie learne. But it maie be that he was againe treasurer in the ninth yere of Henrie the fourth: for that I find not by any former search who then possessed that place. It seemeth that he had two wiues, the one the daughter of the lord Spencer the other the daughter of Michael de la Pole erle of Suffolke called Blanch. He had three sons, for whom he bought of the king the three daughters and heires of Robert lord Tiptoft, whereof the eldest daughter Margaret was married to Roger his second sonne, the second daughter was married to William his eldest sonne, the third daughter called Millescent was married to Stephan the third sonne of the said Richard.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, constable of Dover castell, was lord treasurer in the fiftieth and one and fiftieth of king Edward the thirde in Michaelmasse tearme, which was the last Michaelmasse tearme wherein the king reigned, being about the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, of which name there was also one that was chiefe baron in the time of Edward the second, as I have read.

Henrie Wake or Wakefield, being made bishop of Worcester in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and five, being the fortie and ninth yere of the reigne of king Edward the thirde, was made lord treasurer of England in the

Sir Richard
Scrope lord
of Bolton.

Sir Robert
Ashton.

Henrie Wake
bishop of Worcester.

peare that the word of the father toke fleshy in the wombe of the woman, one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, in the one and fiftith peare of king Edward the thirde, in which office he continued part of Easter tearme in the first peare of king Richard the second, being about the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and eight, he died in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, as saith Walsingham.

Thomas Beaufort
bishop of Exeter.

Thomas Beaufort bishop of Exeter was made lord treasurer of England towards the latter end of Easter tearme, in the first peare of king Richard the second, falling in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and eight, as I at this time account it: from which place he was shortly remoued in the second peare of king Richard the second.

Richard earle of Arundell.

Richard earle of Arundell and Surrie, made lord treasurer of England in the second peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, whereof part fell in the peare of our Lord one thousand three hundred seuentie and eight, & part in the peare one thousand three hundred seuentie and nine, continued about one peare in the same, and then gaue place to him which possessed the same office last before him, he married Elisabeth the daughter of William de Bohune earle of Northampton & Hereford, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Arundell, Jone married to William Beauchampe lord Aburgauernie, Elisabeth married to Thomas lord Powys, Margaret married to sir Rowland Lenthall, and Alice married to John Charlton lord Powes: this Richard was beheaded in the one and twentieth peare of Richard the second.

Thomas Beaufort
bishop of Exeter.

Thomas Beaufort bishop of Exeter was the thirde time lord treasurer of England, in the thirde peare of the after deposed king Richard the second, & was remoued from his office in the fourth peare of the said Richard, in the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie, after the account of such as begin in the peare on the five and twentieth of March.

Robert Hales.

Robert Hales chiefe prior of the knights of the Rhodes, intituled by the name of the knights of S. Johns Jerusalem in England, was lord treasurer of England in the fourth peare of the reigne of Richard the second, in which office he continued during his life: for shortly after that he came into that place (which as I suppose he held Easter terme, and some moneths after) in the said peare of Richard the second, in the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and one (the rebelles hauing spoiled the hospitall or famous college of those knights of saint Johns by Smithfield nere unto London) amongst others did fetch this Robert Hales out of the towler of London (where the king then lay) and beheaded him on the towler hill.

Hugh Segraue.

Hugh Segraue knight, whome Walsingham calleth *regis senescallum* the kings steward, was made lord treasurer of England in the fift peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, who continued in the said office the first, seauenth, eight, and some part of the Michaelmasse terme in the ninth peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and five.

John Fortham.

John Fortham canon, being secretarie to the king, was made bishop of Durham the nine and twentieth of Maie, in the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and one, being the fourth peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, and was inthronized in September, in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and two, being the first peare of the reigne of king

Richard the second. This man was made lord treasurer in Michaelmasse terme the ninth peare of king Richard the second, being the peare of our saluation one thousand three hundred eightie and five: and so continued part of the tenth peare of king Richard the second, untill he was by parlement discharged. He was translated from the bishoprike of Durham to Elie by Boniface the pope the fift calends of October, as hath the booke of Durham, one thousand three hundred eightie nine, being the twelue peare of the same Richard: but as saith the booke of Elie one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, being the thirtenth peare of Richard the second. Which both may be true, because the one may haue relation to the peare of his translation, and the other to the peare of his inthronization, both which manie times happened in severall peares of manie other bishops. He was bishop of Elie seuen and thirtie years, three moneths, and four daies, and died a verie old man the thirtenth of December, in his maner of Durham, in the peare of our redemption one thousand four hundred twentie and five, falling in the fourth peare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Gilbert bishop of Hereford was by parlement made lord treasurer in the tenth peare of king Richard the third, being the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and six, as I for this time take it, in which office he continued the eleuenth, and all Michaelmasse terme in the twelue peare of king Richard the second, and the one and twentieth of March following: after which he was againe remoued, and then he with twelue more were appointed by commission to the gouernment of the whole realme vnder the king, of whome thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M. S. *Is fuit de ordine predicatorum, vir qui plus lingua quam fide regebat*, which bishop (as I suppose) was remoued to saint Davids, after that he had bene thirtene peares bishop of Hereford.

John Gilbert
bishop of Hereford.

Thomas Beaufort bishop of Exeter. I haue read that the bishop of Exeter was made treasurer in the twelue peare of Richard the second. Upon the remouing of John Gilbert, which bishop of Exeter could not be Edmund Stafford, as some falselie name him, for there is no such man as I can find in the catalog of all the bishops of Exeter: neither was it Edmund Stafford, for he was not made bishop of Exeter untill the twentieth of June one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, being the date before king Richard the second began the one and twentieth peare of his reigne, which is eight years after the time whereof we now intreat. Therefore it must needs be Thomas Beaufort, for he being consecrated bishop of Exeter the tenth of March, in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred & seuentie, being the foure and fortith peare of Edward the third, and gouerning that six foure and twentie years, till the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, in which came Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuie seale; it must needs be that (the bishop of Exeter being treasurer in the twelue peare of Richard the second, falling in the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight) it was this man Beaufort, and that he was the fourth time made lord treasurer of England, about the eightenth peare after that he was made bishop of Exeter, who died in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, as hath Ypodigma.

Thomas Beaufort
bishop of Exeter.

John Gilbert bishop of saint Davids in Wales was lord treasurer in the thirtenth and fourtenth peares of the reigne of the deposed king Richard the second. Of whome, because there is somewhat spoken before, we will intreat the lesse of him in this place.

John Gilbert
bishop of saint Davids in Wales.

John Wals-
tham bishop of
Salisbury.

John Walsingham, of whom I have spoken more in my discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of William Courtneie was bishop of Salisbury, master of the robes in the first yeare of Richard the second, and keeper of the privie seale, after which he was treasuroz of England, in the fiftieth, sixtieth, seventieth, and part of the eightieth of Richard the second, for he died in Michaelmas terme in the said 18 yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1395, others saie 1394, of whom thus writeth Walsingham: *Hoc anno (which was 1395) obiit Johannes de Walsingham episcopus Sarum & regni thesaurarius, qui tantum regi complacuerit, ut etiam (multis licet marmurantibus) apud monasterium inter reges meruit sepulturam.*

Roger Wal-
den bishop of
London.

Roger Walden sometime secretarie to the king and treasuroz of the towne of Calis (in the twelfth yeare of Richard the second) was made lord treasuroz in the eightieth of the same king, about the yeare of our Lord 1365, in which office he continued the two and twentieth of the said Richard the second. He was elected and made bishop of Canturburie, but after re-
10 lected and deposed, and thereupon was by pope Innocent the seventh made bishop of London on the tenth of December, in the yeare of Christ 1404, being the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the which bishoppe he continued about one yeare, and died in the yeare 1406, being buried at saint Bartholomewes priorie in Smithfield, who of a poore man (as saith Walsingham) was made lord treasuroz of England.

G. bishop of
saint Davids
in Wales.

G. bishop of S. Davids was lord treasuroz of England in the two and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, which bishop I suppose to be Guie de Spone, whom the booke Ypodigma & Thomas Walsingham call bishop of S. Davids, and saie that he died in the yeare of our redemption 1407, writing in this sort: *Eodem anno Guido de Mone Menenensis episcopus presentis lucis sensu eclipsi, qui dum vixit magnorum malorum causa fuit.*

William
Scrope earle
of Wilshire.

William Scrope knight, vicechamberleine to Richard the second was lord treasuroz, he bought of William Montacute earle of Salisbury the Ile of Man, with the crowne thereof. He was one of those to whom king Richard the second let the kingdom to farme, he was lord treasuroz of England in the 21 of Richard the second, and was after created earle of Wilshire, in the said 21 yeare of the same Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1397. He was after beheaded at Wiltow in the 23 and last yeare of the then deposed king Richard. Of which William Scrope and others thus writeth that worthy poet sir Iohn Gower in his historie of Richard the second, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled *Vox clamantis*.
40

*Henrie Wol-
lingbrooke com-
ing into
England and
deposing Ri-
chard the se-
cond.

**Dux probus audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci
Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inueniatur,
Sic tres exosos, magis omnibus ambitiosos,
Regni tortores, inuenerat ipse priores,
Ense percussu pereunt, Gren, Scrop, quoq; Busi,
Hi qui regales fuerant cum rege sodales,
Scrop comes & miles, cuius Bristolia viles
Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata parat.
Gren quoque sorte pari, statuit dux decapitari
Busi consiliis, similes quoque sustinet ictus,
Vnanimis mente, pariter mors una repente,
Hos tres protrahit gladius, quos sine vorauit,
Sicut & egerunt alijs, sic hi ceciderunt,
Quo dux laudatur, regnumque per omne iocatur.*

Sir John
Northberie.

Sir John Northberie made lord treasuroz in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that God took on him the forme of a seruant, a thousand three hundred nintie and nine, and continued in the same in the third yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which yeare he was also keeper of the privie garde-robe in the tower.

Henrie Bolwet made bishop of Bath, about the second yeare of our redemption 1401, being also about the second yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which bishoppe he continued eight yeares, and was after at the kings instance in the yeare of Christ a thousand four hundred and seven, about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth removed to Pothe. This man was lord treasuroz of England in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption 1403, in which place he continued not above a yeare, if so long.

William lord Kosse, the sonne of Thomas lord Kosse, did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasuroz of England, in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and four, and shortly after gave place to the lord Furnivall. He married Margaret daughter of Fitzallen lord Patravars, he had issue Thomas lord Kosse hisne in France, in the yeare one thousand four hundred twenty and one, about the ninth yeare of Henrie the first, and many other childzen.

Thomas lord Furnivall kept the place and office of the lord treasuroz of England, the first, seventh, and some part of the eight yeare of king Henrie the fourth, as in Michaelmasse tearme of the same eight yeare, falling in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand four hundred and six, after which this lord Furnivall (who had the custodie of the castell and honour of Wigmore, being in the kings hands by reason of the wardship and minority of Edmund Mortimer earle of March) was (as it seemeth) removed from the treasurozship, in whose roome succeeded the bishop of London. To these lord Furnivalls did Furnivalls inne of Holborne sometime appertene as their mansion house, being now an inne of chance-rie for young students of the law and attorneies, and belonging unto Lincolns inne in Chancerie lane.

Nicholas Bubbwith made bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and six: being the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth, must be that bishop of London (as farre as I can yet conceiue) who was lord treasuroz of England in Michaelmas tearme in the said eight yeare of Henrie the fourth: which office it seemeth that he held not long, for in Easter terme after in the same eight yeare, the office of the treasuroz remained in the kings hands, and the accompts of the same terme go under the same title of being in the kings hands.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton (whereof is so much spoken before) was as I suppose the second time treasuroz of England in this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: whereunto I am induced by this reason; that first the king would not keepe that office so long in his hands as almost amounted unto two yeares, but that he would bestow the same upon some other: secondlie, for that I read that this Richard Scrope father to William Scrope earle of Wilshire beheaded by this Henrie the fourth before he came to the crowne at Wiltow (in the last yeare of Richard the second, and in the first of this kings reigne) was after the death of the said William made treasuroz of England, and so died in honour: thirdlie for that I cannot see how he might be treasuroz in any yeare since the death of the said William, untill this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: and lastlie, for that I cannot in any record or other author find any other man mentioned to supplie that place in this yeare: for which causes I have attempted to bestow him here, and that rightlie, for any thing that I can yet learne.

Sir John Liptot or Tibetot knight, did possesse the place and office of the lord treasurozship of England in Michaelmas terme, in the tenth yeare of king Henrie

William lord
Kosse.

Thomas lord
Furnivall.

Nicholas
Bubbwith
bishop of London.

Sir Richard
Scrope lord
of Bolton.

Sir John
Liptot
knight.

Henrie the fourth, being in the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred and eight.

Henrie lord Scrope of Spetham and of flar-
first, was made lord treasurer of England. in the
fourteenth yere of the reigne of K. Henrie the fourth,
in the yere of our redemption one thousand four
hundred and ten, as hath Walsingham: in which of-
fice he continued untill the death of king Henrie the
fourth. which hapned in the fourteenth yere of the
same king, and in the yere of our redemption one
thousand four hundred & twelve, after the account
of England: but one thousand four hundred and
thirtene after the account of such as do begin the
yere at Januarie. He rebelled against king Hen-
rie the first, and was beheaded at Southhampton in
the third yere of K. Henrie the first, being the yere
of our redemption one thousand four hundred and
fiftene the last of Julie. Of which Henrie so conspi-
ring against Henrie the first, I find these verses in a
written booke of parchment, intituled *Extractum bre-*
ve de chronica Thomae Helmham, prior Lenton de tempore
regis Henrici quinti. In which verses by the capitall let-
ters are set down the names of the principall conspi-
rators, & the yere of our Lord wherein the same was
done, being the yere of our redemption one thou-
sand four hundred & thirtene: the greater Romaine
capitall letters in the third verse serving for the yere
of Christ, & for the name Zore derived of this word
COR in the fourth verse, & the English capitall let-
ters enelie serving for the names of the persons in
this list couched together for common capacitie:

Mox rex nauigium parat vt mare transeat armis,
Scipio fuit Henricus prodicione fremens,
S. C. R. V. A. N. S. Conspirat R. M. A. T. V. R. L. E. N. C. I. A. P. L. E. B. I.
Rumpe Jugo COR Tuens Res Dabit Ultra Sonum
E. J. A. R. R. G. E. N. S. A. I. T. A. M. A. L. I. S. O. P. U. S. H. O. S. T. E. T. R. I. A. P. H. A. T.
Vota voluntatis sic sacre Christe tue.
Veridicus his quinque praeclatis traditionem
Lector scire potes: hinc repetendo stude.
Hittes, Richardus Zore, Henrici Scrupque, Thomas Gray,
In regem surgunt prodicione pares:
Munere Francorum corrupti terga dedere,
Iusto munus habet vindice quique suum.

Thomas Fitz Allen earle of Aundell and Sur-
reie was aduanced to the honorable office of the lord
treasurer of England, in the yere of our re-
demption one thousand four hundred and thirtene,
being the first yere of the reigne of the most vicio-
rious prince K. Henrie the first, in which office it se-
meth that he continued the first, second, and third of
Henrie the first. He in the yere 1405, being the se-
uenth of Henrie the first, on the next daie of the feast
of saint Katharine, married Beatrice the bassard
daughter of the king of Portugal, by whom he had
no issue, hauing his sisters his heires, and died in the
yere 1415, being the third yere of Henrie the first,
and was buried in the college at Arundell.

Sir Roger Lech, whom some call but not rightlie
as I suppose sir Philip Lech, being brother unto the
said sir Roger, was treasurer of England, in Mi-
chaelmas and Easter tearme in the fourth yere of
king Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemp-
tion one thousand four hundred and fiftene. He
was at the siege of Roine with this king Henrie, in
the first yere of his reigne, being also treasurer for
the warres in that boiage.

Henrie lord Fitz Hugh was aduanced to the of-
fice of the lord treasurer of England, in the first
yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our re-
demption one thousand four hundred & seuentene,
in which office he continued (as I gather) untill the
death of the said king Henrie the first, which hapned
in August, in the yere of our redemption one thou-
sand four hundred & twentie and two.

John Stafford clerke was made lord treasurer of
England in the first yere of king Henrie the first,

being the yere that the word became flesh 1421, in
which office he continued in Michaelmas tearme, and
fourth of the said king Henrie the first, falling in the
yere of Christ 1425, he was chosen bishop of Bath,
in the third yere of king Henrie the first, in the yere
1424, he was chancellor of England, and remoued
to the archbishoppe of Canturbrie, of whome is
mention made hereafter in the discourse of the chan-
cellors of England, & touching whom I will for this
time onelie set downe here what Matthew Parker
writeth of him in the life of Henrie Chicheleie
an archbishop of Canturbrie. *Archiepiscopus* (saith
he) in the yere of Christ our redeemer 1424:
Cantuariensis 12. *Offic. clerum in ecclesia Pauli-*
na convocauit, in ea Henricus Beauford Winton
episcopus regni cancellarius, & Johannes Stafford
lathoniensis electus episcopus regni thesaurarius,
ad bellum Gallicum opem clero petiuit, & interpo-
sita paucorum dierum deliberatione, Wilhelmus
Lindwood officialis curie Cantuariensis de arcubus,
hoc responsum ab inferiori cleri synodo acceptum
episcopus declarauit: non esse penes cleri procura-
tores potestatem subsidium concedendi. Nam cum
in dicta synodo in singulis diocessibus constituti es-
sent, clerus his solutionibus consentiendi licentiam
expressè ademit: quia tantis tributis diu pendendi
ad magnam inopiam & egestatem deuenit. I-
taque cancellarius a superiori synodo ad inferiorē
transiens, longa & diserta oratione, ac regis iam
minoris necessitate, ac de infanti in Gallia bello
egit, ac nequicquam fuisse.

Walter lord Hungerford knight of the garter,
the sonne of sir Thomas Hungerford knight, was
made lord treasurer of England in the fourth yere
of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being the yere
of Christ 1425, in which office he continued about six
yeres, untill some part of Michaelmas tearme in
the tenth yere of king Henrie the first, falling in
the yere that the sonne of God toke on him the
forme of a seruant, one thousand four hundred thir-
tie and one. He was also one of the counsell to the
said king, of whome is mention made by Matthew
Parker in the life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of
Canturbrie, in these words: *Proximo anno* (which
was about the yere of our Lord 1425) *synodus sub*
eodem archiepiscopo, 15 Aprilis inchoata est. Qua Iohanne
Kempo laboraci archiepiscopo & Waltero Hungerfordo mi-
lue regis conciliarij (sic cancellario hoc thesaurario regni) re-
gis nomine postulanti bus regi decimam concepit. Ac eisdem
huius petentibus, triennio post in recenti synodo media decima
regi a clero data est. This lord treasurer married Katha-
rine, the daughter and heire of Thomas Denerell
knight, by whom he had issue Walter lord Hunger-
ford of Hatchberie knight of the garter, that died
without issue, sir Robert lord Hungerford of Hatch-
berie, Edmund Hungerford knight, that died with-
out issue, Margaret married to sir Walter Rodneie
knight, which Robert lord Hungerford and Margare-
ret his wife, John Cheineie of Dim esquier, John
Heruin esquier and others did (by the kings licence
granted unto them in the eleuenth yere of king
Edward the fourth) build the hospitall of Hatchberie
in Wiltshire.

John lord Scrope of Upsall and Spatham, made
lord treasurer in the tenth yere of king Henrie the
first, being the yere of our redemption 1431, in
which office he continued untill some part of the
twelue yere of the said king, as I for this time do ga-
ther. Of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker in the
life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturbrie,
touching a synod holden in the yere of our Lord
1430, at what time, of the clergie he saith that *Iohann-*

Walter lord
Hungerford

John lord
Scrope

nes Stafford episcopus Bathoniensis cancellarius, & D. Scrope thesaurarius regni, necnon Wilhelmus Lindwood, custos priuati sigilli, pro rege subsidium postulauerunt, & medium decimum tandem agree impetrarunt.

Rafe lord Cromwell.

Rafe lord Cromwell, the son of Rafe Cromwell lord of Tatershall, possessed the place of the lord treasurer: ship of England, in Easter terme in the twelfth yeare of the after deposed H. Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1434, and so continued in that office about ten years, falling (as I suppose) in the yeare of our redemption 1444. This man being knight was created lord Cromwell by the said king Henrie the first, and was lineallie descended of one of the heires of Robert lord Tatershall, that married one of the daughters and heires of William Dalbini earle of Arundell. This Rafe lord treasurer died without issue, and made his testament in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure, being in the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, after whose death the inheritance came to the thre aunts being his heires, whereof the first was married to the lord Barbolfe flaine at Bancehome more in Northumberland, the second was married to sir William Fitzwilliams knight of the sepulchre, the third Elisabeth to sir John Clifton knight, & after his death to sir Edmund Benesked knight. Of one Rafe lord Cromwell I find this note set downe by Leland. *Dominus Radulphus Cromwell & Matildis uxor eius fundatores collegij sancte trinitatis de Tatershall, quibusque Roberti ordine domini erant de Tatershall, hoc sequitur est Radulphus Cromwell.*

Sir Rafe Butler lord Sudleie.

Sir Rafe Butler knight of the garter, lord Sudleie descended from John lord Sudleie, and William Butler baron of Wem, which married Ione daughter and heire to John Sudleie lord Sudleie) did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasurer: ship of England the seventh of Iulie, in the two and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred forty and foure, which office he kept about thre yeres: for in the five and twentieth yeare of the said king, was the bishop of Carleill lord treasurer. This Rafe lord Sudleie builded the castell of Sudleie, in the time of king Henrie the first, and of Edward the fourth, who in the time of the said Edward the fourth was committed to prison by the king, first sending for him to come to his presence. Whereupon he going to the king, and resting on an hill, from whence he did behold Sudleie castell, said: It is thou, it is thou Sudleie castell and not I which am the traitor. After which comming to king Edward the fourth, he resigned the said Sudleie castell into the kings hands. Which castell came after to Jasper duke of Bedford, and is now in the yeare 1585 in the possession of Giles a Wyldges lord Shandois. This Rafe being made baron in the twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, married Elisabeth the daughter of sir John Northberie, by whome he had issue Thomas his son that died without issue, leaving his two sisters to be his heires, whereof the eldest daughter called Elisabeth, was married to sir John Northberie, whose heire generall was married to John Hallwell of Denonshire, who had issue Ione his daughter and heire married to Edward lord Bzaie, of whome the lord Cobham now lining is descended. The other sister married to sir Hamond Welknay, of whome is descended the worthy gentleman Thomas Wotton of Waton Palcherbe in Kent esquire now lining. The which Rafe lord Butler of Sudleie was Vexillifer, and high Butler of England, and steward in house to king Henrie the first.

Adam duke bishop of Carleill.

Adam duke bishop of Carleill was made lord treasurer of England in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued

about two yeaers, in the seven and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption 1448, or (as some haue) 1449.

James Fines created at Barre baron of Sale and of Seke, on the third of March, in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption, according to the English account 1446, was constable of Deuer castell, and lord treasurer of England in the eight and twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie the first, and was from thence removed (as some haue) in the nine & twentieth yeare of the said king, & was by the rebels of Kent Iacke Cade and his felowes taken out of the tower to the Guildhall, where he was arraigned before the maior and other the kings Iudices, who desiring to be tried by his peeres, was by the rebels forceably taken from the officers, and beheaded at the stand in Cheape. The manner whereof shall be more fully set downe hereafter in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurers. Which his beheading some do attribute to the eight and twentieth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1450. He had issue sir William Fines knight, and one daughter married to sir William Cromer knight, thiriffe of Kent, beheaded at that time also with his father in law. Of which Cromer is James Cromer of Kent now lining descended.

John Lord Beauchampe, a person of great worth, possessed the place of the treasurer: ship of England, the nine and twentieth and thirtieth yeaers of king Henrie the first.

John Tiptoff earle of Worcester possessed the place of the lord treasurer, in the one and thirtieth and two and thirtieth of king Henrie the first. Of whome is more mention made hereafter.

James Butler, the sonne of James earle of Desmond, being earle of Wiltshire and Desmond, possessed the office of the lord treasurer of England in Easter tearme the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1455. Of whom is more spoken hereafter.

Henrie dicount Bourchier, bozne of the noble house of the Bourchiers, the sonne of William Bourchier earle of Ewe in Normandie, was lord treasurer of England in the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the deposed king Henrie the first, in which office he did not long remaine.

John Talbot earle of Shrewsburie, the sonne of John Talbot, the first earle of Shrewsburie of that name, possessed the place of the treasurer: ship of England in the five and thirtieth and six and thirtieth yeres of king Henrie the first, and then gaue place to the earle of Wiltshire. This earle was slaine at the battell of Northampton, in the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our salvation 1460. He married Elisabeth the daughter of James Butler erle of Desmond, and had issue, John erle of Shrewesburie, James, Gilbert, Christopher, and George; Anne married to sir Henrie Clernon, and Margaret: this man was buried in the priorie of Wozkehop.

James Butler, sonne to James the fourth of that name earle of Desmond, was the second time made lord treasurer of England, about the 37 yere of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued (as I suppose) in the eight & thirtieth yeare of the said king. This man in the said eight and thirtieth yeare of the king conueied himselfe awaie out of England into Dutchland (for feare of the nobilitie, as the duke of Poerke and others that rebelled against the king) sending backe his souldiers into England, which he had before assembled vpon the sea: but after he returned into England, and was againe put to flight at Poertimers crosse by Edward earle of March after king

by the name of king Edward the fourth. He was made earle of Diamond in the nine and thirtieth yeare and last yeare of king Henrie the first. He married Cleane; the daughter of Edmund duke of Sumner, set, and died without issue, being beheaded at New-castle in the yeare one thousand four hundred sixtie one, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth.

Henrie bicount Bourchier was lord tresuro: of England the second time, in the nine and thirtieth and last yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred & sixtie. Who upon the deposition of the said king Henrie the first by Edward the fourth, was also removed from his office.

Thomas Bourchier, made lord tresuro: of England in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred sixtie and one, continued not long in that office, but gave place to John earle of Worcester.

John Liptott earle of Worcester, the second time possessed the place of the lord tresuro: of England, in the second and thirde yeare of king Edward the fourth. Of whom is more spoken before by me in my treatise of the constables of England pag. 869.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, the sonne of John lord Greie of Ruthine, did enjoy the office of the lord tresuro: ship of England, in the fourth yeare of the noble prince king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464. This man secretlie in hart forsaking the part of king Henrie the first, for injuries received at the same king Henries hands, aided the said Edward the fourth, and was the chiefe means whereby he attained the crowne. In Michaelmas tearme in the said fourth yeare of the king, there was a sergeants feast held in Holborne in the bishop of Elies house, to which the mayo: and aldermen repaired, being bidden thither. But when the mayo: looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall (forgetting that he was out of his owne liberties, for the bishops palace was an exempt place) as it had bene used (saith John Stow) in all places of the citie & liberties of the same, out of the kings presence: the lord Greie of Ruthine then tresuro: of England unknowne to the sergeants, and (against their wills as they said) was placed in the highest roome. Where, upon the mayo:, aldermen, and commons departed. This Edmund with Matthew Parker, in the life of Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie, made to be tresuro: in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1463: which may well enough stand with the former, being tresuro: to John earle of Worcester in the said third yeare of the king. For upon the removing of the said earle in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, came this lord Greie in place. The words of which Matthew Parker (with a note of the yeare of Christ 1463 in the margent) are in this order. *Edwardus rex, annulus iam annis feliciter gesto regno, parliamentum Westmonasterij tenuit, quo etiam tempore archiepiscopus (which was Thomas Bourchier the brother of Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) & clerici in synodo conveniunt. In hac synodo Iohannes comes Wigornia, Henricus comes Essexia, D. Edmundus Grey thesaurarius Anglia, D. Humphridus Cromwell, D. Wenlocke, D. Iohannes prior sancti Iohannis, & Robertus Stillington legum doctor custos privatis sigilli, regis conciliarij, aliiq: literis regis petierunt a clero decerni regi ad sacros repellendos subsidium. Quod quidem gratissimis omnium animis tam munifici regi concessum est, qui superiori anno ecclesia immunitates atque iura iniquis iudiciorum calumnijs (viti in Iohanne Stafford antea diximus) convulsa & labefacta diplomate regio restauravit.*

Besides which, thus writeth John Whethamsted, that learned abbat of saint Albons, of this lord

Greie, declaring in what authoritie he was at first, in the daies of Henrie the first, and then in the reigne of Edward the fourth. His words be these. *Anno 36 H. 6. venerunt tres viri monachi de canobio Cluniacensi, quibus ad audiendum eorum nuntium missi sunt episcopus Dunelmensis custos privatis sigilli, dominus Edmundus Greie de Ruthine, & secretarius regis, quibus isti viri dixerunt eorum adventum esse ob tria. Primo ad aperendum quomodo reges Anglia & precipue Henricus secundus fuerunt tam magni benefactores ad eorum ecclesiam, ut potius pro nunc dicatur earum patronus ac precipuus fundator. Secundo venerunt ad petendum possessionem & confirmationem bonorum illorum, quae dicti progenitores eis contulerant, & per tempus non paucam iam dudum a manibus eorum detenta & distracta erant. Tercio ad impetrandum liberam licentiam ad ingrediendum singula loca religiosa ab eorum canobio dependentia, & quae per nobiles progenitores regis posita fuerunt sub eorum regimine. Sed nihil hic eis gratum fuit actum, ita ut tristes discederent. Out of the which words of Whethamsted maie other things be gathered, besides the doings of the lord Greie: as that the kings of England, and speciallie Henrie the second, haue bene great benefactors and founders of the Charterhouse monks: with manie mo matters contelned in the same, which I referre to the wolfe and learned reader, which made me the willinger to set downe his words so largelie.*

Moreover, the same Whethamsted, continuing the historie of Henrie the first, writeth of the battell of Northampton, wher in was this lord Greie, in this sort. *In praelio Northamptonensi Edmundus Grey dominus Ruthine corpore licet praesens (even as the lord Stanleie was in the battell fought betwixt Richard the third & Henrie erle of Richmond, after king by the name of Henrie the seventh) in campo domini regis Henrici sexti steterat, cor tamen eius non erat rectum in eo, neq: omnino fidelis habitus aut inuentus fuit. Nam venientibus turmis dictus ad fossam circumvallationis, & ipsam non multum prompte propter elevationem verticis in parte ulteriore ascendere volentibus, occurrit ipsi dominus cum suis copijs obuiam porrigendosq: ipsis dextram traxit eos per manus in campum Martium, iuxta votum suum. Thus much Whethamsted of Edmund Greie lord Ruthine, who was made earle of Kent in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464.*

This Edmund Greie being lord Hastings, Willeford, and Ruthine (before he had the honour of this earldome) did by his deed of indenture dated the 18 of November, in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1446, give to John Winchbecke prior of Dufeld in Northamptonshire in almesse, during the life of the said prior, his field called Challocke, belonging to the manour of Challocke, to keepe the obits of sir John Greie, father to the said sir Edmund, and of dame Culfance the widow of the earle marshall, and daughter of John Holland duke of Excester and erle of Huntington, mother to the said sir Edmund, with masse, &c. and such other collects as the said Edmund should deliver unto the said prior. Out of this house of the Greies haue issued manie noble houses, and those of great antiquitie, whereof at this daie there yet remaineth two honourable houses: the one being Henrie Greie earle of Kent now living, a man of singular estimation in the countrie of Bedford where he now liueth, as well for the nobilitie of his race, being descended of this Edmund Greie lord tresuro: of England, for the good government and carriage of himselfe, and for the orderlie and wise managing of the affaires of that countrie, deserving

The lord
Greie of
Wilton.

deserting no lesse honourable place in the common-
wealth, than the honour of his race, and worthinesse
of his behauiour do well merit.

The other house at this date in honour, is the lord
Greie of Wilton knight of the garter, and sometime
deputie of Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his
seruice abroad in the seats of armes, than is the other
Greie for his seruice at home in the affairs of peace.
But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of
them both, least some more malicioisie than trulie
blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I
am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at
all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other,
and neuer benefited by anie of them both, there is no
cause why I should be anie flatterie: and yet such
force hath vertue, as it will shine euen in despite of
malice. But againe to the matter. There haue out
of this house of the Greies, besides manie noble
houses, issued one duke of Suffolke, two marquesses
of Dorset, and five earles of Kent.

The severall
houses of the
Greies.

Againe I thinke it not impertinent for the conti-
nuance of antiquities, and of deserts of honour, to
mention how manie severall houses there haue bin
of the nobilitie of these Greies, and in what time they
liued. First there was Reigbold Greie lord Greie
of Codnor, in the time of king Stephan: the second
was Reigbold lord Greie of Kotherfield, in the time
of Richard the second: the third John Greie earle
of Tankerville in Normandie, in the time of Hen-
rie the first: the fourth this Edmund Greie lord Au-
stine earle of Kent, and tresuroz of England in the
time of king Edward the fourth: the fifth house Tho-
mas Greie marquisse Dorset, in the time of king
Edward the fourth: the first Edward Greie lord Lisle
in the time of king Edward the fourth: the seventh
Edward Greie lord Powes, in the time of king Ed-
ward the fourth: the eight Henrie Greie duke of
Suffolke, in the time of Edward the first. So that
there were at one time, in one kings daies, which
was the time of Edward the fourth, six noble men li-
uing of the name of Greies, which were the mar-
quessse Dorset, the earle of Kent, the lord Lisle, the
lord Powes, the lord Greie of Wilton, and the lord
Greie of Kotherfield.

The Greies
right honou-
rable.

Wherefore to draw to an end of this lord treasu-
roz, who hath occasioned me to be more liberall in
treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord
tresuroz: or noble name besides (for manie priuat
reasons which I reserve to my selfe) I will yet speake
more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large
booke of the liues of the lord tresurozs of England,
and knit by this Edmund Greie lord tresuroz with
the marieng of his wife Katharine, the daughter of
Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, by whome
he had issue George Greie earle of Kent; Elisabeth,
married to Robert baron of Greystocke; and Anne
married to John lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Walter
Blunt knight

Sir Walter Blunt knight, who was the first
lord Pontioie, possessed the place of the lord trea-
surozhip of England, in the first yeare of king Ed-
ward the fourth, which fell in the yeare that the word
of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine
1465. Of this man is mention made in the booke of
the law called Long Quinto of Edward the fourth.
He married the daughter of one Ditham, and had is-
sue, William, John, and James.

Sir Richard
Woodville.

Sir Richard Woodville knight, chamberleine to
the king, and constable of England, was made ba-
ron on the ninth of Maie in the second yeare of king
Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1424, and
was after created earle Rivers in the first yeare of
king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our re-
demption 1465, who thus advanced was after lord
tresuroz in the first, seventh, & eight of Edward the

fourth. In which eight yeare of Edward the fourth,
Thomas Coke late maior of London, was accused
of treason and arraigned for the same. Who after that
he had bene manie times purged thereof, was yet
at last found gilty, and by this lord Rivers then lord
tresuroz so handled, as that he could not be deliuered
untill he had paid eight thousand pounds to the
king, and eight hundred to the queene. This lord trea-
suroz married Jaquet the widow of John duke of
Bedford, daughter to Peter of Lucenburgh earle
of S. Paule, by whom he had issue Richard earle Ri-
uers, Antonie lord Seales in the right of his wife,
Edward Woodville knight slaine at the battell of S.
Albaine in Britaine in the third yeare of Henrie the
seuenth: Lionell bishop of Salisburie, Margaret
married to Thomas erle of Arundell, Margaret ma-
ried to William Herbert erle of Huntingdon, Anne
first married to William Burcher erle of Essex, and
after to George Greie erle of Kent, Jaquet married
to John lord Strange, Elisabeth married to sir John
Greie younger sonne to the lord Greie of Austine,
and after the death of the said sir John Greie to king
Edward the fourth: and Katharine married to Hen-
rie duke of Buckingham. Besides all which I haue
read of one John, which was sonne to this earle Ri-
uers, which John married the old duchesse of Nor-
folke, & was beheaded with his father: the truth wher-
of I leave to further triall. This Richard erle Rivers
the lord tresuroz in the ninth yeare of king Edward
the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1469,
was by Robert Hiltard, who named himselfe Ro-
bert of Kideisdale, taken in the forest of Wene as
some haue, others saie at Craston, and from thence
brought to Northampton, where he was beheaded.

John Longstrother, prior of saint Johns Ierusalem in England, possessed the place of the lord trea-
suroz of the realme, in the ninth yeare of king Ed-
ward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption
one thousand four hundred and nine, for in the same
yeare he gaue place to the bishop of Elie.

William Greie bishop of Elie, was after the
translation of Thomas Burcher from Elie to Can-
turburie advanced to that see by Nicholas the first
then bishop of Rome, who gaue it to the said Wil-
liam being then procurator for king Henrie the first
at Rome, in the yeare of our redemption one thou-
sand four hundred fiftie and four. This man was
lord tresuroz in the ninth yeare of king Edward the
fourth, being the yeare in which God became man
one thousand four hundred thre score and nine, in
which office he continued (as I gather) untill the ele-
uenth of king Edward the fourth, or thereabouts.
This Greie was bozne of the noble house of the lord
Greies of Codnor, as saith Bale, and travelled in-
to Italie to attaine great learning, where he heard
the noble clerke Guarinus Veronenfis read in Fer-
raria. He continued bishop of Elie foure and twen-
tie yeeres, eleuen moneths and two daies, departing
this life at Dunham the fourth of August, in the yeare
that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe
of the virgine, one thousand four hundred seuentie
and eight, as I haue read; and was buried at Elie be-
twene two marble pillars, hauing bestowed great
summes of monie vpon the reparation of that fa-
mous beltrie of the church of Elie, and vpon other
ornaments of the same church.

Henrie Burcher erle of Essex did the third time
possesse the honorable place of the lord tresuroz of
England, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of king
Edward the fourth, in which office he continued (as I
gather) about twelue yeares, being all the rest of the
life of the said Edward the fourth, who departed this
world about the ninth daie of Aprill, in the yeare
from the conception of the Meschiah one thousand
four hundred

John Long-
strother.

William Greie
bishop of Elie.

Henrie Bur-
cher.

four hundred four score and three, which Bourchier being made earle of Essex in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1461, married Elisabeth the daughter of Richard de Conisburgh earle of Cambridge the sister of Richard duke of Yorke, by whome he had issue William lord Bourchier, Thomas, John, Henrie, and Humfrie knights.

Sir Richard
Wod

Sir Richard Wod knight, whome some call sir John Wod, being before vnder treasurer in the three and twentieth yeare of king Edward the fourth, was in the same yeare of the same king made knight, about a moneth before the death of the said king Edward the fourth. This man did possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England (as I gather out of the record of *Pellis exitus* of that yeare) in the second yeare of the reigne of the vnnaturall, blondie, and blurring tyrant king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1484, which office I suppose that he kept, untill the said Richard the third was slaine by Henrie earle of Richmond afterwards king of England, by the name of Henrie the 7. And here I thinke it not amisse before I go any further (although it be somewhat out of order, sith it is best to observe *Decorum*, and vnorderlie to treat of vnorderlie officers vnder such an vnorderlie king as Richard the third was) to make report of sir William Hopton knight, whome some will haue to be treasurer in the first yeare of the reigne of the same king, in the yeare of Christ 1483, attending on him to his coronation. But trulie, sauing the correction of better scene antiquaries than my selfe, I can not as yet receiue him into the catalog of the lord treasurers of England, but rather suppose that he was treasurer of the houthold.

Sir William
Hopton

Sir Reinold
Baze knight

Sir Reinold Baze knight (the sonne of Richard Baze physician as some haue noted to king Henrie the first) being seruant to Margarete countesse of Richmond mother to Henrie the seventh, was for the fidelitie to his labie, & good seruice in furthering king Henrie the seventh to the crowne, receiued into great fauour with the said king, and made lord treasurer of England, as appeareth by the record of *Pellis exitus* made vnder his name in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand, four hundred, eightie, and six: besides which office he had manie other offices and honours, part whereof were, that he was treasurer of the kings wars, that he was one of the executors to H. Henrie the seventh, that he was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said king, and created a banneret at Blacke heath field. He died the eighteenth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred & three, and was honorable buried at Wundsoze.

Sir John
Dinham knight

Sir John Dinham knight (the sonne of sir John Dinham knight) a faithfull seruant to the house of Yorke as well in aiding the duke of Yorke, as in seruing king Edward the fourth sonne to the said duke of Yorke, to whom the said Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of his reigne had giuen one annuallie of fortie pounds by yeare, did after the death of the said king Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of king Henrie the seventh, possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred four score and six, and so continued untill in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, and then gaue place to Thomas earle of Surreie, of which lord Dinham thus writeth Leland: *Diminus Dinham primus fuit fundator sancti Nidmialis Horland*. He was created lord Dinham in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, shortly after the coronation of the said king, in the yeare of

our redemption one thousand four hundred three score and one, he died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred, and the thirtieth of Januarie was brought to the Greie friers in London: there buried: he married Elisabeth the daughter of the lord Fitzwater, by whom he had issue George and Phillip, and sir Thomas Dinham his base sonne that married one of the daughters and helres of sir John Dimond, which Thomas was buried at Ashing three miles from Berkhamsted. Besides which children this lord Dinham or Denham, for so I find both written in chronicles, had by his legitimat wife diuerse daughters, which were Margarete married to Nicholas baron of Carew, Joane married to the lord Zouch, Elisabeth married to the lord Fitz Warren, and Katharine married to sir Thomas Arundell of Cornewall knight.

Here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of a note which I haue seene, that maketh John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer, which note is this. John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer of England, died the six and twentieth daie of December, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred four score and ten, falling in the first yeare of king Henrie the seventh, and had issue James lord Audleie beheaded the eight and twentieth of June, in the yeare of Christ 1497, being the twelfth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, he married the daughter of sir Richard Dauell knight: thus much the note. But trulie for aie thing I can yet learne, I can not perceiue when this John Touchet should be treasurer, and so cannot perceiue where he should be placed in this catalog of the treasurers of England. But as I will not receiue him into aie place of this succession at this time; so I will not altogether reiect him, in hope that following time will informe me of the truth therein.

Thomas Howard the sonne of John lord Howard (created the first duke of Norfolk of that name in the time of Richard the third) was at the same time also created earle of Surreie. This man (after the slaughter of his father at Bosworth field, when the tyrant Richard the third was slaine by Henrie the seventh) was after receiued into such fauour with the said king Henrie the seventh, that he was advanced to be lord treasurer of England, in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred, which place he continued all the life of the said king Henrie the seventh, who died in the four and twentieth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and nine. After which for the good seruice he did in the time of Henrie the seventh, king Henrie the eight also permitted him to keepe that office, which he possessed untill the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred twentieth and three.

This man was created duke of Norfolk in Cambelmasse daie, in the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and thirtene, at what time also his son Thomas Howard was made earle of Surreie. This duke was advanced to that honour (in recompense of the death of the king of Scots, and for the good seruice that he did against that nation in the said first yeare of Henrie the eight) with an augmentation of his armes, to beare the armes of Scotland in the bend of the arms of Howard. Touching which victorie and death of the king of Scots Buchanan lib. 13. writeth to this effect, that the said Thomas Howard (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants his cognisance (to weare on their left arme) being a white lion (the beast which he bare before as the proper ensigne

Thomas
Howard earle
of Surreie.

ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the pecular note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes. This Thomas duke of Norfolk married two wiues, his first wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir Frederike Thine knight, by whom he had issue Thomas erle of Surreie after duke of Norfolk, Edward laine at Bret admerall of England, & Edmund Howard, with Elisabeth married to Thomas Bulleine earle of Wiltshire, and Purcell married to John Erie viscount Lille. His second wife was Agnes daughter of sir Philip Tilne knight, by whom he had issue William lord Howard of Effingham, with manie others. This Thomas duke of Norfolk died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, and was buried at Wethford in Norfolk.

Thomas
Howard.

Thomas Howard (sonne to the said Thomas duke of Norfolk) being earle of Surreie, possessed the place of the lord tresuroz in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare that Christ tooke flesh of the virgine Marie one thousand five hundred twentie and thre: the which office he continued in the eight and thirtieth yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and six: in which yeare on the eight and twentieth of Ianuarie, the said king Henrie died (so that this duke and his father were lord tresuroz of England almost eight and fortie yeares.) But about some few daies more than a moneth before the death of the said king, that is to saie, on the twelue of December, this duke with his sonne Henrie earle of Surreie were committed to the towler, the one by water the other by land. Shortly after which the said Henrie was beheaded at towler hill, the nineteenth daie of Ianuarie: about nine daies before the death of the king. And the duke remained as condemned to perpetuall prison, till the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie, who then set him at libertie. He married for his first wife Anne the daughter of king Edward the fourth, but had no issue by hir: after whose death he married Elisabeth daughter to Edward duke of Buckingham, by whom he had issue, Henrie earle of Surreie beheaded as before, Thomas viscount Windon, and Marie married to Henrie Fitzroie duke of Richmond. He died about the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie.

Edward
Seimoz.

Edward Seimoz earle of Hertford was after the death of king Henrie the eight made lord tresuroz of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the first: being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie & six, in which yeare he was also made protector of England and duke of Summerstet: of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker, calling him *Regni camerarium*, in the life of Thomas Craumer archbishop of Canturburie in these words page 397. *In testamento* (meaning king Henrie the eight) *Edwardo principi minori nouem annis nato heredi suo sexdecim tutores, ex episcopis solos Thomam Cranmerum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & Cuthbertum Tonstallium Dunelmensem episcopum dedit.* And a little after pag. 398. *solueth: verum pluribus (ut diximus) ei minori (that was king Edward) a patre constitutis curatoribus, ne numero suo atque multitudine ad dissentiones faciles essent & proclues vnus electus est, qui ex consilijs reliquorum impuberis regis tutelam solus administraret. Is fuit Edwardus Seimerus comes Hertfordiensis, totius regni camerarius regisque amicus. Qui suscepit tutelam regis, totius regni atque dominiorum suorum protector & Somerseti dux nuncupatus atque creatus est.* This duke of Summerstet being tresuroz of England continued in the same office untill his death (as I gather) more than foure yeares, and was beheaded in the six yeare of king Edward the first, being the

yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred fiftie and one.

Sir William Paulet knight, marquette of Winchester was made lord tresuroz upon the death of the duke of Summerstet: in the six yeare of king Edward the first, and the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, which office he kept by the space of twentie yeares and more: a longer time than euer anie other tresuroz had done before, except the two last dukes of Norfolk. This man being a man of extreme age (as attaining to the yeares of ninetie seven) died lord tresuroz of England (the tenth of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of the famous queene Elisabeth) at his manoz of Wasing. He in his life time did see the children of his childrens children growne to the number of one hundred and thre, a rare blessing of God to men of his calling. He married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Cayll knight, by whom he had issue John marquette of Winchester, Thomas, Chibroke, and Giles: Alice married to Richard Stowell, Margaret married to sir William Berkeleye, Margaret married to Richard Waller, and Cleanoz married to sir Richard Peckshall.

Sir William Cecill knight of the garter and lord Burghleie, was aduanced to the honorable place of lord tresuroz of England on the thirtieth daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, five hundred, seauentie and two, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of our gracions queene Elisabeth. This man was descended of the honorable familie of the Sitfylts of Wales, sometime lords of Beauport in the daies of Henrie the first, as appeareth by this pedegree here inserted.

1 In the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and one, Robert Sitfyt came with Robert Fitzhamon to the countrie of Glamorgan, and after wedded a ladie, by whom he had halterrennes and other lands in Hereford and Gloucestershires: he had a sonne called James Sitfyt.

2 James Sitfyt tooke part with Spawd the emperesse against king Stephan, and was laine at the siege of the castell of Wallingford *Anno quarto Stephani*, hauing then upon him a vesture, whereon was wrought in needle worke his armes & ensignes, as they be made on the tome of Gerald Sitfyt in the abbete of Dore, which are afterward trulie blazed, in a iudgement giuen by commission of king Edward the third, for the ancient right of the same armes. This James had a sonne called John Sitfyt, and foure daughters.

3 John Sitfyt, the sonne of James, was after the death of his father, in the same warres with Roger earle of Hereford, and constable of England, and being taken prisoner at the siege of Lincoln, *Anno. 6. Stephani*, he paid for his ransome foure hundred marks, and therefore sold his lordship of Beauport, and all his lands in the countie of Gloucester: he tooke to wife a ladie called Spawd de Fresnes and had issue Cusace.

4 Cusace Sitfyt the son of John was wedded to Elianoz the daughter of sir Walter Pembroke knight, and had by hir Baldwin and John; and foure daughters, whereof one of them was the wife of sir Thomas Fitzneale knight.

5 Baldwin Sitfyt the sonne of Cusace, was made knight by king Henrie the second, in the warres that the king had against the Welshmen, he was also killed in the same warres, at the siege of the castell of Cardiffe, his father being ahue; he tooke to wife the daughter of Maurice de Brompston, and had by hir Gerald Sitfyt, Cusace Sitfyt, Henrie

Sir
Wm.
Cecil.

Rob
Sitfyt.

James
Sitfyt.

John
Sitfyt.

John
Sitfyt.

John
Sitfyt.

John
Sitfyt.

Henrie Sittsplt, John Sittsplt, and Walter Sittsplt; and two daughters, Catharine and Elleanor. Catharine was the wife of Hugh Pureake, and Elleanor was the wife of Walter Wallis. This Baldwin Sittsplt knight took to his second wife, Margerie the daughter of Stephan Radnor knight, and had by hir, Stephan Sittsplt, Roger Sittsplt, Hugh Sittsplt, and David Sittsplt; and three daughters, the first was Palud and she was a Nun, the second was Jone and she was the wife of John de Solers, the third daughter Anne was the wife of Owen ap Iheredith. This man gave certaine lands in the towne of Riggstone, unto the monks of Dore, and granted unto the same monks freedom of common and pasture, and other liberties in his woods.

Gerald Sittsplt

6 Gerald Sittsplt, the first sonne of Baldwin Sittsplt knight, took to wife Abill the daughter of Sir William Poigne knight, and had by hir three sonnes, Gerald Sittsplt that died a child, Robert Sittsplt that married and had children, and Owen Sittsplt a monk of the abbey of Dore. He had also three daughters, Catharine, that was wedded to Sir Griffin ap Iherford, and after to David ap Euan, and the third time to Gessre de Biet, sonne of Sir Walter Biet knight. Anne the second daughter of Gerald Sittsplt was wedded to Robert the sonne of Richard Bonelwich. And Ellen the third daughter of Gerald Sittsplt, was the wife of John Abzahall, father of Sir John Abzahall knight.

Robert Sittsplt

7 Robert Sittsplt, the sonne of Gerald took to wife Alicia daughter of Sir Robert Tregois knight, and had by hir James Sittsplt his first sonne, Gerald the second sonne, Thomas the third sonne, and Baldwin the fourth sonne; and Margaret the first daughter, and Elisabeth the second daughter.

James Sittsplt

8 James Sittsplt the sonne of Robert, took to wife Isabell the daughter of Sir John Inell knight, and had by hir James and Gerald twins; James died young: he had also Robert Sittsplt, and John Sittsplt; and five daughters, that is to saie, Alicia wedded to Walter Monington, Grace wedded to Roger sonne of William Blunt, Elleanor wedded to Thomas Paine, Margerie wedded to Morgan ap Iheredith, and Silie married to Howell ap Blethin, and after to Sir Hugh Brage.

Gerald Sittsplt

9 Gerald Sittsplt, sonne of James, took to wife Margaret, daughter of Stephan Dalaber, and by hir had John Sittsplt; and after he wedded Isogret the widow of Sir Simon Ward knight, and had by hir James Sittsplt, and the third time married the daughter of Martine Hopton, and had by hir Martine Sittsplt, Henrie Sittsplt, and David Sittsplt, and Jone a daughter. And the fourth time the same Gerald Sittsplt took to wife Jene the daughter of Robert Emerton, and had by hir one sonne named Stigand Sittsplt, that was slaine in the warres of Struelin in the time of king Edward the second, and had no issue, as the register of the abbey of Dore maketh mention.

John Sittsplt

10 John Sittsplt, the sonne of Gerald, took to wife Sibill the daughter of Robert of Croyas, and had by hir Sir John Sittsplt knight, George Sittsplt, and a daughter named Margaret, that was the wife of Sir Robert Baskerville knight, who had by hir Sir John Baskerville knight; and by his second wife he had Sir Richard Baskerville knight, that took to wife Jane the daughter and heire of George Sittsplt second sonne of this John Sittsplt, and had by hir Sir John Baskerville knight.

Sir John Sittsplt

11 Sir John Sittsplt knight, took to wife Alicia, the sister of the said Sir Roger Baskerville, and Sir Roger married his sister, as is aforesaid.

This Sir John Sittsplt had John Sittsplt and Roger Sittsplt.

* In the time of the warres that king Edward the third made against Scotland, at a place called Halidon hill nere Barwik anno 6. of Edward the third, there arose a great variance and contention betwene Sir William de Jacknham knight, on the one side apponant, and this Sir John Sittsplt knight, on the other side defendant, for an ensigne of armes, that is to saie; The field of ten barrets silver and azure, supported of fine scutcheons sable charged with so manie lions of the first rampants incensed geuls, which ensigne both the parties did claime as their right. But as both parties put themselves to their force to mainteine their quarrell, and vauanted to mainteine the same by their bodies; it pleased the king that iustice should be yeldded for trial of the quarrell, without shedding of blood: and so the bearing of the ensigne was solemnly adjudged to be the right of the said Sir John Sittsplt, as heire of blood lineallie descended of the bodie of James Sittsplt, lord of Beauport slaine at the siege of Wallingford, as before is declared. The finall order and determination of which controuersie is laid downe by John Boswell gentleman, in his booke intituled The concord of Armorie, fol. 80. This Sir John Sittsplt had a charge of men at arms, for the custodie of the marches to Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the third.

D. Powell.

12 John Sittsplt, the sonne of Sir John Sittsplt knight, took to wife Jone daughter of Sir Richard Monington knight, and had by hir John Sittsplt that died, his father being aliue, and Thomas Sittsplt.

John Sittsplt

13 Thomas Sittsplt married Margaret the daughter and heire of Gilbert de Winston, and had by hir Philip Sittsplt, and David Sittsplt. This man was a great benefactor to the monks of Dore, and forgave them great sums of monie which they did owe him.

Thomas Sittsplt

14 Philip Sittsplt married Margaret, the daughter of John Phillips, and had by hir Richard, John, and Margaret.

Philip Sittsplt

15 Richard Sittsplt or Cecil married Margaret the daughter of Philip Vaughan, and had by hir Philip Cecil, Margaret Cecil, John Cecil, David Cecil, and James or Jenkin Cecil.

Richard Sittsplt

* These pedegrees & descents I gathered faithfullie out of sundrie ancient records and evidences, wherof the most part are confirmed with scales autentike therunto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth thereof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the right honourable Sir William Cecil, knight of the noble order of the garter, lord Burghleie, and lord high treasurer of England, who is lineallie descended from the last recited Richard Sittsplt, father to David Cecil, grandfather to the said Sir William Cecil now lord Burghleie. And at this date William Sittsplt or Cecil esquier cosen german to the said lord Burghleie, removed by one degree onelie, is possessed of the foresaid house of Halterennnes in Croyas land as the heire male of the house of Sittsplt, and is descended of Philip Cecil, elder brother to the said David.

D. Powell.

The descent of Sir William Cecil now lord treasurer.

This Sir William Cecil lord Burghleie, living at this instant in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, five hundred, eightie and six, to the great support of this commonwealth, doth worthilie inuoy the place of the lord treasurer of England, of whom (for auoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that god which we the subjects of England doe feele by his meanes, and all the world doth see in his rare and wise government. And therefore leauing what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countrymen, as well

Fr. Thio.

f f f f f . iij.

for

for rare gouernment at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almighty Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting by this discourse of the treasurers, with no lesse honorable person of the temporalitie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualitie in that their age: this being knowne as singular in policie as the other was supposed to be in prelacie, I here set end to that which with much labour of bodie, trauell of mind, and charge of purse, I haue brought to this forme what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thin touching the treasurers of England.]

The earle of Northumberland beheaded.

Englishmen sent to Ulster in Ireland.

Anno Reg. 15
A strange star appeared; the bignesse thereof, and of what continuance.

Earle of Darbie deceased.

The life and death of the foresaid earle of Darbie.

The 22 of August Thomas Persie earle of Northumberland late of Copcliffe, who had bene before attainted by parlement of high treason, as one of the principall conspirators in the late rebellion, and now brought out of Scotland, whither he had fled, was beheaded at Poike about two of the clocke in the afternone, on a new scaffold set up for that purpose in the market place. In this moneth of August Sir Thomas Smith, one of the quenes maiesties priuie counsell, carefullie tendering the reformation of Ireland, sent his son Thomas Smith esquier thither with a certeine number of Englishmen to inhabit the Ards in Ulster, after the maner of a colonie vsed by the Romans.

The eighteenth of Nouember in the morning was seene a star northward verie bright and clere, in the constellation of Cassiopeia, at the backe of hir chaire, which with three chiefe fixed stars of the said constellation made a geometricall figure losengwise, of the learned men called Rhombus. This starre in bignes at the first appering seemed bigger than Iupiter, & not much lesse than Venus when she seemeth greatest. Also the said starre neuer changing his place, was caried about with the dailie motion of heauen, as all fixed starres commonlie are, and so continued (by little and little to the eie appearing lesse) for the space of almost sixtene moneths: at what time it was so small, that rather thought by exercises of off betwix might imagine the place, than anie eie could iudge the presence of the same. And one thing is herein chiefe to be noted, that (by the skill and consent of the best and most expert mathematicians, which obserued the state, propertie, and other circumstances belonging to the same starre) it was found to haue bene in place celestiall far above the mone, otherwise than euer anie comet hath bene seene, or naturallie can appere. Therefore it is supposed that the signification thereof is directed purposely and specially to some matter, not naturall, but celestiall, or rather supercelestiall, so strange, as from the beginning of the world neuer was the like.

The foure and twentieth of Nouember Edward earle of Darbie, lord Stanleie, & Strange, of Knoc king, lord and gouernor of the Isles of Man, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the quens maiesties priuie counsell deceased at his house called Latham in Lancashire. His life and death deserving commendation, and crauing memorie to be imitated, was such as followeth. His fidelitie vnto two kings and two quenes in dangerous times and great rebellions, in which time, and alwaies as cause serued, he was lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and lastlie offered ten thousand men vnto the quenes maiestie of his owne charge for the suppression of the last rebellion. His goodlie disposition to his tenants, neuer forcing anie seruice at their hands, but due payment of their rent. His liberalitie to strangers, and such as shewed themselves

gratefull to him. His famous housekeeping, and cleuen score in checkroll, neuer discontinuing the space of twelue yeares. His feeding especiallie of aged persons twice a daie three score and od; besides all comers thise a weeke appointed for his dealing daies; and euerie god fridaie these five and thirtie yeares one with another two thousand seauen hundred, with meat, drinke, monie, and monie worth. There was neuer gentleman or other that waited in his seruice, but had allowance from him, to haue as well wages as otherwisse for horse and man. His peerlie portion for the expences of his house foure thousand pounds. His cunning in setting bones dislointed or broken, his surgerie and desire to helpe the poore, his deliuerie of the George and scale to the lord Strange, with exhortation that he might keepe it so vnspotted in fidelitie to his prince as he had, and his iolie that he died in the quenes fauour. His iollie parting this world, his taking leaue of all his seruants by shaking of hands, & his remembrance to the last daie.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember John Hall late of Wattle in Sussex gentleman, and Arnold Wilkinson late of Poike and galley of Poike castell (being before arraigned and condemned of treason) were drawn from the tower of London to Tibborne, and there hanged, botelled, and quartered. This yere a great and sharpe frost almost continualie lasted, from before the feast of All saints, till after the feast of the Epiphanie of our Lord, with sometime great and deepe snowes, and sometime raines, which frased as fast as the same fell to the ground: where through at Wrotham in Kent, and manie other places, the armes and boughs of trees being overcharged with ice, brake off, and fell from the stockes of the same trees. Also the wind continued north and east, till after the Ascension daie, with sharpe frosts and snowes, whereby followed a late spring.

The twelue of Iannarie William lord Howard, baron of Effingham, lord priuie seale, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the priuie counsell deceased at Hampton court. The eighteenth of Iannarie William lord Sommerset earle of Worcester began his iourneie towards France, to the christening of the kings daughter there in stead of the quenes maiestie of England, who sent with him a font of gold for that purpose, weighing three hundred and six and twentie ounces. The said earle with manie of his companie were robbed vpon the sea by pirates of much of their baggage, and three or foure of their men slaine. In France he and his traine were honorablie receiued. At the christening he gaue the child to name Elisabeth. They returned into England the seauen and twentieth of Februarie.

In the moneth of Februarie, thorough sundrie heinous complaints brought to the quenes maiestie and hir counsell of pirates that kept the narrow seas, doing manie robberies, as also the robbing of the earle of Worcester (as is aforesaid) hir highnesse, by the aduise of hir honourable counsell, took order with the lord admerall of England, that he should send to the seas, ships and men to scowze the narrow seas, & to apprehend so manie pirates ships as might be met with. And for the better doing thereof, it pleased hir maiestie to send one of hir owne ships, named the Swallow to be the admerall, vnder the charge of William Holfocke of London esquier, comptroller of hir highnesse ships, who had with him the Gillian, the barke Caret, and the barke of Parmonth, and three hundred and three score able mariners, gunners, and souldiours in the said three ships, and one barke which scowzed the narrow seas, from the north foreland, as farre westward as Falmouth in Cornewall, and toke twentie ships and booke of

Warr que-
ries in a noble
man.

Hall and Wil-
kinson execu-
ted.

Great frost
and a sharpe
winter.

1573
Lord priuie
seale deceased.
Earle of Worcester
sent into
France.

Earle of Worcester
robbed
on the sea.

The narrow
seas scowzed.

Pirats on the
west seas.

Pirats execu-
ted.

A man hang-
ed in saint
Georges
field.

George San-
ders mur-
dered at Shot-
ters hill.

Discourse of
the murder
perpetrated and
committed.

Roger Cle-
ment called
the Roger.

George the
murderer re-
warded with
paine.

George the
murderer
executed by
the sword.

undrie nations, to wit, English, French, and Flem-
mings (but all pirates) and in fashion of warre. He
apprehended in those ships and barks to the number
of nine hundred men of all nations, and sent them to
ward to Sandwich, Dover, Wight, and Portes-
mouth, whereof three of them that robbed the earle of
Norcesster were shortly after executed at Wight.)
Also the said William Holfstocke did rescue and take
from the above said pirats ships, fiftene other mer-
chants ships laden with merchandize, that were their
prizes, being of sundrie nations, and set at libertie
the said fiftene merchants ships and goods: which
done, he returned to Portesmouth, and there ended
his voyage in March.

The fourth of March, a man was hanged in chains
in saint Georges field beyond Southwoke of Lon-
don, for murdering the gailor of Wotham in the
same field. The seventeenth of March deceased Kel-
nold Greie of Ruthin, earle of Kent, at Herneleie,
and was buried at saint Giles without Creplegate.
About the same time died Edmund lord Shandois.
The five and twentieth of March being wednesday in
Caster weeke, and the feast of the Annuntiation of
our ladie, George Broome cruelle murdered two
honest men nere to Shoters hill in Kent, the one of
them was a wealthy merchant of London named
George Sanders, the other John Beane of Wol-
wich, which murder was committed in manner as
followeth. On tuesday in Caster weeke (the foure
and twentieth of March) the said George Broome re-
ceiuing secret intelligence by letter from mistresse
Anne Durie, that master Sanders should lodge the
same night at the house of one master Barnes in
Wolwich, and from thence go on foot to saint Marie
Crute; the next morning he laie in wait for him by
the waie, a little from Shoters hill, and there slue
both him & John Beane servant to master Barnes.
But John Beane having ten or eleuen wounds, &
being left for dead, by Gods providence did reuiue a-
gaine: and creeping awaie on all foure, was found
by an old man and his maiden, and conuected unto
Wolwich, where he gaue euident marks of the
murderer.

Immediatlie upon the deed doing, Broome sent
mistresse Durie word thereof by Roger Clement
(among them called trustie Roger) he himselfe re-
paired forthwith to the court at Greenwich, & anon
after him came thither the report of the murder al-
so. Then departed he thence unto London, and came
to the house of mistresse Durie, where though he
spake not personallie with hir, after conference had
with hir servant trustie Roger, she provided him
twentie pounds that same daie, for the which she laide
certaine plate of hir owne, & of mistresse Sanders
to gage. On the next morning being thursdaie (ha-
ving intelligence that Broome was sought for) they
sent him six pounds more by the same Roger, warn-
ing him to shift for himselfe by flight, which thing he
followed not to do. Neuertheless, the lords of the
quens maiesties counsell caused so speedie and nar-
row search to be made for him, that upon the eight
and twentieth of the same moneth he was apprehen-
ded in a mans house of his owne name at Rochester
and being brought backe againe to the court, was
examined by the counsell: unto whom he confessed
the deed (as you haue heard) and that he had often-
times before pretended and sought to do the same, by
the instigation of the said mistresse Durie, who had
promised to make a marriage betwene him and mis-
tresse Sanders (whome he seemed to loue exceedingly):
neuertheless he protested (though vntrulie) that
mistresse Sanders was not praiue nor consenting
thereunto.

Upon his confession he was arreigned at the

kings bench in Westminster hall the eighteenth of
April, where he acknowledged himselfe guiltie, and
was condemned as principall of the murder, accor-
ding to which sentence he was executed in Smith-
field, on mondaie the twentieth of April: at which
time also vntrulie (as the hir selfe confessed after-
ward) he laboured by all meanes to cleare mistresse
Sanders of committing euill of hir bodie with him,
and then slong himselfe besides the ladder. He was
after hanged by in chains nere unto the place where
he had done the fact. In the meane time mistresse
Durie and hir man being examined, as well by
their owne confessions, as by falling out of the mat-
ter, and also by Broomes appeachment thought cul-
pable, were committed to ward. And after mistresse
Sanders being deliuered of child, and churched (for
at the time of hir husbands death she looked presentlie
to lie downe) was upon mistresse Duries mans
confession, and other great likelihoods, likewise com-
mitted to the tower, and on wednesday the first of
Maie she was arreigned with mistresse Durie at
the Guildhall.

The effect of their indictment was, that they by a
letter written had bene procurers of the said mur-
der: & knowing the murder done, had by monie &
otherwise released the murderer: whereunto they
pleaded not guiltie. Howbeit they were both condem-
ned as accessaries to master Sanders death, and ex-
ecuted in Smithfield the thirtieth of Maie, being
wednesday in Whitson weeke, at which time they
both confessed themselves guiltie of the fact. Trustie
Roger mistresse Duries man was arreigned on
fridaie the eight of Maie, & being there condemned
as accessarie, was executed with his mistresse at the
time and place aforesaid. Not long after, Anthonie
Broome brother to the fornamed George Broome,
was for notable felonies conuected from Newgate
to Woke, and there hanged.

The tenth of April seauen pirats which among o-
thers had bene taken on the north seas, were lead
from Southwoke to Wapping, and five of them
were there hanged: the other two had their pardon
at the gallows. The seauententh of April a chande-
lers wife without Aldersgate of London, who had
practised hir husbands death by poisoning and other-
wise, was set on the pillorie in Cheape, with three o-
ther women, who had bene of hir counsell: two of
them were with hir there whipped.

The seauenth of June, betwene the houres of
one and two of the clocke in the after none, a great
tempest of haile and raine happened at Worcester in
Northamptonshire, wherethrough six houses in that
towne were bozne downe, and foureteene more sore
perished with the waters which rose of that tempest.
The haillstones were square, & six inches about. One
child was there drowned, and manie sheepe with o-
ther cattell, which when the water was fallen, manie
of them were lieng on the high hedges, where the wa-
ters had left them. The sixteenth of June, Thomas
Woodhouse, a priest of Lincolnshire, who had laine
long prisoner in the Fleet, was arreigned in the
Guildhall of London, and there condemned of blas-
phemie, who had iudgement to be hanged and quar-
tered, and was executed at Tiburne the nineteenth
of June.

The sixteenth of August, Walter earle of Essex,
accompanied with the lord Rich, and diuerse other
gentlemen, imbarked themselves in seuerall ships
at Leirpore, and the wind sitting verie well, toke
their voyage towards Ireland. The earle after manie
and great dangers on the sea, at length wone Cope-
mans Iland, from whence in a pinnelle of capitaine
Perfes he was brought safe to Lanoekfergus. The
lord Rich with the like danger landed at castell Kil-
life,

George
Broome
hanged in
Smithfield,
and afterward
in chains on
Shoters hill.

Anne San-
ders, Anne
Durie, and
trustie Roger
hanged in
Smithfield.

Anthonie
Broome hanged
at Woke.

Pirats hanged
at Wapping.

Fourteen women
on the
pillorie.

Haile in North
amptonshire.

Thomas
Woodhouse.

Earle of Essex
and the lord
Rich with o-
ther sailed into
Ireland.

life, where being met by capitaine Galbie, maister Smith, & maister Hoze prisoners, he was conducted to Inch abbaie maister Galbies house, where he had in a readinesse on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horsemen for their safegard to Knockfergus, beside fiftie henns which went a foot through the woods: there was among these a thirtie bowes with a bagpipe, the rest had darts. Sir Brian Spakephelin had pzeied the countrie, and taken awaie what was to be carried or druen, but on the first of September he came to Knockfergus, to the earle of Essex, and there made his submission: the number of hime were esteemed thirtie thousand, besides sheepe and swine.

After him Ferdorrough Macgillasticke the blind Scots sonne, Roze, Dge, Macwilline did the like: and diuerse other sent their messengers to the earle, to signifie that they were at his lordships disposition as the baron of Dongarrou, Condenell, Odonell, and the capitaine of Kilulto. The earle of Essex hauing the countrie of Claniboie and other, the queens maiestie of England directed hir letters to the lord deputie of Ireland, willing him to make by commission the earle of Essex capitaine generall of the Irish nation in the prouince of Ulster, and to diuide the countrie twone, Claniboie, and else where, &c. The eleuenth of October, Peter Burchet gentleman of the middle temple, with his dagger suddenlie assailed, cruellie wounded, and meant to haue murdered a seruiceable gentleman named John Hawkins esquier, as he with sir William Winter, and an other gentleman rode towards Westminster, in the high street neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple barre of London: for which fact the said Burchet being apprehended and committed to the tower, was afterward examined concerning the fact. Who answered that he toke the said maister Hawkins for an other gentleman: and being further examined, he was found to hold certeine erroneous opinions, for the which he was sent to the Lollards tower. From thence being called into the confessorie of Pauls church, before the right reuerend father Edwine bishop of London, and others, & by them examined, he stood in his opinions, till the sentence of death as an heretike was readie to haue bene pronounced against him on the fourth of Nouember: but through the earnest persuasions of diuerse learned men, who toke great paines in that matter, he renounced, forswore, and abiured his opinions for erroneous & damnable, promising neuer to returne to them, and also willinglie to do and performe all such penance as the bishop his ordinarie should intone him.

The ninth of Nouember, the said Peter Burchet was removed from the Lollards tower, to the tower of London, where on the next morrow about none, whilst one that had kept him companie was gone downe, and locked the doore after him, leaving an other with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the bible, the said Burchet walking vp and downe in the chamber, toke a billets end out of the fire, and knocked the said Longworth on the head, and left not till he had striken him sharke dead: for the which on the next morrow he was arraigned & condemned at Westminster, and then returned to Summerfet house, where he remained that night: and on the next morrow being the twelfe of Nouember, he was brought to the gibet, where (after his right hand being striken off, and nailed to the gibbet) he was hanged nigh the place where his wounded maister Hawkins. This yeare about Lammas, wheat was sold at London for three shillings the bushell: but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, five shillings, six shillings: & by force Christ-

mas to a noble, and seven shillings, which so continued long after: barfe was sold for twentie pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other fish and white meats at an excessive price, all kind of salt fish verie deare, as fine herings two pence, yet great plentie of fresh fish, and oft times the same verie cheape: pease at foure shillings the bushell, otemeale at foure shillings eight pence: baie salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of anie thing to them that wanted not monie.

The fourth of Aprill being Walpurgis funbaie, there was taken saieing of masse in the lord Hoxleys house within Algate of London, one Albion Dalman priest, and the ladie Hoxleie with hir children, and diuerse others were also taken bearing of the said masse. There was also taken the same daie and houre for saieing masse at the ladie Wilfords in Trinitie lane, one Oliver Hietwood priest: and for hearing of the said masse, the said ladie Wilford with diuerse other gentlewomen. There was also taken at the same instant in the ladie Bylons house in Cowlane for saieing masse, one Thomas Hietwood priest, and one John Cowper priest, with the ladie Bylone, and diuers other were likewise taken being hearers of the said masse. All which persons were for the same offences indicted, convicted, and had the law according to the statute in that case provided. There was also found in their seuerall chapels, diuerse Latine bookes, beads, images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pices, papes, and such like.

The ninth of Iulie at six of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet beside Ramegate, in the parish of saint Peter vnder the cliffe, a monstrous fish or whale of the sea did shew himselfe on shore, where for want of water, beating himselfe on the sands, he died about six of the clocke on the next morning, before which time he roared, and was heard more than a mile on the land. The length of this fish was twentie two yards, the nether jaw twelue foot the opening: one of his eyes, being taken out of his head, was more than six horse in a cart could draw, a man stood by right in the place from whence the eye was taken. The thickest from the backe whercon he laie, to the top of his bellie (which was upward) was fourtene foot, his taile of the same breadth: betwene his eyes twelue foot, three men stood by right in his mouth, some of the ribs were six foot long, his tongue was fiftene foot long, his liuer two cart lode, into his nostrils anie man might haue crept: the oile being boiled out of the head was parmalitie, the oile of his bodie was whittish and sweet of tast. The seventh of August, a solenne obsequie was kept in saint Pauls church at London for Charles the ninth king of France, who deceased on the twentie day of Maie last before passed.

On the fiftenth daie of August being fundaie, Agnes Bridges, a maiden about the age of twentie yeares, and Rachell Binder, a wench about eleven or twelue yeares old, who both of them had counterfitted to be possessed by the diuell (wherby they had not onelie maruellouslie deluded manie people, both men and women, but also diuerse such persons as otherwise seemed to be of good wit and understanding) stood before the preacher at Pauls crosse, where they acknowledged their hypocriticall counterfetting, with penitent behauiours, requiring forgiveness of God and the world, and the people to praye for them. Also their seuerall examinations and confessions were there openlie read by the preacher, and afterwards published in print for the further posteritie hereafter to beware of the like deceiuers.

The fourth of September in the after none, such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of long

Bowes, bagpipes & darts among the Irish.

Eric of Essex capitaine generall of Ulster in Ireland.

Peter Burchet wounded maister Hawkins.

Peter Burchet found to be an heretike.

Peter Burchet abiured his heresie, & submitted himselfe to do penance.

Peter Burchet killed his keeper.

Peter Burchet hanged. Anno Reg. 16.

1574
Duchess
eng masse
preached.

A monstrous
fish (but not
so monstrous
as some report
ed) for his
eyes being
great, were in
his head and
not in his
backe.

*Sperma cet.
Obsequie at
Pauls for the
French king.

James Bindi
ges & Rachell
Binder: &
Pauls crosse
for counter-
fetting to be
possessed.

A lad of eight
or nine yeeres
long

long time could not be remembred, wherethrough the chancels of the citie suddentlie rising, ran with such a forcible courfe towards the common felwes, that a lad about the age of eightene yeares, minding to haue lept ouer the chancel nere unto Dolegate, was borne ouer with the streame, and by the same caried from the conduit there towards the Thames, with such a swiftnesse, that no man with staues or otherwise could stay him, till he came against a cart wheele that stood in the watergate, afoze which he was drowned and starke dead.

This yeare the maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth, as hath bene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall, although great promise had bene made for that purpose, but dined at his owne house with his brethern the aldermen: the companies dined at their severall halles. This was done by the speciall appointment of the quenes maiesties counsell, to avoid infection of the plague, like to haue increased by coming together of such a multitude. This weeke from the two and twentieth, unto the eight and twentieth of October, deceased in the citie and liberties, containing an hundred and eight parishes, of all diseases, one hundred threescore & six, of the which number threescore and five were accounted to die of the plague. Michaellmas termie, which had bene adiourned by proclamation, began at Westminster on the first of Nouember. The same first day in the morning, there happened two great tides at London, in the river of Thames, the first by course, the other within one houre following, which ouerflowed the marshes, with manie vaults and cellars neare adjoining.

The fourteenth of Nouember being sabbath, about midnight following, diuerse strange impressions of fire and smoke were seene in the aire to proceed forth of a blacke cloud in the north toward the south, which so continued till the next morning that it was daie light. The next night following, the heauens from all parts did seeme to burne marvellous raginglie, & ouer our heads the flames from the horizon round about rising did meet, and there double and roll one in another, as if it had bene in a cleare foynace. The eighteenth daie at night blew verte stormie & tempestuous winds out of the south, as hath not bene knowne the like out of that quarter, especiallie after midnight, till the next morning that it was daie light. These are to be rectued as tokens of Gods wrath readie bent against the world for sinne now abounding, and also of his great mercie, who doth onlie thus but to shew vs the rod wherewith we daile deserue to be beaten.

This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall, from seven shillings to thre shillings the bushell, at which price it staied (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after: but baie salt was raised from thre shillings to foure shillings, five shillings, and six shillings the bushell, the like wherof had neuer bene seene or heard within this realme. The 24 day of Februarie, 60 being the feast of saint Matthe, on which daie the faire was kept at Tenkesburie, a strange thing happened there. For after a flood which was not great, but such as therby the meadows nere adjoining were covered with water, in the after none there came downe the river of Seuerne great numbers of flies & beetles, such as in summer eueninges vse to strike men in the face, in great heapes, a foot thicke aboue the water, so that to credible mens iudgement there were seene within a paire of butts length of those flies aboue a hundred quarters. The mils there abouts were dammed by with them for the space of foure daies after, and then were clenfed by digging them out with shouels: from whence they came is

yet unknowne: but the daie was cold and a hard frost.

The six and twentieth of Februarie, betwene foure and six of the clocke in the after none, great earthquakes happened in the cities of Poike, Worcester, Gloucester, Wiltshir, Hereford, and in the countries about, which caused the people to runne out of their houses: for feare they should haue fallen on their heads. In Tenkesburie, Wyedon, and other places, the dishes fell from the cupboards, and the books in mens studies from the shelves. In Dorset chappell, the people being on their knees at euening praier, the ground mouing, caused them to run awaie in great feare that the dead bodies would haue risen, or the chappell to haue fallen: part of Ruthen castell fell downe with certeine bricke chimneys in gentlemen houses. The bell in the shire hall at Denbigh was also caused to toll twise, by shaking of the hall, &c.

On Easter daie, which was the third of Aprill, about nine of the clocke in the forenone, was disclosed a congregation of anabaptists, Duchmen, in a house without the bars of Aldgate at London, wherof seauen and twentie were taken and sent to prison: and foure of them bearing fagots recanted at Pauls crosse, on the fiftenth daie of Maie in forme as followeth.

The forme of recantation openlie made by the said anabaptists.

Whereas I. J. K. H. being seduced by the diuell the spirit of erroz, and by false teachers his ministers, haue fallen into certeine most detestable and damnable heresies, namelie:

- 1 That Christ toke not flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie:
- 2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be baptised:
- 3 That a christian man may not be a magistrat or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
- 4 That it is not lawfull for a christian to take an oth:

Know by the grace of God, and thorough conference with god and learned ministers of Christ his church, I do vnderstand and acknowledge the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and do aske God here before his church mercie for my said former errors, and do forsake them, recant, and renounce them, and abiure them from the bottom of my heart, professing that I certainlie beleeue:

- 1 That Christ toke flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie:
- 2 That infants of the faithfull ought to be baptised:
- 3 That a christian man may be a magistrat, or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
- 4 That it is lawfull for a christian man to take an oth.

And further I confesse, that the whole doctrine and religion established and published in this realme of England, as also that which is receiued and preached in the Dutch church here in this citie, is sound, true, and according to the word of God: wherunto in all things I submit my selfe, and will most gladlie be a member of the said Dutch church, from henceforth utterly abandoning and forsaking all and euerie anabaptistickall erroz. This is my faith now, in the which I do purpose and trust to stand firme and steadfast to the end. And that I may so do, I beseech you all to praie with me, and for me, to God the heauenlie father, in the name of his sonne our saviour Iesus

In earthquakes in sundrie places of England, and what effects it wrought.

Anabaptists bare fagots at Pauls crosse.

The anabaptists heresies

Recanted,

Ictus

Jesus Christ. The like recantation was made by them afterwards in the Dutch church.

Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

The seauententh of Maie about midnight following, the reuerend father in God Matthew Parker doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceased at Lambeth, and was there honozable buried, on whose tombe (being of blacke marble) is written this most worthe epitaph here following:

*Sobrius & prudens, studijs excultus & usu,
Integer & vera religionis amans,
Matthæum dixit Parkerus foverat illum
Aula virum iuuenem, fouit & aula senem,
Ordinere gestit, recti defensor & equi,
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.*

Walter Haddon.

Matthew Parker liued soberlie and wise, Learned by studie and continuall practise, Louing, true, of life vncontroll, The court did foster him both young and old, Orderlie he dealt, the right he did defend, He liued vnto God, to God he made his end.

To. St. 1132.

Matthew Parker altered antiquaries, and what monuments of his time to learning he left behind him.

This reuerend father examined throughlie the English translation of the holie bibles, wherein he partlie vfed the helpe of his brethren bishops, and other doctors, and caused the same to be newlie printed in the largest volume, for the due furniture of manie churches then wanting. Also making diligent search for the antiquities of the Britons, and English Saxons, to the end those monuments might be carefullie kept, he caused them to be well bound and trimlie couered: and such librof he knew verie few examples to be extant (among the which was Matthew Paris, Matthew Florilegus, and Thomas Wallingham) he caused to be printed. The famous palace of his see at Canturburie, by long continuance decayed & consumed with fire, he renewed, baileed, and fullie restored with the charges of more than fourtene hundred pounds. He founded a grammar schole in Northdale in the countie of Lancaster.

Founder of a grammar schole.

Benefactor to Corpus christi college.

To Corpus Christi college in Cambridge he procured thirteene scholarships, and bare the charges in making and furnishing two chambers for scholars, and the inward librarie of the same college. Item he gaue to the outward and inward librarie of the said college a goodlie companie of printed bookes, & a great number of written bookes of great antiquitie & much value. Item he procured to the said college the patronage of saint Marie Abchurch in London. Item he hath founded two felowships in the said college, and procured one charter of mortmaine to the summe of one hundred pounds by yeare. Item he hath giuen to the same college of siluer plate double guilt thre hundred nine ounces, and thre quarters, & surrendered to them a lease with the impeachment of fouretene pounds and eight shillings percelic for seuentene yeares. Item one hundred pounds to the maintenance of a fier in the hall from Yalomas to Candlemas; and by his last will and testament five hundred pounds. Item to diuers scholars chambers within the said college diuerse bedsteads, with sufficient bedding & books to remaine for ever. Item he hath founded for ever five sermons to be preached in diuerse places of Dorsetholke euerie yeare in Rogation weeke; and fortie shillings to be diuided at Dorsetholke to the poore and others. Item to the citie of Dorsetholke one bason and elver of siluer and double guilt of one hundred seauentie and five ounces. Item to the towne of Watfall in Dorsetholke for ever an annuities of fiftie shillings to be diuided to the poore with a sermon in Rogation weeke. Item to Sunnill and Caius college one scholarship, with a standing cup, and a pot of siluer double guilt of five and fiftie ounces and thre quarters, and one nest of goblets with a couer siluer and guilt, with a num-

Sermons perpetuallie founded at his charges in Dorsetholke: an what other particlar gifts he bestowed to good purposes.

ber of good bookes to their librarie. Item to Trinitie hall one scholarship, a standing cup and a pot of siluer and guilt of thre and fiftie ounces, a nest of goblets siluer and guilt with a couer; and bookes to their librarie. Item to the vniuersitie librarie fiftie old ancient written bookes, and fiftie printed bookes. Of this prelat, to his further commendation, on the aforesaid doctor Haddon, in the second booke of his poems maketh very honozable mention, commending in six verses the ensignes of his ancestors, with those also which were accessarie by the grationnesse of the prince, who preferred him to his prelacie. In the same verses also is comprehended as it were an harmonie or consent of most godlie qualities answerable vnto the ensignes that he bare; as thus:

*Sunt antiquorum clares monumenta parentum,
Venit ab augusto principe stella triplex.
Sic bene conspirant virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placida pacis semina lata serunt.
Sed tamen ad finem decurrunt gaudia vite,
Ac homo pulvis erit, pulvis ut ante fuit.]*

De insignibus eiusdem Mathie.

The 21 of Maie being Whitsun euen, one man and ten women anabaptists Dutch, were in the consistorie of Paules condemned to be burned in Smithfield: but after great pains taken with them, onlie one woman was conuerted, the other were banished the land. On the first of June the nine women being led by the shiriffs officers, and the man also tied to a cart & whipped, were all conueied from Newgate to the waters side, where they were shipped awaie neuer to returne againe. The twelue of June stood at Paules crosse five persons Englishmen of the sect termed the familie of loue, who there confessed themselves vtterlie to detest as well the author of that sect J. P. as all his damnable errors and heresies.

Anabaptists banished.

Five persons of the familie of loue stood at Paules crosse.

The two and twentieth of Iulie two Dutchmen anabaptists were burned in Smithfield, who died in great dolor with rozing and crieng. The thirtieth of Iulie in the afternone was a great tempest of lightning and thunder, wherethrough both men and beafts in diuerse places were stricken dead. Also at that time fell great abundance of haile, whereof the stones in manie places were found to be six or seven inches about: The fourth of September being Sunday about seuen of the clocke in the morning, a cereteine glasse house, which sometime had bene the cross-friers hall nere to the tower of London burst out on a terrible fire: wherevnto the lord maiors, aldermen and shiriffes with all expedition repaired, and practised there all means possible, by water buckets, hokes, and otherwise to haue quenched it. All which notwithstanding, whereas the same house in a small time before had consumed great quantitie of wood by making of fine drinking glasses, now it selfe hauing within it nere fortie thousand billets of wood was all consumed to the stone walles, which walles greatlie defended the fire from spreading further, and doing any more harme.

Anabaptists burned in Smithfield.

Thunder and haile, whereby infused great hurt.

The glasse house burned.

The six and twentieth of September, a pulsters wife in the parish of Christs church within Newgate of London was deliuered & brought to bed of foure children at one burthen, all females or maiden children, which were christened by the names of Elisabeth, Marie, Margarete, and Dorothea: and the same daie moneth the mother was buried, but all the foure children living, and in good liking, were borne to church after hir. On Michaelmas euen at night the like impressions of fire and smoke were scene in the aire to fly out of the north-east, north and north-west, as had bene on the five and twentieth of November last before passed.

A woman brought a bed of foure children at one burthen.

The tenth of October manie French, and some Englishmen, but all pirats of the seas, were arreig-

the names
of two and
twenty com-
panies were
sent to be
summoned
to the Guildhall,
and there

ne) at the admirallie court in Southwiche, where
to the number of two and twentie were condemned,
and had sentence of death pronounced against them.
The mayor of London went by water to West-
minster, and there took his oth as hath bene accus-
tomed : he kept no feast at the Guildball, but dined
at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen
and others. The companies dined at their severall
halles, &c. This was done as in the yere last before
passed, to avoid the infection of the plague, which
might have increased by comming together of greater
numbers of people. That weeke, from the two
and twentieth unto the eight and twentieth of No-
ber, deceased in the citie and liberties of all diseases
one hundred thirtye and two, of the which number six
and thirtie were accounted to die of the plague. The
next weeke following ending the third of Novem-
ber, (thanks be given to God therefore) there de-
ceased of all diseases but one hundred and ten, and of
them of the plague but six and twentie.

ex-plague
deceas'd in
London.

The eleventh of February Anne Aeries, widow, for swearing hir selfe for a little monie that she should haue paid for; six pounds of tow at a shop in Woodstreet of London, fell immediatlie downe speechlesse, casting vp at hir mouth in great abundance, & with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue bene voided downwards, till she died. A terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of swearing against their brother. The sixteenth of February, Edmund Grindals sometime bishop of London, late archbishop of Yorke, was in the chapter-houle of S. Pauls church at London elected archbishop of Canterbury. The first of March in the night through a great stau of wind then in the northeast, a tile bate with about the number of one and thirtie persons, men and women, coming from Grauesend toward London, were all drowned; one boie excepted. The thirtieth of Maie Thomas Gréne goldsmith was drawn from Newgate of London to Tibburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for clipping of coine both gold and silver.

The fifteenth of June Martine Frobisher being furnished of adventures, with two small barkes & one pinneffe departed from Blackeswall, upon his voyage for the discovrie of a passage to Cataia by the north-west seas. Upon the first of Julie he had sight (as he indged) of Greenland, but durst not approach the same, by reason of the great ice that lay alongst the coast. Not far from thence he lost his pinneffe and one of his barkes, who mistrusting the danger of tempests returned home, with report that their generall Martine Frobisher was cast awaie: which word the captaine notwithstanding continued his course north-west, beyond any man that hath heretofore discovered, and the twentieth of Julie had sight of a high land, which he named Quene Elizabeths foreland, and after that another foreland with a great passage, dividing (as it were) the two maine lands asunder: this place he named Frobishers streits. After he had passed fiftie leagues further, he went ashore, found the same to be inhabited with savage people, caught one of them into his barke, and returning, arrived in England in the moneth of August following. One of his companie brought from thence a peece of a blacke stone, much like to a scoule in colour, which being brought to certaine goldsmiths in London, to make a saie thereof, found it to hold gold, and that verie richly for the quantitie.

The nineteenth of Julie a woman was burnt at Cambridge in Kent for poisoning of her husband : and two days before a man, named Orleis, was hanged at Maidstone for being accessory to the same fact. The tenth of August a rare piece of witchcraft.

and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman borne in the citie of London named Peter Bales, who by his industrie and pzaife of his pen, contriued and writt within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lords paiser; the cred, the ten commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the quene, his possie, his name, the daie of the moneth, the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the quene. And on the seuentieth of August next following at Hampton court he presented the same to the quens maiestie in the head of a ring of gold, couered with a chynall, and presented therewith an excellent spectacle by him deuised for the easier reading therof: wherewith hir maiestie read all that was writt therein with great admiration, and commended the same to the lords of the counsell, and the ambassadoers, and did weare the same manie times vpon his finger. }

This yeare, by reason of the troubles in the low
20 countries, the English merchants sustained great
losses diuers waies. For the men of warre that kept
the seas, aduoynting themselves to be retained with
the prince of Orange, vnder colour to serch for their
aduersaries goods, oftentimes boyrded the English
ships as they met with them on the seas, smalle to
the poist of them to whome the same ships and goods
appertained. Some they staled and toke awaie with
them. And at length there was a generall restraint
made by the prince of Orange, that no English
30 ships should passe to or fro the towne of Antwerpe
by the riuer of Scheld, such being arrested and detei-
ned at flissing as were comming downe that ri-
uer, and other likewise that were bound by the same
time towards Antwerpe.

The English merchants, feeling themselves thus molested and damaged at sundrie seasons, exhibited their complaints to the quenes maiesties counsell, who accordingly dealt from time to time with the prince of Orange and his deputies for redresse, 40 but speciallie now upon this generall restraint. And although great difficultie appeared in the matter, as well for contenting of the aduenturo:s of Flushing, as for that there had bene foure ships belonging to the prince arrested and staid at Falmouth: at length yet such English ships as were kept and holden at Flushing were released and sent home; but not till two of the English merchants aduenturo:s men of good calling and estimation (having first as hath bin said made a certeine manner of protest) were faine to 50 enter into bond for the loane of a summe of monie, and were therewith kept at Flushing till the contract in that behalfe might be performed. Whereupon the quenes maiestie, misliking that hir subiects should be thus hardlie dealt with, armed and set forth certeine of hir ships, which going to the seas to see that hir subiects might trauele the same in safetie, toke diuerse of the Flishingers vessels, and brought them into the English streames. The Flishinger here with on the other part toke and arrested other of 60 the English ships, so that the troubles seemed rather to increase than to be in any wise appeased: although afterwards by sending to and fro, the matter was taken vp, and such order had as was thought to stand best well for the suertie, commoditie, and good liking of the English merchants.

But in the meane time, and before this could be brought to passe, through a disordered mutinie which chanced among the Spanissh souldiers, it so fell out, that the States of those low countries agreed with the prince of Orange, and let themselves whole against the Spaniards. Whereupon the young count de Egmont, the marquisse de Hauerie entered the towne of Antwerpe, with a power of souldiers for the States, and meant to haue kept that towne against the

Here work-
manship is cov-
ed, in the com-
pass of a pen-
by the hand-
writing of an
Englishman.

Anno Reg. 13.
1576
English mer-
chants su-
steine great
losse by sea;
and wher

3 The English
merchants
complainte to
the queene of
their wrongs.

These foure
ships were
staid for sa-
tisfaction of
one Simons
ship, out of
the which a
Flishingee
had taken cer-
teine tuns of
Canarie
wines.

* Martin
Caltrop &
William Co-
dard.

The troubles increase.

This was
the fourth of
November,
1570 one with
another slain,
drowned and
burned.

the Spaniards that held the castell. But they doub-
ting to be inclosed & shut vp by some siege, got moze
of their fellows to them, entered the towne by force,
& spitefullie killing no small number of people, sac-
ked the towne, and put aswell the towne-men as o-
thers that were merchants resident there to their
ransoms. Amongst other our Englishmen escaped
not altogether free, so as diuerse were spoiled of that
they had, and the whole number put to their ransom;
although vpon the sending ouer of doctor Willson
hir maiesties ambassador, so much of the ransome as
remained vnpaid was promised to be remitted.

A conclusion
of peace be-
tweene the
parties before
divided.

Thus were our merchants euill intreated on each
hand, by reason of those ciuill tumults in the low
countrie, aswell this yeare as in the former yeares
past, and small hope would be of better successe there,
if some end should not be had of that ciuill dissenti-
on, which hath so long continued betwixt the king of
Spaine and his subiects in those countrie, not one-
lie to the hinderance of themselves, but also of others
that haue to trade among them, speciallie for traffike
sake and intercoure of merchandize. But at length
they haue compounded their controuersies, and are
growen to a full agrement and perfect conclusion
of peace, which God grant may take place so effec-
tuallie, as may turne to the quietnesse and publike
commoditie not onlie of those countrie, but of their
neighbores, whereby merchants and passengers may
in suertie passe to and fro without disturbance, so as
no occasion be giuen of breach of leagues and ami-
ties betwixt princes and countrie, but that the same
may be maintained to Gods glorie, and the suertie
of the christian commonwealth.

Walter Deue-
reux earle of
Essex depar-
teth this life.

Abr. Fl. ex con-
sione funebri, vs
patet in contex-
tu.

In this yeare the right honorable Walter Deue-
reux earle of Essex and Cu, earle marshall of Ire-
land, Viscount Hereford and Bourcher, lord Ferrers
of Chartlie, Bourcher & Louaine, knight of the most
noble order of the garter, fell sicke of a losenesse of
his bodie the one and twentieth of August being fir-
daie, and for the space of two and twentie daies to-
gether he was so grieuouslie tormented therewith, that
finallie on saturdaye the two & twentieth of Septem-
ber he departed out of this transitorie life, passing
from hence to the ioyes of heauen, as by his godlie
end all that were about him gaue testimonie. The
losse of this noble man was greatlie be-moored, as-
well by the English as Irish, for the noble courage,
vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the aduance-
ment of the commonwealth which appeared in him.

So that it were a fowle fault in the highest degree,
not to laie by some commemoration of so worthie
and well deserving a gentleman, both of prince and
people, in perpetual records: which I will doe by
Gods grace none otherwise than I am lead by such
matter, yea memorable matter, as I find in a fune-
rall sermon, made by the reuerend father in God
Richard bishop of saint Dauid, at the buriall of this
right honorable earle of Essex, in the parish church
of Caermethin in Wales, where the said bishop ta-
king for his text these words of S. Iohn, in the 14 of
the reuelation, *Audiuu vocem de celo, dicentem: Beati
mortui, &c.* I heard a voice from heauen, saying: Bles-
sed are the dead that die in the Lord, &c. After he had
discoursed vpon the text as the spirit of God gaue
him utterance, he descended at last to a particular
treatise tending whole to the praise of this right no-
ble man: saying in sort as followeth.

The place of
the eris birth:
what losse all
England hath
of him.

Behold the heauie hand of God for our sins, vpon
all the whole countrie in the death of this noble man,
which is not onelie a messenger of Gods wrath to-
wards this towne and countrie (wherein he was
borne) but also in verie deed a great losse to the whole
realme. And although this countrie, who shall misse
so noble and so worthie a ruler and magistrate, that

boze them so great affection, so ready to benefit all,
and hurt none, and for the high calling he was of so
able to pleasure and to do good: although I saie this
countrie by the death of this noble earle is most ear-
nellie & effectualle cited to appere before the Lord,
and to fall to a reckoning: yet do I beleue that the
quenes maiestie, hir highnesse counsell, and all the
nobilitie of the realme may hereby receiue admoni-
tion, and cause of further circumspection and aduigi-
lancie. For such valiant and couragious noble men
are the bulwarks and walles of defense of the whole
realme. They saie the realme is walled about, because
it is incircled with the sea: but I hold rather with
their iudgements, that make the fidelitie and true
harts of the subiects, and especiallie of such of the no-
bilitie that haue made themselves (by Gods especiall
grace) expert to gouerne and rule vnder hir maiestie,
aswell in warre as peace, the strong towers of de-
fense both of hir maiestie and hir highnesse realme.

This noble earle was one of these number: for I be-
leue there is no prince in the world, that had a more
faithfull noble subiect, than hir maiestie had of him
in his time. And for the notable valiantnesse, expe-
rience, and vertues that were in him, I am persua-
ded that hir maiestie (if he had liued) might haue v-
sed his seruice to be a terror to all enimies, forren
or domesticall. And now that I may speake some-
what of his great nobilitie, his excellent, vertuous,
and worthie qualities: first I thinke I may saie
thus much in a generalitie, that it was easie for a
man of any iudgement, that should behold his coun-
tenance and behauiour, to find in him nobilitie, ma-
iestie and honor, planted by the especiall gift of God,
even from his mothers wombe. When I consider
the nature of nobilitie with the causes efficient and
finall, it seemeth vnto me that nobilitie may be com-
pared vnto a river or a fount, which in the originall
issueth out of foure principall welles, and all the foure
rise out from the compasse of one hill. The welles of
nobilitie are prudence, fortitude, iustice, and tempe-
rance: the hill whence they spring is the feare of God,
or true religion.

Although this worthie earle by progenie was of
noble blood, whose ancestors were of great honour,
which of it selfe, if a man degenerat not too far from
his forefathers, deserueth honorable acceptation in
this world: yet was he not therewith satisfied, as it
may appere by his studie and trauell in his life time:
for he seemed to be of that iudgement that Alphonsus
king of Aragon (of whom we read in stories) was of.
When a certeine man take in hand to set out the
laud and praise of his nobilitie, he find much in recit-
all that he was a king, a kings sonne, a kings ne-
phew, a kings brother, and such like titles. The king
interrupting his tale answered, that he neuer este-
med much of that kind of glorie: and that it was the
praise and commendation of his ancestors, who by
vertue and worthie qualities had deserved such high
callings and honour, and not of him: and that his
praise stood not in that which might fall vnto him by
testament, but in the imitation and performing of
the noble acts, prouesse, and valiantnesse of his fore-
fathers. This noble earle likewise, not answered to
his expectation in that he was a noble man by blood
and inheritance, gaue himselfe whole all the daies
of his life to purchase and win the nobilitie that
springeth immediatlie from the verie originall foun-
teins of the same, as partiall I will put you in re-
membrence of. We will begin with prudence, which
may be thus defined.

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind gi-
uen of God, whereby man is made wise, prudent
and circumspect, and whereby man attaineth know-
ledge, cunning, and expertnesse in all matters that
the

what noble
men are the
wells of the
realme.

The praise of
the earle for
his noble con-
siderations.

Compassion
of true nobilitie
is vnto a ri-
uer or fount,
&c.

Deuotion, as it
rebuir gein de
phonic.

The disposi-
tion of the earle
to enlarge and
augment his
nobilitie.

Prudence is
noble because
wherein
this eris
was.

the children of men haue to deale with in this world. This noble erle was of great wisdom, deep iudgement, graue consideration, and so blessed with vnderstanding, experience, and manifold vertues and gifts of God, that he was right worthe to serue his maiestie in princelie and weightie affaires, both in warre and peace. He was of such prudent and excellent discretion, that he had a speciall grace to intertaine all states of men, superiour, equall, and inferiour, with such comelinesse and decencie, that for ciuilitie, humanitie, maners, and honorable behauior, he was a paterne and an example for nobilitie to imitate and to follow. In his youth he bestowed not the time in vanitie, idlenesse, or voluptuousnesse; but in attaining and winning of such sciences, properties and vertues, which might beautifie and increase his nobilitie, and preuaile therein so effectually, that he became excellent in all kinds of knowledge and qualities, meet, commendable, or necessarie for a man of honour. Concerning diuine matters, I haue in my time conferred with his lordship, and therefore can saie somewhat therein: and amongst others, one thing is notable, which in conference I receiued at his mouth. He affirmed this in effect, that there was nothing in the world that could blemish and abase the heretofore nature of nobilitie so much, as to haue the eyes of vnderstanding so closed and shut vp, that a man in honour should not be able to discern betwixt true religion, and the hypocriticall false religion; betwixt the right worshipping of God, and idolatrie; betwixt the traditions of men and Gods word: but remaine subiect to lies and superstition, and to call bad good, and good bad: and concluded that to be free from this seruile state, was a necessarie point of true nobilitie.

He therefore in his time had diligencie travelled in the scriptures, and so furnished himselfe with principles of christian religion, that he was able readilie to discern sermons and disputations, and to find out who had veritie on their side: and also profitable to speake with authoritie of scripture in matters of controuersie. His vnderstanding by the speciall worke of the holie ghost was so illumined, that he claue & dzeu to true christian religion, as the adamant stone cleaueth and dzeueth to Steele. His lordship therefore furthered and fauoured all preachers of Gods word, so that whosoever will iudge of the success of Christs religion by humane reason, must confesse that the gospell hath lost a mightie protector, and an earnest defender. But God in setting out of his word, vseth to worke beside the expectation of man, and beyond the reach of reason. I haue yet further to speake of his lordship, that I beleue there be verie few noble men in England, more readie and expert in chronicles, histories, genealogies, and pedigrees of noble men, and noble houses, not onlie within the realme, but also in forren realmes, than this noble erle was in his time. He excelled in describing and blasing of armes, and in all skill pertaining thereto: and to be short, his vnderstanding and capacitie was so liuie and effectuall, that it reached to all kind of matters that a perfect nobleman shall haue to deale withall in this world.

Fortitude is another founteine from whence nobilitie floweth, of Cicero *In Tusculanis questionibus* thus defined: *Est affectio animi qua gratia patiendo legibus obtemperatur*: It is an affection of the mind whereby to satisfie the lawes a man is content to suffer hardnesse; he meaneth mans lawes, and not Gods lawe. It fauoreth therefore that it may be thus more euidentlie and fullie defined: Fortitude is an affection of the mind, whereby a man is made hardie and courageous to suffer difficulties and dangers, auoiding on the one side rashnesse, & expelling on the other side feare,

to performe that which Gods lawe and honestie prescribe and commandeth. Although by this definition we find, that the effect of fortitude relecth much in banishing of feare of bodilie hurts: yet doth it agree verie well with the feare of God. Ithyo therefore counselling Moses to chuse men to gouerne vnder him, saith; *Prospice viros fortes, timentes Deum*; Seeke out men indued with fortitude, fearing God. Whereby we perceiue, that fortitude and the feare of God be not, but are linked together. Dece was the fount of nobilitie that this ballant erle had fished out of this founteine. For in this together with the well of prudence, he found that excellent knowledge of this world, the cunning to lead an armie, to guide and to rule soldiers, that experience of stratagems & warlike policies, that notable magnanimitie and incincible courage, whereby he endured and ouercame so manie dangers and perils, for the which he is renowned in England and Ireland, and shall neuer be forgotten. He was by nature the sonne of Mars; and by practising feats of war and exercise also; and he had made himselfe in manner a perfect warriour, afore that euer he came to the wars; and was for prowess, magnanimitie, and high coage to be compared to the old Romane captiues, that be so much in stories commended. This fortitude is no lesse necessarie for nobilitie in time of peace than in time of war. For it belongeth vnto them to minister iustice betwixt partie and partie, without respect of persons, which cannot be performed without the assistance of this vertue. I haue god cause to thinke of this noble erle, that there was no subiect in England, that could feare or corrupt him from executing of iustice. He was to the proud and arrogant a lion, and to the meake and humble a lambe, neither is there anie contrarietie in this: for true nobilitie discerneth a due and conuenient time and place to vse both the one and the other.

Iustice is the third well of nobilitie, it is a constant and a perpetuall will to giue enerie man his owne. This is a diuine vertue, precious, and commendable in all men, and especiallie in the nobilitie, who by reason of authoritie may do iniurie without remedie for the same. We see by experience that great is the number of them that would oppress, if they had authoritie: we see also the iniuries that are done daily by them that haue colour of authoritie, be it neuer so simple. But examine the life of this erle who will, and I beleue there is no man liuing that can iustlie complaine of anie iniurie or wrong done by him. I once in my time heard him not a little offended with one of his men that was complained vpon, saying that his seruant could do him no greater dishonor, than by pretense of his authoritie to do anie worse man wrong. Job in the time of his authoritie & wealth, was commended to be a iust & righteous man. And in the explication of part of that iustice Job hath these words, *Eui oculum ceco, vice pedum claudo*; I was the eyes to the blind, and I was the feet to the lame, I was a father to the poore, and when I knew not the cause I sought it out diligently, I brake the chawes of the vnrightheous man, and plucked the preie out of his teeth. Here we find that whosoever will do iustice, must not onlie do no wrong, but must also with all his might, succour and comfort the helplese and oppressed. In this part of iustice there was neuer noble man more forward than this good erle. He was the comfortable refuge of all such as were in aduersitie, or oppressed by power.

Of Titus Olespianus emperor of Rome we read, that he answered one of his friends, admonishing him to hold his hands, and not to make his liberallie and gentlenesse common to all men, saying; that it becommeth not a prince to let anie man part

The earles ciuilitie, maner, knowledge and prouesse advanced.

Fortitude needfull both in time of peace and warre.

Iustice a noble vertue, wherewith this erle was indued.

The bishop reporteth of the earles iustice vpon his owne knowledge.

The paterne of a good earle indued.

Suetonius; fram

How he bestowed his particular parts.

The bishops report of his own knowledge.

There is perle in the scriptures and matters of religion.

He was a fauourer of preachers.

His expertnesse in chronicles, histories, &c.

Fortitude a noble vertue wherewith the earle was indued.

The huma-
nity, cour-
teous, affable,
noble, and
other vertues
of this earle.

from him with a heauie hart. This worthe erle was of like mind: for he was so full of humanitie and compassion, that he would be loth to let anie distressed part from him without some comfort and ease. In so much that in him (if euer in anie man) this adage, *Homo homini Deus*, A man a god to man, was as true-
lie performed, as in tyrants the contrarie adage, that is, *Homo homini lupus*, A man a wolfe to man. Wee read in chronicles of emperors, kings, & noble men, which for their bountifullnesse, gentlenesse, affabilitie, and godnesse, deserued some honorable addition to their names; as amongst the emperors *Antoninus pius*, Anthonie the vertuous; amongst the British kings, *Elidorus pius*, Elidor the goodlie; and amongst noble men, in the time of king Richard the second, sir Thomas Pontacute the good earle of Salisburie; and in the time of king Henrie the first, sir Thomas Beuchampe the good earle of Marlike. This noble earle for the verie like qualites hath trulie deserued to be called, the good earle, the vertuous earle, and the valiant earle of Essex.

Temperance,
a noble vertue
where with
this erle was
indued.

Temperance is the founteine of nobilitie; it is a vertue whereby a man obserueth a moderation, & a reasonable meane in the vse of all things pertaining to bodie & mind: it is the mother of all other vertues, without which, the rest are blemished and disgraced. In the Dutch chronicles that tell of the liues of emperors, the first qualitie that is noted, is temperat, or not temperat, as an argument of the rest of his life and doings: for he is thought unworthie to rule others that can not rule himselfe. This noble earle had a speciall grace, and an excellent gift of God in obseruation of this vertue, whether you respect diet, or the suppression of all vicious affections. I haue diuerse times noted in him, when understanding was brought vnto him of some Thralonickall contumelious word, spoken by some glorious inferiour aduersarie against him, he would neuer be stirred to anie perturbation of mind thereby, but with graue wisdom and magnanimitie contemne it and smile, deriding the banitie and wantwardnesse of that cankered stomack that vomited such soe rotten infection: for he did effectuallie consider that it became no better a noble hart to take in & receiue wronglings, brawlings, chafings, and anger, than it is conuenient to daub a golden pillar with mire and claie. Salomon was of that mind, and therefore saith; We not thou hastie to be angrie, for anger resteth in the bowels of foles. I haue had occasion by that I noted in his lordship to call to remembrance this saying of Christ; A good man out of the good treasure of his hart bringeth forth good things: & the euill man out of the euill treasure of his hart bringeth forth euill things. For though occasion were ministred, yet should you neuer heare him vtter anie opprobrious words, no not against his aduersarie: so pure & immaculate did he studie to preserve the nobilitie of his mind. There be some that count themselves worthe honor & estimation, when they teare God in peeces with chafing and horrible oaths: which this noble earle detested and abhorred, as a matter not onelie indecent, but also repugnant to the nature of true nobilitie, attributing due reuerence to the name of the Lord, & thereby prouing the fountains of his nobilitie to spring out of the hill of the feare of God.

The bishops
report of the
earle vpon his
owne know-
ledge.

Eccles. 7. 9.

Luke 6. 45.

The earle
could not a-
waie with
swearing, cha-
sing, nor anie
disordered
dealing, &c.

The disposi-
tion and de-
motion of this
earle in the
time of his
sickenesse.

But what was his religion, what faith God had blessed him withall, what godlie disposition he was of, and how abundantlie God had enriched him with his holie spirit; the confession of his faith, his speeches, naie rather his sermons in his sicknesse afore his death shall testifie for euer. For I receiued by the relation of such as are worthe credit, and were present about him, although not all, yet manie of his learned godlie sayings at that time. Concerning his

saluation, he reposed his affiance and sure trust in the blood of Iesus Christ. He forgave all the world, and by inuincible faith apprehended, laied hold, and imbraced remission of his finnes, in the merits of the sacrifice of Christs bodie offered vpon the crosse for the finnes of the world. Trentals, masses, diriges, pardons, and such other papistickall trifles he bitterlie contemned, as wicked and blasphemous against the death and passion of Christ. He faced like the children of Israel in the wilderness, which when they were stinged with serpents euen to death: yet when they looked vnto the brazen serpent, they were made whole, safe, and sound. So this noble earle grieved with the remembrance of his former vnthankfull life (as he iudged) immediatlie directed the eyes of his mind to the passion of Christ, and forthwith felt such health of soule, that he was filled with ioie in the holie Ghost, and all his delight was in meditation of the ioie of the world to come, and the fruition of the presence of God for euer: insomuch that five or six daies before he died, he shewed himselfe more like an angel from heauen, than a man compassed with flesh and blood.

My lord the archbishop of Dublin (as I was informed) could moue him in no question or article pertaining to saluation, that he was not ready in, and learnedlie, and godlie resolved: yea, and made such answers in all things, that my lord of Dublin had them in great admiration, and affirmed that his speeches at that time should serue him for sermons as long as he liued. How trulie he relinquished the vanities of this world, and how effectualie he thirsted after the ioies of the life to come, his godlie admonitions ministred vnto such as visited him, and his heauenlie lessons & exhortations to his seruants, shall testifie for euer: for they were such that his seruants report they shall neuer forget, and such as they shall be the better for whilest they liue. Thus haue I brieflie and partlie declared vnto you, both the life and death of this worthe magistrate, to the end we should consider how seruante God doth call vs to a reckoning by the losse of such a good magistrat. Now a word or two to shew who they be that die in the Lord, and then an end. They principallie are said to die in the Lord, which suffer death vnder the beaust, for confession of Christs religion, for they properlie die in the Lords cause. Such are the martyrs, as well of the primitive church vnder the cruell emperours, as the martyrs of all ages since vnder antichrist of Rome. They also die in the Lord, which though they die not by the crueltie of the beaust, yet they die in the faith of Iesus Christ, and are therefore blessed.

Of this number was this godlie earle, as I haue before declared. Wherefore I will conclude and direct my speech for two or three words to this god earle. O noble earle of Essex, in thy time the pearle of nobilitie: the mirrour of vertue and worthe qualities: the child of chualtrie: the beautifull floure of England: the pretious iewel and comfort of Wales: the true stie state of Ireland. Thy life was most honourable: thy worthinesse incomparable: thy death pretious in the sight of God: for thou diedst in the Lord a right inheritor of the cuerlasting kingdome of heauen. Wherefore by authoritie of the heauenlie oracle that saint John was commanded to write, thou art to be pronounced blessed for euer. Our sins haue shortned thy life, so that we could intoe the same no longer. Thou hast notwithstanding bequeathed thy bodie to be buried amongst vs here in Wales. O vertue dwelle therefore O noble earle, thy name shall be with vs in reuerence, estimation, and honor: the same and name of thy nobilitie, valiantnesse, vertue, and worthinesse shall neuer be forgotten; but shall liue and be kept with vs in memorie from generation to generation while the world standeth. Thus far the words

Numb. 11. 2.

The heauen-
lie conten-
tation of this
earle drawing
to his end.

A wonderfull
gift of the ho-
lie Ghost and
most sweete
to be chome-
ried.

How his ser-
uants were
affected at his
last speeches.

Who they be
that die in the
Lord.

A speech con-
cluding of the
bishop direct-
ed to the earle
departed.

The earle is
termed like this
sed.

of the bishop offered in a sermon preached in the ears of no meane audience, either for reputation or number. Now then briefly considering wherein true and perfect noblenesse consisteth, that the heroicall vertues with their naturall life were most firmelie fixed in his heart, and practised by his hand: there is great reason to moue even his enemies (if it were possible for so good a gentleman to haue anie) to confesse in him most absolute nobilitie; and that this epitaph aluding to his right honorable ensignes, is deserued to be recorded; being an abstract of that notable epitaph intituled Epitaphium genealogicum in obitum illustrissimi Gualteri comitis Essexie, & Euiæ, & comitis marischalli regni Hiberniæ, vicecomitis Hereford & Bourghcher, domini Ferrers de Chartleie Bourghcher & Louein, & prænobilis ordinis garterij militis, qui obiit Dublinij 21. Septemb. 1576. ætatis sue 36 sepultus apud Maridunum 26. Nouemb. &c.

*Si quisquam claret veterum splendore parentum,
Aut famam meritis morum probitate perennem,
Profitetur in his nomen Essexiæ heros:
Qui præclara virum gestas monumenta tot unus,
Quot raro licuit multis gestamina ferre,
Qui intrepidus ob patriam tot mille pericula passus,
Quot raro poterint vlla aulica corpora ferre.
Aureolus partus *matris, patria decus ingens,
Que non exultat moderante Herefordia sola,
Aut Trinobantum, titulo probitatis honorem
Plebs referens: strenuum validumque Britannia sola
Sensit, in aduersos Boreales, dum bene gessit:
Tota sed heroem cognouit Marte feroci
Eugenia tellus Hibernica bella probantem.
Regia cum proprijs expendens, bella per annos,
Dura gerit binos, & multa pericula tentans,
Plutonia fines vultu dextraque quieti
Perficit, hinc comitis donatur nomine belli:
Nec tamen is potuit gladio finire labores.
Mori nemini parces Dublinia funera fletu
Trans mare transiit, Maridunica sidera voluens,
Clusis colum tenuit post septem lustra per annum,
Quinque dies Lachryis post hæc sua fila traherebat,
Terque dies septem septena mense, videns heu
Atropos, eximij fulgentia lumina clausit:
Quatuor ætatis illustris flamma spondent.
In tribus regni titulos gestabat honoris,
Nam comitem Eusebium cognouit Gallia fortem,
Aureus heroem demonstrat circulus Essex,
Ob bello vires comes est in Martis Hibernus.
Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
(Armipotens Gualtere) dedit proli quoque laborem,
Pæpetuamque labor vitam, sic vita salutem.*

This epitaph with the said earles whole genealogie or pedigree compiled in heroicall verse, and intoned with the funerall sermon, was presented to the right honourable lord Robert now earle of Essex and Cw, Viscount of Hereford and Bourghcher, lord Ferrers of Chartleie Bourghcher & Louaine, at such time as he was the queenes maiesties ward; with an epistle of the presenter: which because it is a beine of godlie deuise, & tending to a verie honorable purpose, deserueth here to be placed, answering the present heretofore set out in print, as followeth.

The epistle of E. W. prefixed before the genealogicall epitaph, and funerall sermon published at the interring of the right honourable the lord Walter earle of Essex, &c.



My lord, your absence lately from the funeralls of my lord your father, was lamented by such in Wales as would gladlie haue beheld the liuelie image of him in you; and if the ten-

deresse of your yeares (which yet for so tedious and so unreasonable trauell) had not by necessitie disappointed their hope, then should the lamentable speech of the graine and reuerend father, the bishop of saint Dauides (expressed with abundance of colour & tears) haue left in you a deepe impression of griefe for the intolerable losse of so honourable a parent. But it maie be iudged that God hath turned your absence to your more benefit; sith the importunacie of such as loue & honour you, and who couet to haue your fathers vertues descend with his inheritance, hath obtained the publishing of that learned sermon: wherein you maie at god leasure view in the lust report of his life & death the paterne & forme of true nobilitie.

The heroicall description that the bishop maketh of nobilitie, comparing it vnto a mountaine, from which foure famous riuers must issue (the mountaine true religion, the riuers, prudence, iustice, fortitude, and temperance) is a rule to you: first to follow your father in truth of religion, then to be as he was, wise, iust, valiant, and temperat. The naturall and vnforced courtelie & affabilitie that was in your father, and that excellent mixture of disposition and aptnesse, both for warre and peace, doth promise to the world a singular perfection in you hereafter. For as your grandfather (who died in his young yeares) did make shew of much more honour than was in the noble viscount his father: and this our earle by famous actions did altogether eclipse the vertuous hope conceived of your grandfather: so considering that God in nature continueth as it were the race by outward shew of good parts in you, and that you haue more aduantage of education, both by the place where you liue, and by the honour and wise doine of your patrons than your grandfather or father had; we can not but hope of a further degree of excellencie in you to ouershine the godnesse both of your father and grandfather.

Some people there be that can hardlie discern betwene honour & profit, that do ouermuch thinke of the disaduantage offered you by the earle your father, in diminishing some part of his patrimonie in his forren seruices; and will with you perhaps with a contrarie course to deserue more of your heire, and worse of the world. But as I wish in you a liberall frugalitie vnder this rule and profession, that nothing can be profitable that is not honest: so to deserue well (as your father did) of your soueraigne and countrie in matters appertaining to his maiesties obedience, rather throw the helme after the hatchet, and leaue your ruines to be repaired by your prince, than anie thing to degenerate from honourable liberalitie. And as in attempting great things, it is good to be circumspect, and with iudgment wiselie to foresee the end before you begin: so hauing entered into anie honourable attempt that maie be iustlie grounded vpon reason, follow the same with such inuincible constancie in all extremities as your father did, for so shall you iustlie deserue like testimonie as his maiestie gaue to him in his gracious letters: namely, that he was a rare reuel of his realme, and an ornament of his nobilitie.

True religion and wisdom (vpon whome iustice dependeth) do proceed from God by grace, and therefore by inuocation, prayer, and studie to be obtained: but the other vertues, as fortitude, temperance, courtelie, affabilitie, liberalitie and constancie, be peculiar to your house, descending by nature, and graffed as it were in your principles. So that to degenerate into the lothsome contraries of these, & instead of the habit of vertue, to disguise your selfe with vice, shall be harder to you, and more impossible for the contrarietie of your nature, than to attaine in good things to the perfection of excellencie. And to the end that

The death of the earle much lamented.

The heroicall description of true nobilitie.

A perswasorie reason to moue the young earle now liuing to an excellent imitation of his ancestors.

Notable counsell to the earle to deserue well of his soueraigne and countrie.

The queenes testimonie of the earle.

Vertues naturallie incident to the earle by course of descent.

To what end
the epitaph
genealogicall
was added to
the funerall
sermon.

The old earls
counsell at his
death to the
young earle
now aliue
touching the
shortnesse
of life.

you may know what you are by birth and blood, and that you should not by ignorance or lacke of knowledge of your selfe, do any thing unworthie the noble houses from whence you are descended: a well-willer of yours hath joined to this sermon (amongst other epitaphs containing your fathers due praises) his statelie descent in well digested Latine verses: not to puffe you up with any swelling vanities, but to giue you a reason how you beare your armour and badges of honour, and to remember you what errour you enter into, if you should blemish the vertues of your noble ancestors, or to do any thing (as I said) unworthie your birth and calling.

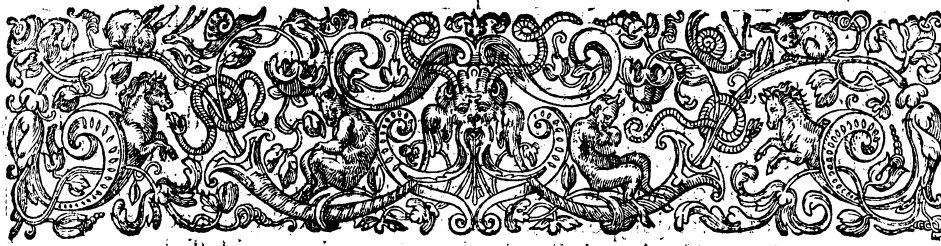
Lastlie my lord, haue alwaies before your eyes the feare of God, and the counsell of the earle your father at his death: namely, that you should euer be mindfull of the moment of time, assigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldest hauing attained but to six and thirtie yeares, to the end that upon consideration of the short course of life that you in nature are to looke for, you might so imploye your tender yeares in vertuous studies and exercises, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accomplished to serue his maiestie and your countrie, as well in warre as peace: whereunto he commanded you to bend all your inducours, & with those conditions heaped his blessings upon you. I praise therefore that God will increase those conditionall blessings, and the causes of them in you, to the end that his maiestie may thinke of you hereafter as of a true seruant and humble subiect, one of the pillars of his estate, his maiesties kinsman by marriage alliances, and the sonne of a most noble father.

Your L. at commandement E.W.

Thus much concerning the two earles, the father departed, and the sonne flourishing, of whose proceeding in the steps of his father, there is no doubt but within few yeares the world shall haue iust cause (as there is present hope) to beare witnesse: whome in all his attempts we will leaue to such fortunat success, as God the giuer thereof shall vouchsafe to provide and afford.]

The tenth of November a proclamation was published for the free traffike of merchants to be re- stored as had been accustomed in times past betwixt the kingdoms and countries of the quenes maiestie of England and the king of Portugal, which traffike had been discontinued by reason of certaine tales and arrests made of diuerse subiects on both parts, with their goods & ships. But now it was accorded in name of both their maiesties, that all maner of both their subiects of what kingdome or countrie so euer they be, from the fifteenth of the said moneth, might use the like mutuall traffike for merchandises, and in the same places: that is to saie, his maiesties subiects in the kingdomes of Portugal & Algarbia, and in the Isles of Madeira and Azore: and likewise the subiects of the king of Portugal in England and Ireland, as they were lawfullie accustomed before the said arrests. This restitution of the said traffike to remaine from the said fifteenth daie of November in this yeare one thousand, five hundred, seauentie and six, during the space of three yeares next ensuing. At the end of which terme, if by the said princes in the meane time it be not otherwise provided for continuance of the said traffike to indure perpetuallie, no new arrests shall be made of any things brought into the kingdoms and Isles aforesaid, of either of the said princes during the time of the said three yeares. It was further agreed by the said princes for the more sure preservation of the amitie and friendship betwixt them, their said realmes and subiects, that neither of them shall receiue anye pirat or rouer into anye of the ports or creeks of either of their realmes, dominions, and countries, which may or shall haue committed anye piracie or robbrie upon either of their subiects, nor shall they anye fauour, giue anye aid or succor, or suffer anye to be giuen directly or indirectly to the said rouers or pirats. Neither shall they during the time of the said amitie, in either of their kingdomes, or anye place of their dominions, fauour, intertaine, receiue or retaine, nor suffer to be fauoured, intertained, receiued, or retel- ned by anye of their subiects, anye rebels, traitors, or fugitives, subiects to either of them.

Thus farre haue I continued this collection of the English histories, noting brieflie in these later yeares, such things as I find in the abridgement of Richard Grafton, and in the summarie of Iohn Stow, increased somewhat (as may appeare) in places with such helpes as haue come to my hand; humble beseeching the reader to accept the same in good part, and to pardon me where I haue not satisfied his expectation: for herein I must confesse, I haue nothing contented my selfe, but yet at the request of others haue doone what I could not what I would, for want of conference with such as might haue furnished me with more large instructions, such as had bene necessarie for the purpose.



THE CHRONICLES OF England, from the yeare of our

Lord 1576, where Raphaell Holinshed left;

supplied and continued to this present

yeare 1586: by Iohn Stow,

and others.



Disciple of Socrates, by name Aristippus, a man fuerlie of a verie sharpe iudgement and pleafant wit, when he was demanded what profit he tooke by the studie of wisedome, made this answer: Forsooth this profit, that with all sorts of men I can frankelie and boldlie speake. Which answer might well be of that mans making; bicause he bare a mind indifferentlie free, as well from hope as feare: for he serued no man, nor yet flattered anie person, nor otherwise behaued himselfe than his hart gaue him. Of the same mind it were to be

wished that all storie-writers were: for then should Chronicles approch next in truth to the sacred and inuiolable scripture, and their vse not onelie growe more common, but also of greater account. And right good reason whie. For therein is contained the rich and pretious treasure of time, the wifest counsellor vnder the cope of heauen. And that saw Thales the philosopher well inough, who being asked what of all was the eldest? answered, God: what of all the fairest? the world: what of all the greatest? place: what of all the swiftest? the mind: what of all the strongest? necessitie: and what of all the wifest? time. Time in Greeke is called χρόνος, whereof the word Chronicles ariseth, termed τὰ χρονικά, that is, obseruations of time: so that if nothing in wisedome dooth excell time, then who can but wax wise by reading and perusing the obseruations of time, which are meerelie & simplie Chronicles? Chroniclers therefore deserue a reuerence of dutie, whome time hath called and culled out as it were by the hand, to vse their ministerie and seruice for the disposing and distributing of the riches of his wisedome to all ages, that successors may be taught by their predecessors, wit by their follie, fealtie by their disloialtie, obedience by their rebellion, vnitie and peace by their dissention, plainnesse by their doublenesse, sobrietie by their vntemperance, courtesie by their churlishnesse, pitie by their vncharitablenesse; finallie all goodnesse by their badnesse; for the which (as we may see by a sea of examples in this booke) sith they were greuouslie punished, it is our gaine by their smart to be admonished.

Gggggg.iiij.

For

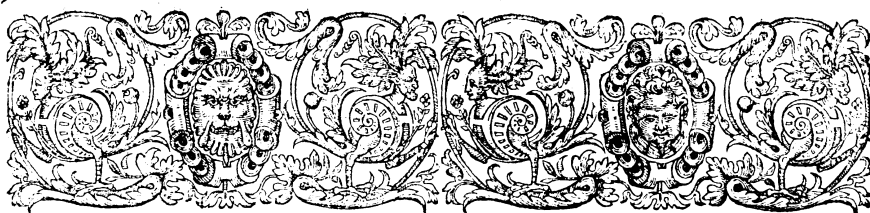
The Epistle.

For surelie heerein standeth a speciall vse of chronicles, that whilest some of-
fending against the lawes of God, of nature, and of nations, doe draw vnto them-
selues deserued vengeance: others by loue allured, or by feare inforced, seeing
their rufull fals, and auoiding the meanes, may happilie escape the paine. This
frute hitherto hath this historie of chronicles afforded, no lesse heereafter by the
continuation following is like to be performed; besides manifold mat-
ters of recreation, policie, aduentures, chiuallrie, &c: abundant-
lie ministred; and all vnder the golden reigne of blessed
queene Elisabeth, the sweet floure of ami-
able virginite:

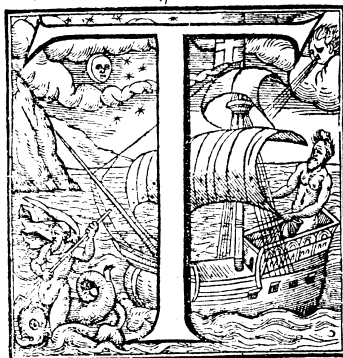
*Cui vitam, studiumque Deus, regnique coronam
Perpetuet, beet, & tranquillo prospexit usu:
Postque hanc exactam vitam, studium atque coronam,
Cœlesti vita, studio, diademate donet.*

A. F.





THE CONTINVATI- on of the chronicles of England from the yeare of our Lord 1576, to this present yeare 1586, &c.



How
An unnatural
murderer
and naturall
murderer
was hanged
as he well
deserved.

Anno Reg. 19.

Tempest in
Richmond
1577.

1577
Tower on
London bridge
was downe.

Richmond
bridge for
clipping of
gold.

Second booke
of the
Chronicle.

1586.

The tenth day of November, in the citie of Worcester, a cruell & unnatural brother (as an other Cain) murdered his owne naturall loving brother, first smiting his braines out of his head with an ax, and after cutting his throte to make him sure, and then buried him under the hearth of a chimneie, thinking thereby (though wrongfullie) quietlie to haue intoted his brothers goods long before in his possession: but not long after this secret murder comming to light, the murderer was rewarded according to his deserts, and to the terror of such unnaturall murdering brethren. The seventeenth of March, through a strange tempest which hapned in the South, nere to a towne called Richmond, not onelie cotages, trees, barnes and haiesstackes, but also the most part of the church called Patrike Wymton was ouerthrowen, with most strange sights in the aire, both fearefull and terrible.

In the moneth of Aprill, the decayed stone house called the tower vpon London bridge was begun to be taken downe, and the heads of traitors that were wont there on poles to be fired, were remoued thence, and set on the gate at the bridge sat toward Southworke. The seventeenth daie of Maie, Richard Robinson goldsmith was drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged for clipping of gold. The one and thirtieth daie of Maie, Martin Frobisher with one ship and two barks furnished for that purpose, sailed from Hartwich in Essex towards Cataia by the north-west seas, and entered the straits beyond quene Elizabeths forceland, about thirtie leagues, where he went on shore, and finding store of the blacke stone, which the goldfiners had said to hold gold, and therefore called the same gold ore, he fraught his ship & barke, caught a man, a woman, and a child of that countrie, and then on the foure and twentieth of August returning from thence, arrived at Whitford haue in Wales on the twentieth of September next following.

The fourth, fift, and sixt daie of Iulie, the assises

being holden at Oxford, there was arraigned and condemned one Rowland Fenkes, for his seditious tongue, at which time there arose amidst the people such a dampe that almost all were smouldered, verie few escaping that were not taken at that instant: the iurors died presentlie, shortly after died sir Robert Bell lord chiefe baron, sir Robert de Olie, sir William Babington, master Wineman, master de Olie high shiriffe, master Dauers, master Harcombe, master Kirtle, master Hettipace, master Greenewood, master Foster, master Path, sergent Baram, master Stephens, &c. There died in the towne of Oxford thre hundred persons, and sickened there, but died in other places two hundred and odd, from the first of Iulie to the twelue of August, after which daie died not one of that sicknesse, for one of them infected not an other, nor anie one woman or child died thereof.

¶ Of this sicknesse there passed a report in print, published under the name of W. B. who (as he saith himselfe) was present with sir William Babington, and therefore was able, and did (as he thought good) set downe the certeintie of that heauie accident, for the satisfaction of such friends of his as desired to know the vndoubted truth. And the same W. B. setting downe the opinion, that diuerse conceiued of this venemous maladie, saith that some supposed it to be of two sorts; howbeit (saith he) it is not so. For those that bled till they died, strove so much with their sicknesse, that the blood issued out at their vents: but yet had perfect memorie, euen to the yielding of their breath, as was verie well perceiued by sir William Babington, who neuer ceased to call vpon God in his great agonie, &c. This reported W. B. as a certeine truth, to stop the stiong rumors of those that (as he saith) haue spoken vntrulie in this behalfe, and published their owne fantasies.

On sundae the fourth of August, betwene the houres of nine and ten of the clocke in the forenone, whilst the minister was reading of the second lesson in the parish church of Wilborough a towne in Suffolke, a strange and terrible tempest of lightening and thunder strake thorough the wall of the same church into the ground almost a yard deepe, & daue downe all the people on that side aboute twentie persons, then renting the wall vp to the reuestre, cleft the doore, and returning to the steeple, rent the timber, brake the chimes, & fled toward Worgie a towne sir miles off. The people that were stricken downe were found groueling more than halfe an houre after, whereof one man more than fortie yeares and a boie of fiftene yeares old were found stark dead:

nesses at
Oxford.

Ab. Fl. ex re-
latu W. B. in
press. 1577.

Tempest in
Suffolke.

the other were scorch'd. The same or the like flash of lightening and cracks of thunder rent the parish church of Worgie, nine miles from Dorwich, worging in under the wiers and wheels of the clocks, kille two men which sat in the bellstee, when the other were at the procession of suffrages, and scorch'd an other which hardlie escaped. The tower on London bridge being taken downe, and a new foundation draue, sir John Langlete lord maior of the citie of London laid the first stone on the eight and twentieth daie of August, in the presence of the shirriffes of London & the two bridgemaisters, which new tower was finished in the moneth of September, Anno 1579.

The tower on London bridge new builded.

Anno Reg. 20. Cutbert Spaine executed. An example of forcerers, and such as come to worke widdes to deceive men of their monie.

The thirtieth daie of November, Cutbert Spaine was draue, hanged, and quartered at Lanceson in Cornewall for preferring Romane power. The seventeenth of Januarie, one Simon Penbrooke dwelling in saint Georges parish in Southworke, being a figurekinger, and vehementlie suspected to be a confurer, by commandement of the ordinarie iudge for those parties, appeared in the parish church of saint Saulors in Southworke, at a court holden there. Which Simon being busied in interteining a pector, and hauing monie in his hand, leane his head vpon a pew wherein the pector stood: which after he had done a certeine space, the pector began to lift by his head to see what he alied, and found him departing out of life, and straightwaie the said Simon fell downe, ratling a little in the throte, and neuer spake word after. This was done euen as the iudge came into the church, who said it was the iust iudgement of God towards those that vsed forcerie, and a great example to admonish other to feare the iustice of God. After, his clothes being opened, there were found about him five diuelish bookes of confuration, and most abhominable practices, with a picture of sin of a man, hauing three dice in his hand with this poesie: Chance dice fortunatlie; & diuerse papers of such like matters, as he had dealt in for men, such men I meane as are mentioned in Leuiticus the twentieth chapter and first verse: If any soule turne himselfe after such as worke with spirits, and after soothsayers, to go a whoring after them (saith the Lord) I will put my face against that soule, and will cut him off from among my people.

Nelson and Sherewood executed.

Counterfeters of coine executed.

Pirats hanged.

1578

Frobishers tyed boiage.

The third daie of Februarie, John Nelson for denieng the quenes supremacie, and such other traitorous words against hir maiestie, was draue from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And on the seventh of the same moneth of Februarie, Thomas Sherewin was likewise draue from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for the like offense. The five and twentieth of Februarie, John de Loy a Frenchman, and five English gentlemen, was conueied from the tower of London towards Dorwich, there to be arreigned and executed for coining of monie counterfeit. And on the ninth of March, seven pirats were hanged at Wap-ping in the ouze beside London.

The ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox deceased on the tenth of March, at hir house in the parish of Backeie besides London, and was buried at Westminster on the third of Aprill. The one and thirtieth and last of Maie, Martine Frobisher with sixteen saile of good ships, manned, vittelled, and otherwise well appointed, departed from Harwich in Essex on his thirde boiage towards Cataia. And on the one and thirtieth and last daie of Iulie, after manie attempts, and sundrie times being put backe by furies of ice in the streits, he recovered his long wished port, and came to anchor in the Harde, netherly by hir maiestie named *Meta incognita*, where (as

in the yeare before) they sought their ships with the like stone or gold ore out of the mines; and then on the last of August returning thence, arrived safelie in England about the first of October.

The two and twentieth of Januarie being thursdaie, about seven of the clocke at night, John Callimere countie palatine of Athene, duke of Banare, landing at the tower of London, was there by diuerse noble men and others honourable receiued, and conueied by cresset light and torch light to sir Thomas Creshams house in Bishops gate street, where he was receiued with sounding of trumpets, drums; fies, and other instruments of musike, and there both lodged and feasted till sundae next, that he was by the nobilitie fetched and conueied to the court at Westminster, where after he had talked with hir maiestie, he returned vnto Summersets house at the strand, and was there lodged. In the weeke following he hunted at Hampton court. On sundae the first of Februarie he beheld a valliant iustling and running at the tilt at Westminster. On the next morrow in the same place he saw them fight at barriers with swords on horse backe. On tuesday he dined with the lord maior of London; on wednesday with the dutchesse of Suffolke, at hir house called the Barbican in Red crosse street; on thursdaie at the Stillard, &c. On sundae the eight of Februarie, the quene made him knight of the garter, by deliuering to him the collar, & putting the garter on his leg at White hall. And on the fourteenth of Februarie, he departed from London to Rochester home wards, with great rewards giuen to him by the quenes maiestie, the nobilitie, men of honour, the lord maior of London, and other citizens of that citie.

The same moneth of Februarie; to wit, on the fourth daie, and in the night next following, fell such abundance of snow, that on the fifth daie in the morning, the same snow was found in London to lie two foot deepe in the Challowell, and otherwise being driuen by the wind, verie boisterous in the north-east on banks one ell or a yard & a half deepe. In the which drifts of snow, farre deeper in the countrie, manie cattell, and some men and women were overwhelmed and lost. It snowed till the eight daie of that moneth, and stilled till the tenth, and then followed a thaw with continuall raine a long time after, which caused such high waters, and great floods, that the marshes and lew grounds being drowned for the time, and the water of the Thames rose so high into Westminster hall, that after the fall thereof, some fishes were found to remaine in the said hall.

The seventeenth of Februarie, an Irishman for murdering of a man in a garden of Stepenbeth parish, was hanged in chaines on the common called Ayle end greene. This common was sometimes, a large meadow in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile long (from White chapell to Stepenbeth church) and therefore called Ayle end greene, but now at this present, by graedie (and as seemeth to me vnlawfully) inclosures, and building of houses, notwithstanding hir maiesties proclamation to the contrary, it remaineth scarce halfe a mile in length. The twentieth daie of Februarie deceased sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seale of England, who was honourable buried vnder a sumptuous monument or tombe (by him in his life time erected) in S. Pauls church of London, on the ninth daie of March. This sir Nicholas Bacon in his life time gaue for his scholars, to be found in Bennets college in Cambridge, to each of them three pounds six shillings and eight pence the yeare for ever.

The said sir Nicholas Bacons some afore said bea- ring

Anno Reg. 20. The receiving of Callimere.

1579 Days snow.

Great low waters.

Summersets house hanged on Ayle end greene.

Lord keeper deceased.

the collect
of epitaph di-
gnitatis.

On the countie
of these
wishes.

On the north
of these.

Great snow
in the month
of April.

for Thomas
Bromleie lord
chancellor.

The collec-
tion of Fran-
co Jan.

ing certeine representations of his wiues and chil-
dren in imagerie worke, is adozned with a notable
epitaph, wherein is pitillie described the meanes
whereby he grew to be noble, as also immortall. The
same being contained in these verses following, and
iustifiable by the verie epitaph, whereof this is a true
transcription, & great pitie but it shold be perpetuall.

*Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columnen; exitium malis,
Bonis asylum; caca quem non exulit
Ad hunc honorem fors; sed equitas fides,
Doctrina, pietas, unica prudentia.
Non morte raptum crede, qui unica
Vita perennes emerit duas: agit
Vitam secundam cœlestis inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita qua illi tertia est:
Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata sempiterna memoria.]*

This yeare in the moneth of Aprill, to wit on the
fourth and twentieth daie, fell such a snow betwene the
hours of foure of the clocke in the morning, & nine of
the clocke before none of the same daie, that in Lon-
don the same snow was found to lie one foot deepe.
The 25 daie of Aprill, sir Thomas Bromleie knight
was made lord chancellor of England.

The chancellors of England, col- lected out of sundrie ancient histories.



The creation of this sir Thomas
Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasi-
oned me to treate of the chancellors of
England, a matter which I haue bene
the willingest to set downe, because I would min-
ster cause to others (who haue long wanted of their
cunning in this matter) to impart to the world some
of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of
their countrie. But since I doubt that they will
not accept this in god part till that come. And as I
may, & perhaps doe (in this) somewhat more largelie
(than in the iudgement of others shall seme answe-
rable to the most receiued opinion, touching the
chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them; so yet
I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into
errore. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection by
on this first rough helwing (as nothing is at the first
so exquisit, as time doth not after amend it) yet
disdaine it not, sith this may giue more light than
before was knowen. And I determine God wil-
ling, either to amend, or to confesse and auoid in the
large description of their lines, whatsoever imper-
fections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for
mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time;
and so to the matter.

It hath bene some question amongst the best an-
tiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie
chancellors in England, before the comming of Ed-
ward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they
suppose to haue brought the same officer with him
from thence into this realme. But sith I am with
manie reasons and ancient authorities led to beleue
the contrarie; I will embrace the contrarie opinion
thereunto, and hold in this discourse (as the order
thereof shall proue) that there were chancellors be-
fore saint Edwards time; for the confirmation
whereof and for the authoritie of them; for the ety-
mologie and originall of the name, and for the conti-
nuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample dis-
course in my booke purposedly written of the lines
of the chancellors, wherunto I wholie refer thee: who
I hope shall within these few yeares be partaker
thereof, and in the meane time giue thee this tast of

the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechan-
cellors, and such keepers of the great seale, as ser-
ued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was
keeper of the great seale, was not intituled chan-
celloz, no more than euerie chancelloz was intit-
led the keeper of the great seale. But because the
one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that
after a certeine sort, the keeper of the great seale
was vicechancelloz, and possessed the place, though
not the name of a chancelloz; as in our age, sir Phi-
lippos Bacon did: we therefore haue set downe
the names of the one and the other, as they followed
in succession of time, after this manner.

Turketill chancelloz to Ethelbald, who began
his reigne about the yeare of Christ 718, which Tur-
ketill gaue sir manours to the abbeie of Crowland,
as I haue seene noted.

Saint Swithin bishop of Winchester was chan-
celloz, and chiefe of counsell to the great monarch
king Egbert, though some attribute him to Ed-
gar, which Egbert began his reigne about the yeare
of Christ 802.

Wulfinus, chancelloz to king Athelstan, who began
his reigne in the yeare of our redemption nine hun-
dred and foure and twentie.

Adolphus, chancelloz to king Edgar, who began
his reigne in the yeare that the world became flesh,
nine hundred fiftie and nine: of this man speaketh
Hugo Petro Burgenfis; and Leland calleth this Ad-
olph Cancellarium & archigrammatum: chancelloz or
chiefe secretarie.

Alfius or Aelfius the second abbat of Ely, chan-
celloz to king Ethelred, who began his reigne in the
yeare of Christ nine hundred seuentie and eight, this
man, being by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester,
consecrated abbat at the appointment of the said
king Ethelred or Egbert, and being then abbat of
Ely, when Ethelred gaue forth his commande-
ment that the abbat of Ely should then, and for e-
uer, be chancelloz; I doubt not to place him here a-
mongst the chancellors: the proofe of which matter I
haue here verbatim set downe, out of the second
booke of the historie of Ely. Statuit (which was
Ethelred) atque concessit quatenus ecclesiam de Ely, ex tunc
& semper in regis curia cancellarij ageret dignitatem, quod
etiam alij sancti videlicet Augustini & Glefoniae eccle-
sij constituit, ut abbates istorum cœnobiorum vicissim adfui-
satis succedendo temporibus annum trisarie diuiderent,
cum sanctuarijs & ceteris ornamentis ministrando: &c.

Leofricus Bathonicus chancelloz to Edward the
confessor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie
and siue, and some yeares before: this man was bi-
shop of Exeter in Cornewall, which see was af-
ter translated to Exeter.

Wulfinus, or Wulfinus chancelloz to Edward the
confessor, in the latter end of the said yeare of Christ
one thousand fortie and siue, being the third yeare of
his reigne; this man cannot be he which some would
haue to be Wulfinus the abbat of Westminster. For
that Wulfinus died one and fortie yeares before
this Wulfinus the chancelloz; sith that Wulfinus
was made abbat of Westminster, about the yeare
nine hundred fiftie and eight, and died in the yeare
one thousand and foure; being bishop of Shireburne.
Yet I will not at this time iudicially resolute, al-
though I suppose it true, whether this Wulfinus the
chancelloz, and Wulfinus the bishop of Lichfield,
witnessed to a deed, wherein Edward the confessor
granted certeine liberties to Leofwine, abbat of the
abbie of Conentre, built by Leofrike erle of Mercia,
be all one man or no. Againe, there is an other
man which was abbat of saint Albons called Wul-
finus, which for affinitie to the name of this man I
thought onelie to touch in this place.

Wesley

Turketill.

Saint Swi-
thin.

Wulfinus.

Adolphus.

Hist. Eliens.
lib. 2. scriptum
in the time of
St. Stephan.

Leofricus.

Wulfinus.

Hesembaldus.

Hesembaldus, or Hembaldus, for I take them both by manie and ancient authorities to be all one man, was chancelloz to Edward the confessor, and seale bearer, with alle amongst others, to manie dedds which I haue seene of the confessor; some dated in the yeare one thousand three score and six, and some otherwise. He was buried at Cirencester, or Cicester.

Hauricius.

Hauricius chancelloz to William the Conqueror in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and seuen, being the first and part of the second pere of William the Conqueror.

Simundus.

Simundus, after bishop of Sarum, chancelloz to William the Conqueror, in the pere one thousand three score and seauen, and after in the pere one thousand three score and fiftene, about the ninth yeare of the kings reigne.

Arfastus.

Arfastus bishop of Helmane, who translated his see from Helmane to Ectford, was chancelloz to William the Conqueror, in the pere of Christ one thousand three score and eight, being in the second and third pere of the Conqueror, and also in the pere one thousand seuentie and seuen, being about the tenth yeare of William Conqueror.

Hirmanus.

Hirmanus that was first made bishop of Surin: or Wilton, and translated his see from Wilton to Spurburne, & from thence to Sarum; he is that Hirmanus which I suppose was chancelloz to William the Conqueror, and called Hirmannus, and that wrote the life and miracles of saint Edmund king of the Eastangles.

William Nelson.

William Nelson borne of a noble house, chapleine and chancelloz to William the Conqueror (as hath Robertus Montensis) succeeded Arfastus in the bishopricke of Ectford, to whom by the gift of William Rufus succeeded in that see Herbertus Lofinga abbat of Hamseie, which translated the bishops see to Poztowich; of which Lofinga were (as hath Matthew Westminster) these verses here set downe compiled:

*Surgit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Lofinga,
Simonidum secta, canonum virtute refecta,
Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,
Si presens eses, non Simon ad alta volaret,
Proh dolor! ecclesie nummus venduntur & are,
Filius est presul, pater abbas, Simon vterque.
Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quid vult facit, addit & aufert,
Res nimis iniusta, nummus sit presul & abbas.*

William Gifford.

William Gifford bishop of Winchester was chancelloz in the time of the Conqueror, and of William Rufus, & of Henrie, who made him bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand and one hundred, and was consecrated in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and seuen: though it seemeth that Robert Bluet came in place of this William Gifford, removed about the fourth of the same Rufus from his office of chancellozship, as I suppose will be well proued, but after placed againe in that office. Of the death of this William is much contrarietie, for Matthew Westminster placed it three seuerall pæres, the eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, and againe in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fortie and two, being the seuenth yeare of king Stephan.

Robert Bluet.

Robert Bluet, Bloet, or Bloct made chancelloz in the pere of Christ one thousand and ninetie, being the fourth yeare of William Rufus, he was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand ninetie and two: but as it appeareth to me by some authoritie that I haue seene, he did execute that office being bishop of Lincolne: he died at Wadsworth in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentieth and three, being about the three and twentieth pere of the reigne of Henrie the first, whose

epitaph Henrie Huntington reciteth in this manner:

*Pontificum Robertus honor, quem fama superile,
Perpetuare dabit, nec obtinuit obit:
Hic humilis, diues (res mira) potens, pius vltor,
Compatiens, mitis, quum piteretur erat,
Noluit esse sui dominus, studuit pater esse,
Semper in aduersis murus & arma suis:
In decima lani mendacii somnia mundi
Liquit, & euigilans vera per hunc vidit.*

Ranulphus in the time of William Rufus, which might be that man which was after chancelloz in the time of Henrie the first.

Malozicus chancelloz to Henrie the first, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and three, being the third yeare of his reigne.

Herbertus chancelloz in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand one hundred and foure (as appeareth by an anonymous pamphlet in written hand) of whome I am not yet resolved whether this were Herbertus Lofinga bishop of Poztowich or no.

Roger bishop of Salisbury, whome Henrie the first called a met chapleine to serue soulldors, was chancelloz to king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first pere of king Henrie the first, and in the pere one thousand one hundred and seuen, about the seuenth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being chosen bishop in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and two, and consecrated in the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuen.

Galfridus Rufus bishop of Durham, witness to a deed wherein Henrie the first confirmed to the priore of Christ church a pece of ground without Aldgate called Knighton guild, in the presence of Cestrie chancelloz, Cestrie Clinton, and William Clinton: he was also chancelloz in the two and twentieth pere of Henrie the first, and so untill the three and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, and then was made bishop of Durham, which Cestrie died about the pere of our redemption one thousand one hundred fortie and one.

Ranulphus, called by Matthew Westminster Ranulphus, chancelloz to Henrie the first, and Richard the chapleine, keeper of the great seale, being at one time. This Ranulph was chancelloz in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred and fiftene, being the first tenth of king Henrie the first, in which office I suppose that he continued, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentieth and three, being the three and twentieth of the said Henrie, in which yeare this chancelloz (for so is he then called) fell from his horse and brake his necke on a hill not far from Dunstable, where the king kept his Christmasse.

Reginald chancelloz to king Henrie the first, as Reginald Leland hath set him downe, writing in this sort in his notes of Pontacute abbey: Reginaldus cancellarius, so named (belike) of his office, he was a man of great fame about king Henrie the first: he fell to religion, and was priore of Pontacute, and enlarged it with great buildings and possessions, &c.

Roger bishop of Salisbury againe chancelloz in the latter end of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and in the beginning of king Stephan, in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtieth and six, which Henrie the first died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtieth and nine, being the five and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie. This Roger died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtieth and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan.

Godfreie chancelloz to Henrie the first (as I gather out of Matthew Parker in the life of William Co:bell or Cozbyis) the six and thirtieth archbishop of Canturbury

Canterburie, to which dignitie this William was advanced in the thre and twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1123, of which Godfrey the said Mathew further writeth in this sort, speaking of the said William the archbishop returned from Rome with the pall: *Deinde Alexandrum Lincolnensem episcopum Cantuariæ, Godfredum regni cancellarium Bathoniensem episcopum Londini consecrauit. Concerning which Godfrey we will speake more hereafter in the liues of the chancellors, onelic at this time setting downe that this Godfredus was the queenes chapleine, and could not be that Galfridus before named, which was bishop of Durham; for this Godfredus died six yeares before that Galfridus, for this bishop of Bath died in the yeare of our Lord 1135, being the last of king Henrie Beaulerke, and the first of king Stephan; that bishop of Durham died in the yeare of our Lord 1141, being about the first yeare of the said king Stephan; and this Godfrey was the second bishop of Bath and Wells after the uniting of those two cities to one bishoprike by John de Loures, the first bishop of those two places in the yeare of our Lord 1092, being about the fift yeare of William Rufus.*

Alexander bishop of Lincolne (as may be after a sort gathered out of Wilhelmus Paruus lib. 1. cap. 6.) being cousin or nephew to Roger bishop of Salisbury was chancelor: the words of which W. Paruus be these: *Eidem (that was to king Stephan) quoque sublimato in regem, se (that was Roger bishop of Salisbury) talem exhibuit, ut obsequiorum gratia præclarum apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tanti ille beneficii ingratus, in ipsam episcopum (cuius opera nunquam episcopalis fuisse) vltor diuinitus ordinatus, eundem tanquam exiguu hominem momenti primo carcerati custodia, postmodum eum cili inopia, nepoti eius (qui cancellarius fuerat regis) intentato supplicio ita coactant, ut duo illa præclara castella (which were the castles of Gille other wise called de Deuilles, and the castell of Shitburne) in quibus thesauri eius erant repositi resignaret. Thus much Wilhelmus Newburgensis, the truth whereof I leaue to other to consider, with the words of those authors may be diuersly expounded, either that this Alexander was chancelor, or his sonne, or else the sonne of Roger bishop of Salisbury. But be it any or none of them, as the truth shall hereafter be made plaine, yet because I haue mentioned Alexander in this place, I thinke it not amisse to set downe such verses as Henrie Huntington hath recited of this Alexander, which are:*

*Splendor Alexandri, non tam renitescit honori,
Quamper eum renitescit honor, flux namque virorum,
Dando tenere putans thesauros cogit honori,
Et grati dare festinans ne danda rogentur,
Quod non dum dederit non dum se credit habere
Ob deum, lohorum director, quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilarum clementia, cauta potestas,
Lenis iugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertasque decens, venere pudorque facetus.
Lincolniæ gens magna prius, nec maxima semper,
Tali & iste diu sit nobis tutor honoru.*

Robert chancelor of England in the time of king Stephan, but I find not in what yeare, because the charter is without date, neither can I learne what he was, because I know not his surname.

Philip chancelor to king Stephan, about the fourth yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of our Lord 1139, witnesseth to manie deedes which king Stephan made to the monks of Ely, and to Sigellus the bishop of that see.

Reinold abbat of Walden, whome I haue scene in one anonymall briefe written chronicle to be termed chancelor: but in what time he liued, or what other name he had I doe not yet know, but by the course of the historie much about this time.

John chancelor of England in the time of king John. Henrie the second, but what he was or in what yeare of king Henrie he liued I doe not know, and therefore leaue it to him that both can and ought to giue life to these persons whom he imprisoneth in the east castell of London; not doubting but in time he will doe his countrie good, and correct other men; though now he be so streit laced, as that he will not procure anie furtherance of other mens trauels.

Thomas Becket made chancelor (as some write) in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, others saie in the fourth yeare: but the best authors agree that he gaue ouer the seale in the yeare of Christ 1162, being the eight yeare of the victorious prince the said Henrie the second against the will of the prince, he died in the yeare of our redemption 1170, as these verses doe proue, being such as the carlositie of that superstitious age would permit:

Pro Christo, sponsa Christi, sub tempore Christi,

** In templo Christi, verus amator obit,*

Anno mileno, centeno, septuageno,

Anglorum primas corruit ense Thomas.

Quis moritur? præsul: cur? pro grege: qualiter? ense:

Quando? natali: quis locus? ara Dei.

Rafe Clarneulle archdeacon of Here and treasurer of the church of Poike, was made chancelor about the yeare that the word became flesh 1173, being about the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the second: of this man speaketh Mathew Paris and Matthew Westminster.

Walterus de Constantijs archdeacon of Orford after bishop of Lincolne, in the yeare of our redemption 1182, from whence he was advanced in the yeare 1184, being the one and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the second unto the archbishoprike of Here, of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the prebends of England pag. 1069.

Geffrie the bassard sonne to king Henrie the second, after that he had surrendered the bishoprike of Lincolne, whereof he was neuer consecrat bishop, but kept the place and receiued the reuenues, was made chancelor much about the fir and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of Christ 1180: yet be there some that saie he resigned the bishoprike in the seuen and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the second, in the yeare of Christ 1181. The difference whereof groweth (as I suppose) for that some accompt the beginning of the yeare of our Lord from the first of Januarie, as all other nations of Europe doe; some from the birth of Christ, as we in England did long time since the conquest; and some from the five and twentieth of March, on which it is supposed that the world began first to be created: which last accompt we in England (and the Scots as hath Lelleus) doe keepe, together with them of Genoa or Gene in Italie, contrarie to the order of all other nations. The beginning of which manner of accompt amongst vs I cannot as yet certainly learne: but I suppose it began much about the time of king Edward the third, for all the former historians begin the yeare from the birth of Christ.

William Longchampe the proud bishop of Ely, legat of England for the bishop of Rome, chiefe iustice of the south and west parts of England, and deputie of that part of the realme, when Richard the first went to the warres of the holie land, was made chancelor in the said first of king Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1189: of the sumptuous feast of whose inthronisation thus writeth Fecrthubphus (or Fecrthubphus) by the toale of comparison:

Præmissi alij, Eliensis festa videre,

Est quasi præmissa nocte videre diem.

He died in the yeare of Christ 1197, going to Rome, in the abbete of Winton, being of the charterhouse order.

Thomas Becket.

* Christes church in Canturburie.

Rafe warneulle.

Walterus de Constantijs.

Geffrie.

William Longchampe.

Eustachius.

der. About which time in the first yeare of Richard the first, there was a vicechancellor called *Malus Catalus*.

Eustachius deane of Salisburie, was chancellor of England, being elected bishop of Elie the third dayes of August, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1196, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first, of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, contrary to that which others ascribe, writing that Eustachius succeeded William Longchampe in the office of chancellor, and in the bishopricke of Elie. The words of Matthew Parker in the life of Hubert be these: *Hubertus deposito magistratu civili, ecclesia cura totius vacabat, consecransque postea Robertum de Salopis episcopum Banthorensis, & Eustachium qui in cancellarij munere ei successit Eliensem episcopum, Westmonasterij debita accepta ab utroque subiectioni professione.*

Hubert walter or walter Hubert.

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert, for such a transmutation of the name is used by authors, being first bishop of Salisburie and then archbishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor shortly after the coronation of king John, which was in the yeare that the virgin brought forth Christ 1199, at that time a certaine noble man said unto him in scoone, I haue often sene of a chancellor made a bishop, but I neuer before saw an archbishop made a chancellor.

Simon.

Simon or rather Hugh, of which is more hereafter, archdeacon of Welles in the first yeare of king John (after as I suppose that Hubert had left the office being so disgraced & abased as he thought) was witness to a deed, in which king John granted to the citizens of Porke a guildhall, hanse, and other liberties, as I haue sene noted in the copie of the same charter, for which cause I haue here set it downe as an other man, although in truth I am fullie resolved that this Simon and the Hugh following were all one person, leauing it yet for euerie mans iudgement.

Hugh de welles.

Hugh de Welles archdeacon of Welles, witness to the deed in which king John, in the first yeare of his reigne, confirmed to the monasterie of Westminster, Cuthley or Alep in Dorsetshire, in which house Edward the confessor was borne, he was made bishop of Lincoln about the tenth yeare of king Johns reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1209, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1235.

Walter Wate.

Walter Wate chosen bishop of Chester, in the yeare of our Lord 1210, was bishop of Worcester and after bishop of Porke, a man of extreme age, was made chancellor in the seventh yeare of king John as one anonymall chronicle saith, to hold that office during his life. Others saie that he was made chancellor in the yeare of Christ 1209, being the tenth yeare of king John after Hugh de Welles. But I suppose he surrendered that patent to hold it during his life, when he came to be bishop of Porke. Of this man is more spoken in my treatise of the protectors of England, pag. 1069.

Richard de Marischo.

Richard de Marischo, whom Matthew Paris termeth *Tholomarus*, as it were to gatherer or treasurer, if you list, being archdeacon of Northumberland, was chancellor in the fourth yeare of king John, as appeared by a deed that I haue sene: and further he was made chancellor in the 15 yeare of king John, in which office he continued to the 17 yeare of the said king, and as some doe write during king Johns life, and died about the calends of Maie in the yeare of our redemption 1226, in the tenth yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as some haue. But the booke of Durham saith, that he was made bishop of that see by Gwedo the legat, and consecrated by Walter Wate bishop of Porke, in the yeare of our redemption 1214, being about the sixteenth

yeare of king John, and died suddenly at Peterborough the first daie of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1226, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after that he had bene bishop of Durham nine yeares, of whom a monke of Durham made this epitaph in formall deuise as you see following:

<i>Culmina qui cupi Est sedata si Qui populos regi Quod mors immi Pobis prapost Quod sum vos eni</i>	<i>Glaudes pompalque sui Sime pensare veli Memores super omnia non punit bonore pati similis fuerom bene sci Cad me currendo veni</i>
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And here sith I am entered into the surname of Marischo, I will set downe what I found engrauen on the wall of the dore of the chapter house of the monasterie of Bath (almost defaced with the weather) written in Græke Saxon characters. *Marischo iacet Alexander de Alueto, & Emburga uxor eius, & Fulco de Alueto filius eorum: & Lucia de Marischo filia eius, & Iordanus de Marischo filius eiusdem Lucie, & Wilhelmus de Marischo filius eiusdem Iordani.* Which name of the Marishes, Marishes, or Maries, if it like them to compound it, as I doubt not but manie will quiddle thereupon, was as great a name in Ireland as it was in England.

Rafe Penill was confirmed (as it seemeth) chancellor by the whole consent of the nobilitie, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1226, being about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after which he was made bishop of Chichester in the eleventh yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1227, or as hath Matthew Westminster 1223, being before chancellor. After which the king in the two and twentieth yeare of his reigne, offended with Penill, took from him the great scale, & deliuered it to Gesteire of the temple, as hath Matthew Paris, and to John de Lexington: although that the said Penill remained still chancellor, and receiued the profits thereof, to whom the king would after haue regien the scale in the yeare of Christ 1239, being the thre and twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie, but Penill would not receive it. This man died in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seven and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, at his palace at London not far from the new temple.

Gesteire the Templar & John de Lexington were made keepers of the great scale. But shortly after this Gesteire had the scale taken from him, because he grew in dislike of the nobilitie in continuall prouoking them to anger.

Hugh Batellhall chanon of Pauls is by Matthew Paris fol. 656, called chancellor in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, which I much doubt to be true. Of this man shall be more said in the treasurers of England.

Simon the Norman keeper of the great scale in the thre & twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1229: he had the scale shortly after taken from him, and was banished the court, because he would not scale the patent, whereby Thomas earle of Flanders might take foure pence for custome of euerie sacke of wool that came out of England into Flanders. This Simon died in the yeare of Christ 1249, being the thre and thirtieth of king Henrie the third.

Richard Graffe or Grossus abbat of Cusham (the said Simon expelled) had the keeping of the great scale in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, he kept the scale thre yeares, and being chosen bishop of Chester, he resigned the same in the yeare of Christ 1242, being the six & twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third: he died (being wife & learned in the canon and ciuill law) in the same yeare

Rafe Penill bishop of Chichester.

Gesteire the Templar.

Hugh Batellhall chanon of Pauls.

Simon the Norman keeper of the great scale.

Richard Graffe or Grossus abbat of Cusham.

peare in Gascoine, in a citie called in Latine *Riola* or *Regula*, where he was buried.

John de
Lerinton.

John de Lerinton was againe made keeper of the seale in the six and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1242, to execute that office, Rafe Penill being in life and still chancelloz, but in the kings disgrace, shortly after which this Penill died. This John Lerinton died 1257, being the 41 yeare of Henrie the third.

Ranulph
Brito.

Ranulph Brito (as I read) is said to be chancelloz and treasurer of the chamber, about the seven and twentieth yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1242. I suppose that he onelie had the keeping of the great seale as the rest had before him, during the life of Rafe Penill, and so I leave him to the judgement of others, sith Matthew Paris continually nameth him treasurer and once chancelloz, who suddenly died after dinner beholding plaies at dise, in the yeare of Christ 1246, being the thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: of whom thus writeth the said Matthew Paris in his greater historie fol. 954. *Ranulphus Brito quondam dominus familiarissimus regi & reginae multis posthabitis nobilibus & eiusdem cancellarius specialis, quum post mensalem refectorem alcatores certatim insepisset colludentes, letalis apoplexia inexpectato vulnere corruit suffocatus.*

Sphurster de
Guersden.

Sphurster de Guersden received the great seale the nine and twentieth yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare that the son of God became flesh one thousand two hundred forty and six: he was vice-chancelloz & consecrated bishop of Carleill (being a man most cunning in the custome of the chancerie) in the yeare of Christ 1247, being the one and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third.

John Mansell.

John Mansell treasurer of Porke, parson of Walsstene in Kent, and parson of Wigan, chancelloz of Paules, master or ruler of Beverleie, chiefe iustice of England, one of the privie counsell to Henrie the third, his chapleine, ambassadoz into Spaine, and a worthy souldier, crossed to go to Jerusalem, who at one feast had two kings, two quenes, and I know not how many noble men, and whose spirituall livings were about foure thousand marks of perelie revenues (as I have gathered) he was at the will and instance of the king made keeper of the great seale as vicechancelloz (for Matthew Paris saith, *Custodiam sigilli regii accepit cancellarij vices acturus & officium*) about the one & thirtieth of king Henrie the third, in the yeare that God took on him the forme of a servant 1247, he built a house of regular canons at Romme two miles from the sea. To this man king Henrie the third, in the thirtieth yeare of his reigne, did grant that his towne of Wigan should be a burrow.

John de
Lerinton.

John de Lerinton, being after chiefe iustice of the forest from the river of Trent southward, was againe keeper of the great seale, untill some part of the two and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ 1248.

John Mansell.

John Mansell againe keeper of the great seale, who at Woodstocke in the two and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the third, did receive the great seale of the said John Lerinton, which he kept (as I suppose and that with some good pzoofe) untill the thre & thirtieth yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1248. Of which John Mansell thus writeth an old anonymall chronicle concerning the barons warres: *Sed & Iohannes Mansell multarum in Anglia ecclesiarum rector seu potius incubator, reddituum quoque quorum non erat numerus possessor magnificus, ita quod ditor eo clericus non videbatur in orbe episcopali, puta dignitate minime insignitus, metu baronum aufugit & latenter ultra mari de turri London, in qua rex Anglia & regina sua tunc temporis tenebantur se. Quem quum Henricus filius regis Ale-*

mania fugientem insequeretur, & ipse capitur quum applicasset Bononia a magistro Gerardo de Fenes procuratore ut putabatur regina, &c.

Ranulphus de Diceto was chancelloz (as I read & suppose) much about this time: but for certainte I refer the same to the large booke of their lives, where he shall not faile to have his right time and place.

William of Bilkennie, being a modest, wise, and faithfull man, learned in the canon and civill lawes, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, being the foure & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He was elected to the bishopricke of Elie, as saith the historie of Elie, the eighteenth kalends of September, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & five, being about the nine and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third. But others saie that he being then vicechancelloz, was elected bishop of Elie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third, after that he had faithfullie and to his great commendation used and bozne the great seale, he was consecrated to that bishopricke in the yeare of Christ 1255, and died in the yeare 1256 being about the one and fortieth yeare of king Henrie the third, whose heart was buried at Elie.

William of
Bilkennie.

Henrie de Wingham was made chancelloz in the nine and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third, and continued in the one and fortieth and two and fortieth yeare of Henrie the third, in which yeare (as some haue) and in the 43 of Henrie the third (as others haue.) He was chosen bishop of Winchester, upon condition that he should giue place to Athelmer halfe brother to king Henrie the third, & son to Hugh Wyne earle of March, and of Cleanoz king Henrie the thirds mother, being banished by the barons, if that he should againe returne into England, and then leave the bishopricke of Winchester unto him, which he did upon the comming againe of the said Athelmer into England, and for that cause was after chosen bishop of London, being chosen thereto in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the thre & thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the third, and still chancelloz, and is buried in Paules on the south side of the quier (next to Cuthylus bishop of London) in a monument of marble, with this inscription on the wall to tell who it was: *Hic iacet Henricus de Wingham quondam episcopus huius ecclesie, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesie sancti Pauli.*

Henrie de
Wingham.

Walter Sperton chancelloz in the foure and fortieth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare 1260. Nicholas of Elie made chancelloz by the barons, in the said yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and fiftie, and Walter Sperton displaced. But king Henrie the third, disdainning to haue officers appointed him by his subiecs, did in the month of October following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, or rather one thousand two hundred fiftie and one, depriue the said Nicholas, and replaced the said Walter Sperton.

Walter
Sperton.Nicholas
of Elie.

Walter Sperton bishop of Rochester the second time made chancelloz as before appeareth.

Walter Sperton the
second time.

John de Chesill archdeacon of London and treasurer of England, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and fortieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. This man was consecrated bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, the third kalends of Maie, as hath Matthew Westminster: he died in the yeare that the word of the father became flesh one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, the fourth ides of February, in the seuenth yeare of the scourge of the Scots and Welshmen.

John de
Chesill.

Thom

Thomas de Cantelupe, borne of the noble house of the lords Cantelupes (the son of William Cantelupe and Millesent, who, as saith Ieland dycto hie originall from the countesse of Porke) being archdeacon of Stafford, was doctor and after bishop of Hereford in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and six, and before that made chancellor, after the feast of saint Peters chaire, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie & five, being the nine and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He died beyond the seas comming from the court of Rome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, or more trulie (as others haue) in the yeare one thousand two hundred eightie & three, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the first, whose bones were brought to Hereford.

Walter Gifford
bishop of Bath.

Walter Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles, whome manie do call William, did intay the state of the chancellor, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred sixtie & six, being the sixtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: he was translated from Bath to Porke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred sixtie and nine, being the nine and fortith yeare of the same Henrie the third, and died the seuenth kalends of Maye in the twelwe yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & seven, being the first yeare of king Edward the first, or (as hath Nicholas Triuet) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first.

Geffreie Gifford.

Geffreie Gifford was chancellor also in the one and sixtith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and seven. This man was bishop of Worcester about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine, where he sat foure and thirtie yeares, foure moneths, and foure daies, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and foure, being about the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first.

John de Chesill.

John de Chesill was the second time honoured with the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, being the thre and sixtith yeare in which king Henrie the third of that name did hold the scepter of England.

Richard de Middleton.

Richard de Middleton, so surnamed of the place where he was borne, was aduanced to the office of the chancellorship, in the said thre and sixtith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the moneth of Iulie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, and was also (as appeareth by a charter which I haue seene) witness to the same deed, in the foure and sixtith yeare of the said king Henrie, who (as farre as I can gather) died in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and one, being the six and sixtith yeare of the long government of king Henrie the third. There was a writer of England that wrote many volums of this name living at this time, whom I doubt not (for anie thing that I can yet learne) to be the same man which was chancellor.

John de Kirbie.

John de Kirbie, after the death of Richard Middleton, was made keeper of the great scale in the said six and sixtith yeare of king Henrie the third. Whether this were the same John Kirbie, which after was bishop of Ely, and treasurer of England, I haue not as yet to determine, although I rather hold the affirmative than the contrarie.

Walter Mertton.

Walter Mertton the third time made chancellor of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand

two hundred seuentie and thre, being the first yeare of the reigne of that famous prince king Edward the first of that name: he was bishop of Worcester, and built Mertton college in Oxford, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first.

Robert Burnell the eleuenth bishop of Bath and Wells (after the uniting of those two sees in one by

John de Loures in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and two) was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our Lord (as saith Eueriden) one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, and chosen archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, but relected by the pope: he was chancellor in the second yeare of the said Edward the first, in which place it seemeth that he long continued: of whom thus writeth an anonimall chronicle; *Dominus Edmundus comes Cornubiæ fundavit novum studium ordinis Cisterciensis apud Oxoniæ, et monachos de Thame primò ibidem introduxit, et dedit eis prima donatione manerum de Erdington, et fecit dedicare locum abbacie tertij idus Decembris: per dominum Robertum Burnell episcopum Bathon et Welles, cancellarium regis, et posuit fundamentum novæ ecclesie eodem die Northosneia.* This bishop was required with the son of Edward the first, and Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, in the time of Edward the first, to be delivred for pledges for the welsh prince of Wales for his safe returne, if he came to the parlement, wherunto he was summoned by the said king Edward. In the time of this chancellor the court of chancery was kept at Wyke. This man died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and thre, being the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third.

John de Langhton made chancellor of England in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and thre, being the one and twentieth

yeare of the scourger of the Scots, king Edward the first, in which office he remained untill the thirtith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and two. He was made bishop of Chichester about the six and twentieth or rather the seven and twentieth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and eight, or rather one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine: and in the said yeare one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine he was before chosen bishop of Ely, but relected by the pope, who made him archdeacon of Canturburie: from which Langhton this Edward did take the great scale in the thirtith yeare before said, and delivred it to John Drokenisford.

John Drokenisford keeper of the wardrobe was made keeper of the great scale in the thirtith yeare, as before, in which office he continued from about the fiftenth daie of August untill Michelmass.

William de Greinfield, deane of Chichester, and canon of Porke, was aduanced to the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that God became man one thousand thre hundred and two, being about the thirtith yeare of the said king Edward the first, which office was given unto him at saint Radigunds (as saith Anonymus M.S.) he was after chosen bishop of Porke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and thre: who in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and eight buried the body of the said king Edward the first at Westminster, though that king died in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand thre hundred and sevenen. This bishop died about the yeare of our saluation one thousand thre hundred and fiftene (being about the first yeare of king Edward the second) at Calwed, after that

Robert Burnell.

John de Langhton.

Matthew Parker.

John Drokenisford.

William de Greinfield.

that he had bene bishop nine yeares, eleven moneths, and two daies, and was buried in saint Nicholas porch of Yorke, receiuing his consecration at Rome in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and five (after that he had bene there two yeares, of pope Clement. This Greinfield was a man verie eloquent and pithe in counsell.

William de Hamelton, deane of Yorke, was created chancelor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the sonne of God one thousand three hundred and five, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of that noble prince king Edward the first. This William surrendered his borrowed life in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seven, being about the five and thirtieth yeare of the said king, at the abbey of Fontenelle in Yorkshire, being a man that well deserved of the commonwealth.

Ralph de Baldoche chosen bishop of London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and thre, was confirmed at Citeshall by Robert of Lincolnshire bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Lions by Peter of Spaine bishop of Alba, the third calends of Februarie, in the pere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and five. He was made lord chancelor of England, after the death of the said William Hamelton in the said five and thirtieth pere of king Edward the first, and received the great seale in the Rogation week following, being some foure or five weekes after that he was advanced to that office at the erchecker. Shortly after which died king Edward the first; for which cause the said Baldoche sent the great seale to king Edward the second then at Carlisle, by reason of his fathers death. This Ralph Baldoche died on saint James euen in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and thirtene, being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second.

John Langhton bishop of Chichester againe made lord chancelor of England, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand three hundred and seauen, being the first yeare of king Edward of Carnarnan, in which office it seemeth that he continued, untill the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and ten, being the third yeare of the reigne of the after deposed king Edward the second.

William Melton, hauing two others joined with him, had the great seale deliuered onto them for a certeine time, to execute all such things as were to be done therewith during the kings pleasure. This man was a canon of Yorke, prouost of Beverleie, treasurer of England, and archbishop of Yorke, as saith Anonymus M. S. He was consecrated bishop of Yorke at Rome, where he tarried two yeares for the same: he was a man neuer wearied with travail. He first of all the bishops of Yorke (after a long controuersie betwaine the deane and canons of Yorke) visited the chapter by due order: he was wise, rich, seuer in correction, gentle, familiar, and humble: he finished the west part of the church of saint Peters in Yorke with three hundred pounds, he was archbishop of Yorke two and twentie yeares, five or six moneths, and two daies: he died at Calwood on saint Georges euen, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was buried in the minster of Yorke nere to the font.

Walter Reynolds bishop of Worcester, treasurer of England and archbishop of Canturburie, was made keeper of the great seale, and chancelor of England on the first of Julie one thousand three hundred and ten, in the said yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and ten, being the said third yeare of that king Edward, whome his sonne Edward the third deposed from his kingdome. Of this

man & all other chancelors, which were archbishops of Canturburie, shall be somewhat more said at another time, in the order and placing of the bishops of that see, which caution I haue here set downe, because I would once for all make repetition thereof in one place, and not seuerallie in manie places, vnder the seuerall names of euerie chancelor: that was inuelted with that metropolitan hono: of Canturburie.

John de Sandall clerke, bishop of Winchester, John de Sandall, was at Yorke made chancelor of England, in the yeare that the virgin Marie was deliuered of the first begotten son one thousand three hundred and fouretene, being the eight yeare of king Edward the second, in which place he continued two yeares and more, some part thereof being after that he was bishop of Winchester (as I gather) and then deliuered backe the seale at Westminster, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and seuentene, being the eleauenth yeare of the said king Edward the second. Of this man is more spoken in the treasurers of England.

John Wyham bishop of Ely was created lord chancelor of England in the pere of Christ one thousand three hundred and seantene, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second, in which office he continued untill the yeare of our Lord God 1319, being the thirtieth yeare of the last before named king Edward. During whose government of the see of Ely, in the yeare one thousand three hundred fortie and one, the steeple of the chaire fell downe, which made such terrible noise and shaking of the ground that it was supposed to haue bene an earthquake. He died of the palseie in the pere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, being the tenth yeare of that king Edward the third that first wrote himselfe king of both realmes, England and France.

John Salmon bishop of Norwich was advanced to be chancelor, in the yeare that God toke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand three hundred and ninetene, being the thirtieth yeare of that king Edward the second, against whome the nobles rebelled for the misdeameano: of Piers de Gauesstone (the Salcoine) earle of Cornewall. In this yeare one thousand three hundred and ninetene (as saith one anonymall chronicler M. S.) was William Aitremine keeper of the seale vicechancelor: taken prisoner by the Scots. The words of the which author for the more certeinthe thereof we haue here set downe, in the yeare of Lord one thousand three hundred and ninetene. *Episcopus Eborum, episcopus Elye thesaurarius, abbas beate Marie Eborum, abbas de Selbie, decanus Eborum dominus Willielmus Armentie vicecancellarius Anglie, ac dominus Iohannes Dabehum cum 8000 ferme hominum, tam equitum quam peditum & ciuilibus propter antem egredientes, quoddam flumen & Sivalenuncupatum sparsis cuneis transseunt, & indispotus seu potius confusus ordinibus cum aduersarijs congressi sunt. Scoti siquidem in Marte gnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus caute regentes, in nostros agminibus strictis audacter irruerunt, nostrorum denique in breui laceratis cuneis atque dissipatis. Corruerunt ex nostris tam in ore gladij quam aquarum scopulis suffocati, plusquam 4000, & capti sunt domini Iohannes de Pabeham miles & dominus Willielmus de Armentie ut praefertur de cancellaria, &c.* Which William Aitremine was also in the fiftenth of the said king Edward the second, one of the keepers of the great seale, as I haue scene registred.

Robert Baldoche archdeacon of Middlesex, a man euillie beloned, and whom the old English chronicle calleth a false pebl priest, was made chancelor of England in the seauententh yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, at the castell of Pite, ring

William de Hamelton.

Ralph Baldoche.

John Langhton.

William Melton.

Walter Reynolds.

John de Sandall.

John Wyham.

John Salmon.

Dr Pabeham, York. Twelve miles from York.

Robert Baldoche.

Histor. episc.
Norwich.

ring in Dorsetshire, he was after made bishop of Norwich, and did his fealtie for restitution of his temporalties in the nineteenth yeare of the said king Edward the second at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, he was apprehended in the 20 yeare of Edward the second, being the yere of our Lord 1326, as others haue) one thousand three hundred & five and twentie, & first committed to the custodie of Adam Carleton of de Dileton bishop of Hereford, & after was put in the prison of the Newgate in London, in which twentieth yeare of the said Edward the second the great seale was againe deliuered to William Acremore, who I suppose was then also made bishop of Norwich, and this Baldocke depose from that see, of which Baldocke thus writeth a Polyphonicon of Durham: *Robertus de Baldocke cancellarius An. 1325 captus cum Hugonibus de despensers, quia clericus fuit & sacerdos in nona porta Londinariam, ponit fecit Edwardus princeps & Isabella mater eius, ubi pro nimia miseria mortuus fuit infra breue.*

William Acremore keeper of the seale.

John Northampton bishop of Ely.

John Northampton bishop of Ely the second time was at Westminster made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1326, being the first yeare of the reigne of that king which first intituled himselfe king of England and France: but he continued not long in the same office, for he was remoued in the second yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and eight. He was elected bishop in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and firstene, in which place he ruled twentie yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and six and thirtie of the paleise at Summerham, being buried in the church of Ely vnder a goodlie monument of stone, with the image of a bishop carued out of alabaster vpon his tombe.

Henric Cliffe master of the rolles.

Henric Cliffe master of the rolles had the charge and keeping of the great seale of England, in the said yeare of Christ 1328, being the second yeare of king Edward the third, and was the kings chancellor also.

Henric Burghwash bishop of Lincoln.

Henric de Burgh, Burghwash, or Burgesse, nephew vnto sir Bartholomew Bladismere baron of Leeds in Kent, hauing bene tresuroz of England, intoid the honoz of the chancellor in the second yere of king Edward the third, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1328, and was made chancellor at Northampton, which office he did not long intoid. Here because I haue a little mentioned sir Bartholomew Bladismere, I will saie somewhat moze of him, which is, that being orator for the king in diuers weightie affairs, he spent in those businesses, 15000 pounds of the kings monie, and yet produced little or nothing to effect in the kings causes, except the procuring of this Henric Burghwash to the bishopricke of Lincoln, who was buried in the east end towards the north of the church of Lincoln, at whose feet was also buried Robert his brother a knight of great fame in the warres, in which church is also buried Bartholomew sonne to the said Robert. They founded a grammar schole, and five priests, & five poore scholars in Lincoln.

John Stratford.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, and after of Canturburie, and sometime tresuroz of England, was made chancellor of the realme, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and thirtie, being the fourth yeare of the said king Edward the third, who being sent in the first yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred two and thirtie, ambassadoz beyond the seas about the affaires of the king & kingdom, did not like cardinall Wolseie the chancellor

in the daies of B. Henrie the eight presumptuous lie carrie the great seale with him beyond the seas, but left the same in his absence with others, who both could and would answer the well or euill bing thereof whilest he was in France. This man continued in the office vntill the eight yeare of Edward the third.

Richard de Burie, otherwile called Richard de Angerulle (being bozne in a litle village beside saint Edmundsburie, commonlie called the Berrie abbrie, was so surnamed Burie of that place) had to his father sir Richard Angerulle knight. This man being first kept at schole by his uncle sir John Willobie priest, was afterward tresuroz of England, chancellor and bishop of Durham: to which place of chancellorship he was aduanced in the yeare that the second person in trinitie was brought into the world 1334, being the eight yeare of that king of England which first quartered the armes of England and France. Which office he receiued by the kings gift at Westminster, in which yeare he was inthronized (being first consecrated bishop in the yere of Christ 1333) in the bishopricke of Durham by William Coton prioz of Durham: he kept the see 11 yeares two moneths and 12 daies, & died in the yeare 1345, & was buried in the south angle of the church of Durham.

John Stratford the second time lord chancellor, being now archbishop of Canturburie, was installed therein at Pothe in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third.

Robert de Stratford or Strafford (as some haue written, but as I thinke corruptlie) being archdeacon of Canturburie (which office was first ordeined by Anselme archbishop of the said cite of Canturburie) was made chancellor of England on the fourth and twentieth daie of March (being the xxe of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie) at Westminster, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant 1336, being the eleventh yeare of the gouernement of king Edward the third. He was after made bishop of Chichester, desiring to be remoued from that office of chancellorship, which was granted vnto him: wherupon he surrendered by the seale to the said king Edward the third in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1338.

Richard de Bintonworth chosen bishop of London, and confirmed by John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie at Etesford in the tenth kalends of June 1338, was at Waltham aduanced to the honoz of lord chancellor in the moneth of Iulie, in the said yeare of Christ 1338, being the twelfth yeare of that king which first ordeined the knights of the order of the garter.

John Stratford the third time lord chancellor of England, in which office he did not now long continue.

Robert bishop of Chichester, being the foresaid Robert Stratford, was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yere of our redemption 1340, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, who was put out of that office, and should with the tresuroz of England haue bene sent into France for a pledge for the payment of certeine summes of monie.

Robert de Bourchier, bozne of the honourable house of the lord Bourchiers, was in the tolnze of London made lord chancellor of England in December, in the said fourteenth yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1340, though some saie he was made chancellor in the fifteenth yeare of the said king.

Robert Berning, Bernicke, or Bernicke, also tresuroz of England, was made chancellor of England,

Richard de Burie or Richard de Angerulle.

John Stratford lord archbishop of Canturburie.

Robert de Stratford.

Richard de Bintonworth bishop of London.

John Stratford lord archbishop of Canturburie.

Robert bishop of Chichester.

Robert Berning, Bernicke, also tresuroz of England, was made chancellor of England.

land in the yere that the virgine brought forth the the messiah 1341, being the sixteenth yere of king Edward the third. He died in the yere 1342, being the seuententh yere of the foresaid king Edward the third. This man was a sergeant in the third yere of Edward the third, when he began to plead as a sergeant, in which he continued untill about the eleventh yere of Edward the third, and was after that iustice, tresuroz, and chancelloz, and did in the common place, being chancelloz, sit and argue amongst the iustices, as appeareth in the law booke of those yeres of Edward the third, of whom is last mention made in the seuententh yere of Edward the third, where he is named chancelloz.

Robert de
Saddington.

Robert de Saddington knight, was inuested with the dignitie of lord chancelloz after the death of Perring in the yere of Christ 1343, and the seuententh yere of the often mentioned king Edward the third. There was also one sir Richard Saddington knight tresuroz of England, of whome I haue spoken in my discourse of the lord tresuroz.

John Dfford
a Wilsop.

John Dfford or Wilsop, deane of Lincolne, was made chancelloz of England, in the yere of our redemption 1345, being the nineteenth yere of king Edward the third. He was elected to be bishop of Canturburie, and so was installed, but neuer receiued the pall. He died in the moneth of Maie, in the yere of Christ 1349, being the thre and twentieth yere of the reigne of that glorious king Edward, which neuer receiued greater honour than that he was father into Edward surnamed the Blacke prince the flower of chualtrie, and worthie conquerour of the French dominions.

John Thorpe
a Wilsop.

John Thorpe bishop of Worcester, archbishop of Porke and cardinall, was installed in the seat of the lord chancelloz, in the yere that God became man, one thousand thre hundred forty and nine, being the thre and twentieth yere of that king Edward the third, so often before recited, who at his great sute was discharged of the office of chancelloz, by deliuerie of the great seale in Nouember, in the thirtieth yere of the said king, being the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred fiftie and six, after that he had kept that place by the space almost of seauent yeres. He in the tenth yere of his bishoprike in the third calends of August, began the frame of the quere of S. Peters church in Porke, & laid the first stone thereof, to which he gaue a hundred pounds. He died at Thorpe, and was buried at Porke in the yere of Christ 1363, or as other haue 1373, after that he had bene archbishop one and twentie yeres, and one and twentie daies.

William de
Corington.

William de Corington, bishop of Winchester, lord tresuroz of England, was made chancelloz of this realme in Nouember in the said yere of Christ 1356, and the thirtieth yere of the reigne of that king Edward, which at Hauois in England kept king John of France his prisoner. See more of him in the tresuroz of England.

Simon
Langham.

Simon Langham, abbat of Westminster, bishop of Elie, archbishop of Canturburie, and lord tresuroz of England, was made lord chancelloz in Februarie, in the yere of our redemption one thousand thre hundred fiftie and thre, being the seauent and thirtieth yere of the government of king Edward the third, and was chancelloz in the fortieth yere of the reigne of that king: being the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred fiftie and thre. Of this Simon were these verses made, when he was removed from Elie to the bishoprike of Canturburie:

*Exultet coli quia Simon transit ab Eli,
Cuius in aduentum fuit in Kent millia centum.*

Of whome also, because he richlie indowd the abbeye of Westminster with great gifts, of singular cost &

value, a certeine monke composed these verses:

*Reves de Langham tua Simon fuit data quondam,
Ostingentena librarum millia dena.*

Of this man is more spoken in the former discourse of treatise of the lord tresuroz of England.

William de
Wicheham.

William de Wicheham, so called of the place of his birth, was by surname from his parents called Perot, and Long, whome Leland maketh tresuroz of England, which by any possible meanes cannot be so for any thing that I can yet learne. This man being bishop of Winchester, and advanced to that place in the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred fiftie and seuen, in the one and fortieth yere of the reigne of Edward the third, in which place he sat seauen and thirtie yeres, was sometime keeper of the priue seale, and made also chancelloz of England, in the yere that the virgine brought forth the first begotten sonne one thousand thre hundred fiftie and seauen, being the one and fortieth yere of the government of the foresaid Edward the third, in which office he remained about foure yeres; and in March in the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred seauentie and one, being the five and fortieth of king Edward the third, did deliuer by the great seale to the king at Westminster. He was buried in the bodie of Winchester church, which he new built with the other places about it: of whome were these verses composed for the building of his colleges, the one at Drenford and the other at Winchester:

Hunc docet esse pium fundatis collegiorum

Oxonia primum stat Wintonique secundum.

Robert Thorpe knight, being before iustice of the law in the yere of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and seauentie, was after at Westminster advanced to the chancellozship, in March, the five & fortieth yere of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption (as is before said) one thousand thre hundred seauentie and one, who going home to his owne house, lest the great seale with foure of the gardians or maisters of the chanterie, wherof the one was called Walter Polwe, to kepe and vse as need required.

Sir John Knut or Knutell (as some books haue by the transcriber corrupted) was made chancelloz of England in Julie, in the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred seauentie and two, being the six and fortieth yere of king Edward the third, in which office he continued (as I for this time doe gather) untill the fiftith yere of the said king Edward, in which yere (as here at hand appeareth) came in place of the bishop of S. Dauids.

Sir John
Knutell.

Adam de Houghton, bishop of Hereford, or of Saint Dauids in Wales, was advanced to the office of lord chancelloz in the yere of our redemption 1376, being the fiftith yere of king Edward the third, who in the one and fiftith yere of the said king, was with the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of Hereford, sent ambassadoz beyond the seas. And here I thinke it not amisse to set downe the originall of the rolles in chancerie lane in this sort.

Adam de
Houghton.

Henrie the third did build a house for the Iewes converted to the faith of Christ, which house is at this daie (& hath bene long before this time) appointed for the keeping of the kings rolles and records, being now called and knowne by the name of the rolles in chancerie lane besides Lincolns turre. In which house the maister of the rolles (for the time being) hath a goodlie and statelie lodging. In which also there is a faire chappell, called the chappell of the rolles, being a place commonlie appointed wherem men accustom to paie monie vpon contracts. Where in also is buried John Paung, sometime maister of the rols and doctor of both lawes, on the left side in his doctozs weed: and maister Allington vnder a state.

h h h h h.

lie

lie toime of white marble, iet, and other rich stone, on the right side of the said chappell, the epitaphs of both which persons are hereafter recited: besides which in this chappell are the ancient records of all inrolments, confirmations of the pynce, & of other lates in the chancerie kept in chests and presses, built on each side about the middle part of the chappell, beneath the chaire or place of service. At the west end thereof (on certeine appointed daies theretofore) the maister of the rolls both in the afternoones sit in a place formed and railed in, after the manner of the courts of Westminster, to heare and determine matters depending in the chancerie: which maister of the rolls now living is sir Gilbert Gerrard knight, sometime generall attorneie to the noble pynceesse quene Elisabeth. And here before I leaue this chappell, I thinke it not amisse to set downe the epitaphs of the two persons before named there buried, with these wordes.

The epitaph of maister doctor Yong maister of the rolls.

Io. Yong LL. doctoris sacror. scrinior. ac huius domus custodi decano olim E B O R. vita defuncto xxv Aprilis sui fideles executores hoc posuerunt M.D.XVI.

Dominus firmamentum meum.

Beside which in an old table hanging by are written in text hand these verses hereafter following:

*Hic iacet ille Iohannes Yong cognomine dignus,
Tali quod nunquam marcesceret utpote charus:
Omnibus apprimè summo testante dolore,
Quem neque celabant neque dissimulare valebant,
Dum sternit iuuenem mors immatura labentem,
Quis non defleret iuuenis miserabile fatum,
Ex quo multorum pendebat vita salisque:
Horum inquam inprimis, quos ille benignus aiebat
Impensis donec vitales carperet auras.
Nec satis illi erat hoc priuatis consiluisse
Rebus, quin etiam prudenter publica gessit
Munus sine forensia sine etiam extera summa
Cum laude, illa quidem dum sacris præsuis olim
Scripsit, hac verò legatis functus honore.*

The epitaph of maister Alington is in this sort.

*Hospes qui fueram quondam si queris amice,
Nomen Alingtonis stirps generosa fuit:
Hæc monumenta mihi coniux fidiſſima struxit,
Quæque mihi struxit destinat illa sibi.
Charæque coniugis tres natae pigra nostra,
Sunt, vultus quarum marmora sculpta tenent,
Cum matre has omnes precor ut post funera summe
Cælica perducas in tua regna Deus.*

*Richardus Alington armiger qui hic sepultus est
obijt 23 die Nouembris 1561.*

Now (as you haue heard before that this house of the rolls was first a house of conuerts) it shall not be amisse also for the more proſe thereof, to set downe the grants of the pynces and kings which conuerted the same to those uses.

The grant of Henrie the third, for erecting of the house of conuerts.

Ex archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei, & pro salute anime nostre, & animarum antecessorum & heredum meorum concessisse, & hac charta nostra

confirmasse pro nobis & heredibus nostris, domum quam fundari fecimus in vico, qui vocatur Newstreet, inter vetus templum & nouum London, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras qua fuere Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschata nostra, excepto gardino, quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico predicto de Newstreet, & quod prius per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri Radulpho Ciceſtrenſi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschatas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam, vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostre London. Quare volumus, & firmiter precipimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod predicta domus habeat & teneat liberè & quietè, bene & in pace, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras qua fuerunt Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschata nostra excepto gardino quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico predicto de Newstreet, & quod prius per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri R. Ciceſtrenſi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschatas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostre London, sicut predictum est. Hys testibus venerabilibus patribus, W. Kaerl. & W. Exon. episcopis, H. de Burgo comite Kantia Radulpho filio Nicholai, Godfrido de Crancumbe, Iohanne filio Philip. Amaurico de sancto Aumundo, Will. de Picheford, Galfrido de Cauz, & alijs. Dat. per manum Ve. P. R. Ciceſtren. episcop. cancellar. nostri apud Westmin. 19. die Aprilis.

The grant of Edward the third, where- by the said house was in the one and fiftith and last yeare of the said Edward con- uerted to the custodie of the rolls and records of the chancerie.

Ex omnib. ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos, considerantes qualiter domus conuersorum in suburbio ciuitatis nostre London, de patronatu nostro existens, & capella, edificia, & clausur. eiusdem tempore quo dilectus noster Will. Burſtall custodiam eiusdem domus ex collatione nostra primò habuit, per negligentiam & incuriã aliorum qui ante dictum Will. custodiam domus illius habuerunt & ibidem, morari seu inhabitari non curauerunt, multipliciter & quasi totaliter in ruina existerunt, & quod predictus Will. tempore suo de bonis suis proprijs grãdes costas & expensas super recuperatione & emendatione domus, capella, edificiorum, & clausur. predict. ac etiam super factur. nouar. domorum ibidem. Nos ut domos conuersorum capella, edificia, clausur. & noua domus supradict. cõpetenter sustententur, & custodiantur in futurum, ad supplicationem predicti Willielmi qui custos rotulorum cancellaria nostra existit, in presentem concessimus de gratia nostra speciali pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod post mortem eiusdem

dem Will. dicta domus conuerforum cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque remaneat & moretur in perpetuum clerico custod. rotulorum cancellar. nostre & heredū nostrorū pro tempore existent. & similiter annex. eidē officio in perpetuum: & quod cancellarius Angliæ vel custos sine custodes magni sigilli nostri & heredum nostrorum Angliæ pro tempore existentium, post mortem ipsius Willielmi habeat & habeant potestatem ad quamlibet vacationem dicti officij custodis rotulorum per mortem, cessionē, vel mutationem, persona quocunque tempore futur. * institutum successiue custodes rotulorum predictorum in dicta domo conuerforum, & custodes illos ponend. in possessionem eiusdem cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque, in cuius, &c. T. R. apud Shene 11 Aprilis An. 51 Edw. 3.

But after the death of this king Edward, the said William Burfall master of the rolles, belike not supposing this to be a sufficient grant, procured this house by act of parlement, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, to be more strongly established, to the use of the master of the rolles for the time. After which John de Waltham, master of the rolles, after bishop of Salisbury and treasurer of England, procured Richard the second in the 6 yeare of his reigne, by his letters patents to confirme the said house to the said Waltham and his successors masters of the rolles. And whereas by the patent of Edward the third, the master of the rolles was appointed and installed in that house by the chancellor, it is to be noted, that the same manner of induction and instalment continued as long as the master of the rolles were of the clergy, as I haue sene set downe by others, and as the presidents of those instalments and the writs themselves extant of record do well proue.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, having bene lord treasurer in the time of the deceased king Edward the third, was now in October about the latter end of the yeare 1378, or the beginning of the yeare 1379, being the second yeare of the after deposed king Richard the second, made lord chancellor, and had the great seale deliuered unto him, who in the third yeare of the said king at a parlement did surrender by his office. Of this man is more set downe in the discourse of the treasurers.

Simon Sudburie, so surnamed of the place of his birth, but by descent called Tibold the sonne of Nicholas Tibold, descended of a gentlemanlie race dwelling at Sudburie in Suffolke. This Simon was archbishop of Canturburie, and made chancellor about the yeare of Christ 1380, in the third yeare of Richard the second, and was by the rebels beheaded at the towe of London, in the fourth yeare of the disquieted government of that vnfortunat, but valiant king Richard the second; after whom in the fifth yeare of the said king Richard, was R. B. of London, wherof I haue sene and taken a note: which bishop was (as I coniecture & haue some authoritie to proue) Robert Walsbyke which followeth, & was made chancellor againe after sir Richard Scrope.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, made chancellor againe about the latter end of Nouember, by the lords of the parlement (as I take it) in the fifth yeare of the reigne of king Richard last mentioned, and was the yeare following, being about the yeare of our Lord 1383; againe deposed from his office, and the king receiuing the great seale, kept it a certaine time, and therewith sealed such grants and writings as it pleased him, and in the end deliuered the same to Robert Walsbyke. Of this man see more in the treasurers before.

Robert Walsbyke bishop of London made lord Chancellor in September following the moneth of Iulie, when sir Richard Scrope was deposed, was aduanced to that dignitie on saint Marthews eue, in the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Richard the second, in which he continued not longer than the March following, as hath Anonymus M. S. he was consecrated bishop of London the fifth of Ianuaries 1381, he died the seuenteenth of August in the yeare 1404, being the fifth yeare of king Henrie the fourth.

Michael de la Pole, or at Pole (as hath Thomas Walsingham) was made chancellor in the moneth of March, in the first yeare of the said king Richard the second, and was made earle of Suffolke in the ninth yeare of the said king, being after deposed from his office of chancellorship at his owne and earnest request in the tenth yeare of the said king. This man having fled the realme, for that he was pursued by the nobilitie, died at Paris in the thirtenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1389, of whom that worthy poet sir John Gower, liuing at that time, in his booke intituled *Roxlamantus*, composed these verses:

*Est comes elatus, fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,
Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille,
Hic procures odit, & eorum nomina rodit
Morsibus a tergo, sit tandem profugus ergo:
Sic Deus in caelis mala de patre Michaelis
Acriter expurgat ne plus comes ille resurgat.*

Thomas Arundell, of the noble house of the earles of Arundell, was first bishop of Elye, and then of Poike, and lastlie of Canturburie, he was made lord chancellor of England in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1386, in which office he remained about two yeares, as farre as my search will giue leaue to vnderstand.

William Wickham was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the twelfth yeare of the said king Richard the second, but was in the end removed from thence in September, in the fiftenth yeare of the troublesome gouernement of the said king Richard.

Thomas Arundell aforesaid was the second time created lord chancellor of England (in the said fiftenth yeare of king Richard the second) in place of William Wickham, in which office he remained about five yeares, and was deposed and banished the realme in the twentieth yeare of the said king Richard.

John Scarle, Scirla, or Serle, master of the rolles, of the chancery, and keeper of the great seale, he was chancellor, or in place of the chancellor, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare in which the sonne of God descending from the bosome of his father, tooketh in the wombe of his mother, one thousand three hundred ninetie and nine.

Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuite seale, bishop of Excester, and sometime bishop of Rochester, and lastlie bishop of Poike, keeper of the priuite seale, and bozne of the noble house of the Staffords, was made lord chancellor of England about the moneth of March, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and foure hundred, being about the second pere of the usurping king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued untill the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and thre, being the fourth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth. He being keeper of the priuite seale was made bishop of Excester the twentieth of June, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie & siue, being the daie before king Richard the second began the

Robert Walsbyke bishop of London.

Michael de la Pole earle of Suffolke.

* Michael de Pole, or of the Pole. Thomas Arundell bishop of Elye.

William Wickham.

Thomas Arundell.

John Serle master of the rolles.

Edmund Stafford.

Sir Richard Scrope.

Simon Sudburie.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton.

the one and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was consecrated at Lambeth, and kept the see of Excester three and twentieth yeares. He increased two fellowships in Stapletons inne in Drford, reformed the statutes of the house, and called it Excester college: he died the fourth of September, in the seventh yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and ninetye. About the making of this Stafford chancellor (as farre as my memorie serueth) Ypodigma is much deceived, if I haue not for want of the booke mistaken his iudgement.

Henrie
Beauford.

Henrie Beauford, the sonne of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swinford, made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetye and eight (as hath Ypodigma) was aduanced to the dignitie of chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and thre, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth his elder brother, by the daughter of the earle of Hereford, in which office he was in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and first of the same king (as our chronicles doe remember.) He was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and four, being the first yeare of Henrie the fourth.

Thomas
Langley bis-
hop of Dur-
ham.

Thomas Langley priest, and bishop of Durham, was at Westminster made chancellor, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and five, being the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued (as farre as I know) untill he was made bishop of Durham, which was on the seventh of Aprill, being the seventh yeare of the reigne of king Henrie last before named, being the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and six. He was bishop one and thirtie yeares, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seven, being the fiftieth yeare of king Henrie the first. See more following.

Thomas
Fitzalen.

Thomas Fitzalen, brother to Richard earle of Arundell, being returned out of exile with Henrie of Bollingbroke duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth, was the third time being bishop of Canturburie, made lord chancellor of England, the ninth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, and continued therein about two yeares, being removed from that place about September, in the eleventh yeare of the reigne of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and ten.

Thomas
Beauford.

Thomas Beauford knight, the sonne of John of Gaunt son to king Edward the third, brother to king Henrie the fourth, was made lord chancellor in the eleventh yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand four hundred and ten, in which office he remained not full thre yeares, but left the same office together with his life, as I suppose, in the thirtieth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and twelue.

John Wake-
ring cleрке.

John Wakeking cleрке, masser of the rolles, was made keeper of the great seale, when Thomas Beauford left the office of chancellor, which seale he kept about the space of a moneth. For in Januarie after that he receiued the seale, there was a chancellor created.

Thomas Arundell arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.

Thomas Fitzalen or Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, was the fourth time inuected with the chancellorship, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and twelue, being the thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued during the life of the said king Henrie the fourth, who died in the fourteenth yeare of his

kingdome, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand four hundred and thirtene.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and after Henrie Beauford cardinal in the time of Henrie the first, being uncle to king Henrie the first then reigning, was the second time made chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and thirtene, being the first yeare of the first king Henrie, in which place he remained untill the first yeare of the said king Henrie, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and seuentene.

Thomas
Langley bis-
hop of Dur-
ham.

Thomas Langley bishop of Durham was the second time made lord chancellor of England, in the said yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred and seuentene, being the first yeare of that thre conqueror king Henrie the first, which office he receiued at Southwicke, and continued in that honour (as farre as I can learne) by the space of six yeares or more, whereof five yeares were fullie ended in the life and death of the said Henrie the first, and the first yeare ended in the last of the first or beginning of the second yeare of king Henrie the first.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester before named, was the third time made lord chancellor of England, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and thre, or one thousand four hundred twentie and four. For the second yeare of that king fell part in the one and part in the other of the said yeares of our Lord, in which office he continued about four yeares, untill he was made cardinal, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred twentie and six.

Henrie Beauford
bishop of Winchester.

John Kempe, bishop of London, was made lord chancellor of England in the fourth yere of that king Henrie, who in his yongest yeares was crowned first king of England, and then king of France in Paris; in which office he remained (as I suppose) about six yeares.

John Kempe
bishop of London.

John Stafford deane of S. Martins & Welles, prebend of Spilton in Lincolne church, bishop of Bath and Welles, lord chancellor and treasurer of England, and bishop of Canturburie, was made lord chancellor of England in the moneth of February, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie & one, falling in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the first: he remained in that office untill John Kempe was againe made lord chancellor, which was about the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first. And here I thinke it not unmet to remember that some haue noted William Walslet that was bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of Drford, to be chancellor of England, when he built pagdalen college in Drford, in the five and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first: which possiblie can not be, sith this John Stafford held that office from the tenth of Henrie the first, untill the eight & twentieth of the same king, which was eightene yeares: during which time they place this Walslet to be chancellor of England. Which error (I suppose) they haue committed, in that they finding him chancellor at the time of the building of his college, in the said five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, haue taken him to be chancellor of England, when he was then but chancellor of Drford: although in deed afterward he was chancellor of England, in the five and thirtieth yeare of the said king, as after shall appeare.

John Staf-
ford bishop of Bath.

John Kempe bishop of Worke and cardinal, was the second time made lord chancellor in the eight and twentieth of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and fiftie, in which office he died, being bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our redemption (as

John Kempe
bishop of Worke.

saith Matthew Parker, one thousand foure hundred fiftie and thre, being the two & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the simple king Henrie the first. This man was first bishop of Rochester, next of Chichester, thirde of London, then of Poike, where he sat eight and twentie yeares, and lastlie he was archbishop of Canturburie.

Richard Peuill
earle of
Salisbury.

Richard Peuill earle of Salisbury, the sonne of Rafe Peuill earle of Westmerland, and father to the balliant Richard Peuill earle of Marwike, was after the death of John Kempe by parlement made lord chancellor in the two & thirtieth yeare of k. Henrie the first: though others make it to be in the thre & thirtieth yeare of the same king, in which place he continued not long. For in the yeare following an other was substituted, and he remoued.

Thomas Bourchier
bischop of
Ely.

Thomas Bourchier (brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) bishop of Ely, and bishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor in the thre & thirtieth yeare of the gouernement of king Henrie the first, in which he remained much about two yeares. In whose time, as saith Matthew Parker, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thre & scoze and one, was the art of printing inuented at the citie of Argentorat in Germanie. About the which matter, and especiallie for the exact & certeine time thereof, made writers although their count about one time do disagree: yet at the inuention of that worthe thing were these verses composed in the commendation of the same most excellent art.

O felix nostris memoranda impressio textis,

Inuentore nitet utraque lingua tuo.

Desierat quasi totum quod fundis in orbe,

Nunc paruo doctus quilibet esse potest.

Omnes te homines igitur nunc laudibus ornent,

Te duce quando ars hac mira reperta fuit.

William Paten
or Paten
was William
remoued.

William Paten or Paten, borne of a gentle manlie familie, being commonlie called William Wandes of the place of his birth, and being prouost of Eaton, and bishop of Winchester, was lord chancellor in the five and thirtieth, six and thirtieth, and the seven and thirtieth yeare of the vnsfortunat king Henrie the first, as haue the records of the archerke. By which appeareth the error of those, as I haue before noted, that mistaking the five and twentieth of king Henrie the first, in which time he was but chancellor of Oxford; for the five and thirtieth of the said king, in which he was chancellor of England.

George Peuill
archbishop
of Poike.

George Peuill (the sonne of Richard Peuill earle of Salisbury, and brother to Richard Peuill earle of Marwike) being made bishop of Excester, came to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and five; in which see he continued ten yeares, and was remoued to Poike in the yeare that God became man one thousand foure hundred thre scoze and five, he was made lord chancellor in the eight & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the after deposed k. Henrie the first, in which office he remained about eight yeares, & then was remoued in the seventh yeare of the worthie k. Edward the fourth, being the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand foure hundred thre scoze & seven. He was a great friend to saint Albons, & procured Edward the fourth in the fourth yeare of his reigne to giue & confirme to John Wethamsted, abbat of saint Albons, the priorie of Penbroke. This bishop Peuill did after in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth grove in such disgrace with the king, that he was spoiled at one time of twentie thousand pounds, as in his life shall be more at large declared. So this man did Hugh Weine giue the manour of Hener Cobham, and Hener Bokes in Kent in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth. He died at

Blithlaw comming from Poike, being almost fortie yeares old, and was buried at Poike. And here I thinke it not amisse, to note the mistaking of time of such historiographers as haue set downe, that Edward the fourth did, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, take the chancellorship from the bishop of Excester (brother to the earle of Marwike, which must needs be this George Peuill) & gaue the same to the bishop of Bath. For by that which I haue saide, this Peuill liued vntill the seventh yeare of Edward the fourth, and that for this time I suppose to be the truest.

Robert Kirkeham maister of the rolles was made lord keeper of the great scale (vpon the removing of George Peuill) in the moneth of Iulie in the sixth yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre scoze and seven, being the seventh yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Robert Kirkeham
maister
of the rolles.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes, keeper of the priuie scale in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, bishop of Bath & Wells, being made chancellor in the seventh yeare of king Edward the fourth, did still so continue (as I gather) vntill the thirtieth yeare of the said king.

Robert Stillington
doctor
of the lawes.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex, and first advanced to that title of honor by Edward the fourth, came in place of the last chancellor, about the fourteenth yeare (as some vntrulie haue noted) of Edward the fourth. But in my poore opinion, the same was in the thirtieth yeare of the said Edward the fourth: in which place he remained not much more than one Trinitie terme. For in the said thirtieth yeare, about the moneth of August, was Woth lord chancellor of England.

Henrie Bourchier
earle of
Essex.

Laurence Woth sometime maister of Penbroke hall bishop of Durham, and after of Poike, was made lord chancellor about August or rather before, betwene that and Trinitie terme (after Henrie Bourchier) in the said thirtieth yeare of the balliant king Edward the fourth, after his redemption of the kingdome of England. This bishop (being brother to William Woth sometime bishop of Poike) did build the bishop of Poikes house at Waterleie, which manour he before bought of Nicholas Stanleie, whome Leland the minster and refiner of all English names doth most curiously in Latine call *Nicholaum Stenelegium*. He continued in the see of Poike thre yeares & nine moneths, and died at Southwell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and foure scoze, being the twentieth yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Laurence Woth
bishop
of Durham.

Thomas Scot surnamed Kotheram, because of the towne of Kotheram in Poikeshire where he was borne and bred by, was bishop of Rochester, and then of Lincoln, where he sat nine yeares, and after that was bishop of Poike: whereinto he installed first at Poike, and then at Ripon, being prouost of Waterleie, he was made chancellor of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred seuentie and foure, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth. This bishop, in the fiftieth yeare of the said king, went ouer the sea (as I haue saide noted) with the said Edward the fourth, when he went to haue an interuiew with the French king: of which meeting monsieur de Argentine by name Philip Comineus (besides our English chronicles) doth make mention, as a person that bare a part in that pagant.

Thomas Scot
also
Kotheram.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester was made chancellor, during the absence of king Edward, as I haue found recorded.

John Alcot
bishop of
Rochester.

Thomas Kotheram, being before lord keeper of the priuie scale, was after his returne out of France the second time made lord chancellor, about the time

Thomas Kotheram.

in which the said king had gotten Berwick from the Scots, being about the twentieth yeare of the said Edward the fourth. For the free gaining of the towne was not much before his death; in which office this Kotheram continued all the life of king Edward the fourth, & in the time of the little or no reigne at all of the guiltlesse murdered yong prince king Edward the sixth; untill it was ascribed to him for ouermuch lightnesse, that he had deliuered in the beginning of the rebellious gouernement of the protectorship of the bloudie and vnnaturall Richard duke of Gloucester the seale to the queene, to whome it did not apperteyne, and from whome he receiued it not. He founded a college at Kotheram, dedicated, it to the name of Iesus, & indowed it with great possessions & ornaments, and annexed thereto the churches of Langthton, and Almanburie.

John Russell
bishop of Lin-
colne.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne, a graue and learned man, had the seale deliuered to him by the said protector of England, during the time of the short reigne of the yong king Edward, when the same seale was taken from Kotheram: and so this Russell was made chancelor in the moneth of June, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred foure score and thre, being the first yeare of the vsurped gouernement of the bloudie tyrant the misshapen king Richard the third. This Russell is buried in the church of Lincolne, in a chappell cast out of the vpper wall of the south part of the church.

Thomas
Barow mai-
ster of the
rolles.

Thomas Barow maiester of the rolles was made keeper of the great seale (as I haue seene recorded) which I suppose, was in the third and last yeare of the said king Richard the third: for in that yeare he was maiester of the rolles.

Thomas Ro-
theram.

Thomas Rotheram made againe lord chancelor, in the first entrance of king Henrie the seventh into the gouernement: but verie shortly after he was displaced, and the bishop of Worcester placed in that roome; he was archbishop of Yorke nineteene yeares & ten moneths; he was verie beneficiall to all his kindred, and aduanced some with marriages, some with possessions, and some with spirituall livings. He died the nine and twentieth daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred, being the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, at Calwood in Dorsetshire the morrow after the Ascension, being of the age of thre score and sixtene yeares or more: he was buried in Yorke minster on the north side in our ladie chappell, in a tombe of marble which he caused to be made whilst he was liuing.

John Alcot
bishop of Wor-
cester.

John Alcot bishop of Worcester, made in the yeare one thousand foure hundred thre score and sixtene, was lord chancelor of England in the first yeare of the said k. Henrie the seventh, the Salomon of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score & five: shortly after the entrance of the said Henrie into the gouernement of England. For though Kotheram were chancelor when he got the victorie, for that he had bene so before, & for that the king was neither prouided nor minded suddenly to haue a man not meete for that place to execute the same: yet this Kotheram kept not that roome manie moneths, but that Alcot came in place because the king found Alcot a meeter person to execute the same office, answerable to the disposition of the kings humors. All which notwithstanding, whether for malice of others, or for his owne defects, or both, or for more especiall trust that king Henrie put in Poxton bishop of Ely, who had bene the meanes to bring him to the crowne, this Alcot fell shortly in the kings disgrace, was displaced of his office, and Poxton came in his roome. So that in this first yeare of the said king Henrie the seventh, there seemed to

be thre chancelors in succession one after another, if I haue not misconceiued the matter: all which before Poxton in this first yeare of king Henrie the seventh, may perhaps more properly be termed keepers of the great seale, than chancelors.

John Poxton doctor of the ciuill law, an aduocate in the ciuill of the counsell to Henrie the first, and to Edward the fourth, to whome also he was maiester of the rolles, was made bishop of Ely in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thre score and eightene, and lord chancelor of England, (vpon his returne from beyond the seas) in the first yeare of the worthy prince k. Henrie the seventh, being the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred foure score and five: after which he was aduanced to the bishopricke of Canturburie; he died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and nintene, in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seventh, as hath Matthew Parker.

William Warham aduocat in the arches, maiester of the rolles, bishop of London, and then bishop of Canturburie; was (before his aduancement to the see of Canturburie) made chancelor of England in the time of Henrie the seventh, in which office he continued untill about the latter end of the seventh yeare of king Henrie the eighth. At what time surrendering the seale by reason of his age and weakenesse, the same great seale was deliuered to

Thomas Wolfeie.

Thomas Wolfeie sometime chapleine to Henrie Deane archbishop of Canturburie, after the kings almoner and abbat of saint Austins, who possessing manie other abbeyes and bishopricks, as in other places shall more largelie appeare, was aduanced to the gouernment of the great seale, about the beginning of the eighth yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ one thousand five hundred sixtene, to hold the same during his life (as I gather) in which office yet he continued not aboue thirtene yeares, untill the one and twentieth of the said king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred twentie and nine. During which time of his chancelorship, in the nineteenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and seauen, he went into France, representing the king of Englands person, to set order for the deliuerie of pope Clement the seventh and Francis the French king, at what time he carried the great seale over the seas to Calis, which seale he left with doctor Tailor maiester of the rolles, to keepe the same at Calis untill the cardinals returne out of the French dominions. He died in Leicester abbeye (not without suspicion of poison as was thought, which he had prepared for himselfe, and giuen to his apothecarie to deliuer when he called for it) the two and twentieth of king Henrie the eighth, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie.

Thomas More knight, sometime vndersecretarie of London, and chancelor of the dutchie of Lancaster, was aduanced to the honor of chancelorship of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand five hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentieth yeare of that king Henrie which expelled pope Clement the seventh his authority out of his dominions, in which office this rare witted knight (to vse Erasmus his epitheion) and learned chancelor continued not full thre yeares; but in the foure and twentieth yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the eighth, with much labor and earnest lute he left his office. Touching which it shall not graunte me to set downe the wordes of Matthew Parker

John Pox-
ton bishop of
Ely.

William War-
ham archbis-
hop of Can-
turburie.

Thomas
Wolfeie.

Thomas
More.

ker of the lues of the bishops of Canturburie in the life of Thomas Cranmer writing after this maner: *Inter ex rex dum papa meditabatur excidium, singulorum de papali auctoritate sensus iudicij: haud obscuris collegiis. Inter quos Thomas Aduleus, quia rex conatus pontificis valde suspectus fuit, cancellarij munere, venia regis egre impetrata, se abdicauit.*

Thomas Aduleie atorneye of the dutchie of Lancaster, sergent at the law (as most affirme) and speaker of the parlement, was made knight and lord keeper of the great seale the fourth of June, in the fourth and twentieth yere of the reigne of the famous prince king Henrie the eight, being the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred thirtie and two, not long after which he was indued with the title and honor of lord chancellor of England. This man in the tenth yere of his chancellorship, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie and two, and the five and thirtieth yere of king Henrie the eight, changing the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, did name it the college of saint Marie Magdalen, and indued it with some possessions. He died on Maie euen in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the five and thirtieth yere of Henrie the eight.

Thomas Wriotheslie knight of the garter, being created baron at Hampton court on the first of Januarie, in the five and thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and three, was after advanced to the honor of the great seale and chancellorship of England, about the beginning of Maie, in the six and thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of grace one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, in which office he continued untill the death of the said king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the first, untill for his obstinacie in the Romane religion he was the first of March removed, and the seale was delivered to William Paulet lord Sent-John of Walsing. This Wriotheslie (being created earle of Southampton by king Edward the first) died at his house of Lincoln place in Holborne the 30 of Julie, in the fourth yere of the said king Edward, in the yere 1550, & was buried at saint Andrews in Holborne commonlie called Holborne.

William Paulet knight being first steward of the lands of the bishopricke of Winchester, then treasurer of the household, lord Sent-John of Walsing, lord great master of the kings house, afterwards earle of Wiltshire, marquisse of Winchester, and treasurer of England, being of the priue counsell to king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quene Marie, and quene Elisabeth, had the keeping of the great seale committed vnto him the seventh daie of March, in the yere that the second person in trinitie descended from the bosome of the father into the wombe of the mother one thousand five hundred fortie and seven, being the first yere of the reigne of the young king Edward the first, which seale he had in custodye about seven moneths, untill the three and twentieth or foure and twentieth of October following, at which time sir Richard Rich was made lord chancellor.

Sir Richard Rich knight, lord Rich, was advanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor of England about the 25 of October in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and seven, being the first yere of the reigne of the noble king Edward the first, in which place he remained about five yers.

Thomas Coderich or Coderike being bishop of Elye had the gre at seale delivered to him, and was made lord chancellor of England the twentieth of December, as John Stow hath noted in his chronicle, in

the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, being the fift yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued all the life of the said king Edward, which died in Julie one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being the seventh yere of his reigne, and about one moneth after untill the thirtieth or fourtieth daie of August, in which quene Marie made Stephan Gardener his chancellor.

Sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolles, had at the comming of quene Marie to the crowne the keeping of the great seale, after the death of king Edward, as lord keeper by the space of one fortnight, and shortly after was Stephan Gardener made chancellor.

Stephan Gardener bishop of Winchester was in August, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being the first yere of the reigne of the vnfortunat quene Marie, made chancellor of England. This man going in ambassage vnto Calis left the great seale in the custodie of William Paulet marquisse of Winchester, which bishop after his returne into England continued in that office all the time of his life, which he ended the 19 of Nouember, in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, being the third yere of quene Marie. After which the great seale lieng in the custodie of the prince, the on the new yeres daie following made a new chancellor.

Nicholas Heath bishop of Rochester, almoner to the king, ambassador into Germanie, bishop of Worcester, president of Wales, and archbishop of Dorke, was vpon new yeres daie, in the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, being the third yere of the reigne of quene Marie, advanced to the honorable dignitie of the chancellorship. But quene Marie deceasing the seventeenth daie of Nouember, in the yere of grace one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, and the first yere of his gouernement, this Heath vpon the placing of the wortheie quene Elisabeth vpon the throne of the English gouernment, was removed from his office, and master Bacon advanced.

Sir Nicholas Bacon esquier, attournele of the court of wards, was made knight, and lord keeper of the great seale the two and twentieth of December, in the yere of our redemption 1558, being the first yere of the now reigning Elisabeth the Sabba of England. Which name of lord keeper he still kept during his life, and the time of his office. In whose time there was an act of parlement established, to make the power of the keeper of the great seale equal with the authoritie of the chancellor. This man continued in this office, and worthilie executed the same, being a man of rare wit and deepe experience, during the time of his life, which continued untill the twentieth of Februarie, in the yere of our saluation 1578 after the account of England, being the one and twentieth yere of the rare and singular gouernement of the worlds wonder the famous quene Elisabeth, which place this man kept eightene yeres, being (as I suppose) double as long time as anie other chancellor or keeper of the great seale possessed that place. except Rafe Penell bishop of Exeter, and John Stafford bishop of Bath and Wells, both which held it euallie eightene yeres with him: a strange thing, that in the course of almost 600 yeres, no such officer might possesse that place by twentie yeres together.

Thomas Bromfielde, the generall solicitor of quene Elisabeth, a counsellor of the law, and one of the inner temple, was advanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor on the five and twentieth day of April, in the yere of our redemption 1579, being in the one and twentieth yere of the reigne of the said quene Elisabeth,

Elisabeth, which office at this date he beareth.

Thus (although I maie be a little wretched in passing ouer the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancellors, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and cares) I haue at length brought my chancellors to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some searce and charge, which I haue done onelie of my selfe without the furtherance or help of some others, who more inconsideratlie than trulie do disorderlie report, that I haue attained vnto this in obtaining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat booke of them who haue trauelled in the same matter. In which (as I said in the begining, so I saie againe) if ante imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers speedie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter God willing be corrected in the large volume of their liues. Wherefore as I neither esteeme nor feare the secret reports of some others; so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the world to bying truth to perfection (if other men haue unwillinglie set downe error) and not as they do, for a little commoditie & gaine to theiues, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doe helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England.]

At Fl. ex publicis additionibus B.G. & T. C.

Here though somewhat out of place (for it should haue bene entered in 1578) it were better to record the receiuing of the queenes maiestie into Suffolke & Dorset, than making no commemoration thereof at all, to let it perish in these halfeperie pamphlets, and so die in oblivion. It maie also serue for a rest of recreation, after so long an introduction of serious matters, as also (and that most worthilie) maie remaine in record, to signifie what well affected subjects the queens maiestie hath within hir dominions, to whose goods, lands, friends, kindred, or life, none of these seuerallie, nor all iointlie, are so pretious and deere, but for hir sake they can find in their hearts to esteeme them as dong. And now to the matter. The truth is (saith one that wrote the whole intertainment) that albeit they had but small warning certinlie to build vpon, of the comming of the queenes maiestie into both those shires, the gentlemen had made such readie prouision, that all the beluets and silbs were taken vp that might be laid hand on, and bought for ante monie, and some conuerted to such garments and lutes of robes, that the shew thereof might haue beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these manie yeares. For (as it was said) there were two hundred young gentlemen clad all in white beluet, and three hundred of the grauer sort apparelled in blacke beluet cotes, and faire chaines, all readie at one instant and place, with fiftene hundred seruing men more on horsebacke, well and brauelie mounted in good order, readie to receiue the queenes highnesse into Suffolke, which shire was a comelie trope, and a noble sight to behold: and all these waited on the shiriffe sir William Spying, during the queenes maiesties abode in those parties, and to the verie confines of Suffolke.

Persons of worship in Suffolke that feasted hir highnesse during hir abode amongst them.

But before hir highnesse passed to Dorset, there was in Suffolke such sumptuous feasting and banquets, as seldome in ante part of the world haue bene seene before. The maister of the rolles sir William Cordall was one of the first that began this great feasting, and did light such a candle to the rest of the shire, that manie were glad boundfullie and frankly to followe the same example, with such charges and costs, as the whole traine were in some sort pleased therewith. And nere Burie sir William Dyrrie for his part at his house made the queenes highnesse a coslie and delectat dinner, and sir Robert Germaine of

Roxborough feasted the French ambassadors thoo feuerall times, with which charges and courttesie they stood maruellouslie contented. The shiriffe sir William Spying, sir Thomas Kidson, sir Arthur Wygham, and diuerse others of worship, kept great houses, and sundrie either at the queenes comming, or returne, solemnelie feasted hir highnesse, yea and bestated the whole charges for a date or twaine, presented gifts, made such triumphs and deuises, as indeed was most noble to behold, and verie thankfullie accepted.

The Dorset gentlemen hearing how dutifullie their neighbors had receiued the prince, prepared in like sort to shew themselves dutifull: and so in most gallant maner they assembled and set forward with fife and twentie hundred horsemen, whereof (as some affirme) were sir hundred gentlemen, so brauelie attired and mounted, as in deed was worthie the noting, which goodly companie waited on their shiriffe a long season. But in god soth (as it was creditlie spoken) the bankets and feasts began here afresh, all kinds of triumphs that might be deuised were put in practise and ppose. The earle of Surrele did shew most sumptuous cheare, in whose parke were speeches well set out, and a spectall deuise much commended: and the rest, as a number of iollie gentlemen, were no whit behind to the vttermost of their abilities, in all that might be done and deuised.

But when the queenes highnesse came to Dorset, the substance of the whole triumph and feasting was in a maner there new to begin. For order was taken there, that euerie date for sir daies together, a shew of some strange deuise should be seene. And the maiors and aldermen appointed among themselves and their brethren, that no one person reteining to the queene should be vnfeasted, or vnbidden to dinner & supper, during the space of those sir daies: which order was well & wiselie obserued, and gained their citie more fame and credit than they tooke of: for that courttesie of theirs shall remaine in perpetuall memorie whiles the walles of their citie standeth. Besides the monie they bestowed vpon diuerse of the traine, and those that toke paines for them, will be a witnesse of their well doing and god will, whiles the report of these things maie be called to remembrance. Now, who can (considering their great charges and discret gouernement in these causes) but giue them due laud and reputation, as farre as either pen or report maie doe them good & stretch out their credit. For most assuredlie, they haue taught and learned all the towne and cities in England a lesson, how to behaue themselves in such like seruices and actions.

On saturday being the sixteenth of August 1578, the maiors of Dorset with his attendants for the queene. and in the twentieth yeare of the reigne of our most gracious souereigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God queene of England, France & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: the same our most deare and loue, reigne ladie (continuing hir progresse in Dorset) immediatlie after dinner set forward from Bakenham, where she had dined with the ladie Stile, being fife miles distant from Dorset, towards the same dutifull citie. Sir Robert Wotton then esquier, now knight, maior of the same citie, at one of the clocke in the same happie date, set forward to meet with hir maiestie in this order. First there rode before him well and seemelie mounted, these of the most comelie young men of the citie, as batchellers apparelled all in blacke fatten dublets, blacke hose, blacke taffata hats, and yellow bands, and their vniuersall liuerie was a mandilion of purple taffata, laid about with bluer lase: & so apparelled they marched forward two and two in a ranke. Then one

Dorset was cited by the example of Suffolke, & queene's court interestment.

what order was taken in Dorset for the receiuing and recreating of the queene.

The maiors of Dorset with his attendants for the queene.

the builder
of the
castle
of
Norwich

which represented king Surgunt, sometime king of
Englind, which builded the castle of Norwich, called
Blanch flouwe, and laid the foundation of the citie.
He was mounted upon a brave courser, and was
thus furnished: his bodie armed, his bases of greene
and white silke: on his head a blacke velvet hat, with
a plume of white feathers. There attended vpon him
thre benchmen in white and greene: one of them did
beare his helmet, the second his target, the third his
staffe: after him a noble companie of gentlemen
and wealthie citizens in velvet coats and other cost-
lie furniture, brauelie mounted. Then followed the
officers of the citie enerte one in his place. Then the
sword-bearer, with the sword & hat of maintenance.
Then the maior and foure and twentie aldermen,
and the recorder all in scarlet gownes, whereof so
manie as had bene maiors of the citie, and were iu-
stices, did weare their scarlet clokes: then followed
so manie as had bene shiriffs, and were no alder-
men, in violet gownes and sattin tippetts. Then follo-
wed diuerse others, to keepe the people from disur-
bing the astate aforesaid.

the founder
of the
church
of
St. Andrew
in
Norwich

Thus euerie thing in due and comelie order, they
all except Surgunt, which staid hir maiesties com-
ming within a sight shot or two of the citie, where
the castle of Blanch flouwe was in most beautifull
prospect) marched forwards to a bidge, called Warr-
ford bidge, the uttermost limit that waie, distant
from the citie two miles or there abouts, to meet
with hir maiestie; who within one houre or little
more after their attendance, came in such gracious
and princelie wise, as ramified the hearts of all hir
louing subiects, and might haue terrified the stoutest
heart of anie enemie to behold. Whether the maie-
stie of the prince, which is incomparable, or ioie of hir
subiects, which exceeded measure, were the greater, I
thinke would haue appailed the iudgement of Apollo
to define. The acclamations and cries of the people
to the almightie God for the preservation of hir ma-
iestie rattled so loud, as hardly for a great time could
anie thing be heard. Yet at last, as euerie thing hath
an end, the noise appeased: and the maior saluted hir
highnesse with the oration following, and yielded to
hir maiestie therewith the sword of the citie, and a
faire standing cup of silver and gold, with a cover,
and in the cup one hundred pounds in gold. The ora-
tion was in these words.

Prætoris Nordouicensis ad se-
renissimam Reginam, &c.



SI nobis ab Opt. Max. concederetur
optio quid rerū humanarū nunc potissi-
mum vellemus: nihil duceremus anti-
quius (augustissima princeps) quā ut
tuus ille, qui ita nos recreat, castissimi oculi radius
posset in abditissimos cordium nostrorū angulos se
conferre. Cerneret profecto quanta sint hilaritate
perfusa, quā in ipsis arterijs & venulis spiritus
& sanguis gestant: dum intuemur te huius regni
lumen (ut David olim fuit Israelitici) in hys tan-
dem finibus post longam spem, & ardentissima vo-
ta exoriri. Equidem ut pro me, qui tua ex autori-
tate & clementia (quod humillimis gratijs profite-
or) celeberrime huic ciuitati præsum, & pro hys
meis fratribus, atq; omni hoc populo quem tuis au-
spicijs regimus, ex illorum sensu loquar, quod &
ipse sentio: sic nos demum supplicibus votis expo-
scimus, ut maiestatem tuam beneuolam nobis, &
propitiam experiamur: ut nunquam cuiquam po-
pulo aduenisti gratior quam nobis. In illius rei lucu-
lentissimū iudicium, insignia hæc honoris, & offi-

cij nostri, quæ nobis clementissimus princeps Hen-
ricus quartus quinto sui regni anno cū prætoris, se-
natoribus, & vicecomitibus coepit: (cum antea
balliis (ut vocant) ultra annalium nostrorum
memoriam regecerunt) perpetuis deinde regum
priuilegijs, & corroborata nobis, & antea mag-
nicæ maiestati tua omnia exhiberemus, quæ per tu-
am vnus clementiam (quā cum immortalibus
gratijs prædicare nunquam cessabimus) vicesimo
anno tenuimus: atq; vñ cum illis, hunc the-
saurum, quasi pignus nostrarum & voluntatum
& facultatum. Quas omnes, quantæ, quantulæc
sint, ad tuum arbitrium deuonimus: ut si quid om-
ni hoc felicissimi tui temporis decursu admisimus,
quod amantissimos, obsequentissimos, amplitudinis
tue salutis, coronæ, emolumento deuotissimos non
deceat: statuas de nobis, & nostris omnibus, pro
tua clementissima voluntate. Sin ita clauum huius
ciuitatis (Deo duce) reximus: ut eam in portu
saluam maiestati tue conseruauerimus, & popu-
lum primum gloriæ Dei, & veræ religionis, deinde
salutis, honoris, & voluntatis tue studioissi-
mum, quantum in nobis est, effecerimus: tum non
libet nobis id à te petere, quod insita tibi singularis
clementia facillimè à te ipsa impetrabit. Tamē
obsecramus, ut amplitudinem tuam Deus omni-
bus & animi & corporis bonis cumulatiſſimè bea-
re velit, Amen.

Henricus quar-
tus ciuitati
Nordouicensi
princeps mu-
nificens simus

Prætoris pro-
prietatis
bus, quā sig-
nificanter
facta oratio.

The maiors oration to the
queene Englished.



Four wish should be granted vnto vs by
the almightie, what humane thing wee
would chieflie desire: we would account
nothing more pretious (most roial prince)
than that the bright beame of your most chaste
ie which doth so cheare vs, might pearle the secret and
strait corners of our hearts. Then surely should you
see how great ioies are dispersed there, and how the
spirits and liuelie blood tickle in our arteries & small
veines, in beholding you the light of this realme (as
Dauid was of Israel) now at length, after long hope
and earnest petitions, to appeare in these coasts. Tru-
lie on mine owne part, which by your highnesse au-
thoritie and clemencie (with humble thanks bee it
spoken) doo gouerne this famous citie, and on the
part of these my brethren, and all these people which
by your authoritie we rule (speaking as they meane,
and as I my selfe doo thinke) this onelie wish all our
hearts and humble prayers we desire, that we maie so
find your maiestie gracious and fauourable vnto vs,
as you for your part neuer came to anie subiects bet-
ter welcome than to vs your poore subiects here. For
most manifest token whereof, we present vnto your
maiestie here, these signes of honor and office, which
we receiued of the most mightie prince Henrie the
fourth, in the fift yere of his reigne, then to vs granted
in the name of maior, aldermen and shiriffs; whereas
before time out of mind or mention, we were gouer-
ned by bailiffs (as they tearme them) which euer since
haue bene both established and increased with con-
tinuall priuileges of kings: and which by your onelie
clemencie (which with immortal thanks we shall
neuer cease to declare) we haue now these twentie
yeares inioied: and together with those signes, this
treasure is a pledge of our good willes and abilitie:
which all how great or little so euer they be, wee
powre downe at your pleasure, that if we haue neg-
lected anie thing in all this course of your most hap-
pie reigne, which becommeth most louing, obedient
and well willing subiects to performe, for the preser-
uation of your crowne, and aduancement of your
highnesse,

The maior
speareth in
his owne and
his brethren
the aldermens
behalf.

Henric the
fourth a most
bonnitiſſim
prince to the
citie of Nor-
wich.

A most enti-
full submis-
ſion.

wherein the
dutie of sub-
jects chieflie
consisteth.

highnesse, you maie then determine of vs and all ours
at your most gracious pleasure. But if we haue (God
being our guide) so ordered the gouernance of this
citie, that we haue kept the same in safetie to your
maiesties vse, and made the people therein (as much
as in vs lieth) first most studious of Gods glorie and
true religion, and next of your maiesties health, ho-
nour, and pleasure; then aske we nothing of you: for
that the singular clemencie ingrafted in your high-
nesse, will easilie of it selfe grant that which is requi-
sit for vs to obtaine. We onelie therefore desire, that
God would abundantlie blesse your highnesse with
all good gifts of mind and bodie.

The queens
maiesties ac-
ceptable an-
swer uttered
by hir owne
mouth in per-
son.

Which oration ended, hir maiestie accepting in
good part cuertie thing deliuered by the maior, did
thankesfullie answer him in these words, or verie like
in effect: We hartlie thanke you maister maior,
and all the rest, for these tokens of goodwill; neuer-
theless, princes haue no need of monie: God hath
indued vs abundantlie, we come not the refore, but
for that which in right is our owne, the hearts and
true allegiance of our subiects, which are the grea-
test riches of a kingdome; whereof as we assure our
selues in you, so do you assure your selues in vs of
a louing and gracious soueraigne. Therewith was
deliuered to the maior, a mace or scepter, which he
carried before hir to hir lodging, which was in the
bishop of Norwich his palace, two miles distant
from that place. The cup and monie was deliuered
to a gentleman, one of hir maiesties footmen to car-
rie. The maior said to hir, *Sunt hic centum libra puri
auri.* The couer of the cup lifted by, hir maiestie said
to the footmen: Loke to it, there is 100 pounds.
With that hir highnesse, with the whole companie,
marched towards Norwich, till they came to a place
called the Towne close, distant from the citie a good
sightshot, where the partie which represented Gur-
gunt came forth, as in due maner is exprest, and
was ready to haue declared to hir maiestie this
speech following; but by reason of a shewre of raine
which came, hir maiestie hastied awaie, the speech
not uttered. But thus it was as here followeth.

Gurguntius
his speech cut
off by a shewre
of raine.

Gurguntius
the eldest son
of Belinus.

Leave off to muse most gracious prince of English soile,
What sudden wight in martiall waile approacheth neere:
King Our sune I am bright, king Belins eldest sonne,
Whose fire Dunwallo first, the British crowne did weare.
Whom trustlesse Britche sought to passe the surging seas,
Hie fashed to reuenge, and Denmarke land to spoile.
And finding in returne, this place a gallant bent,
This castle faire I built, a fort from foreign soile:
To win a conquest, set renowned and glorious name,
To keepe and vie well, defendes eternall fame.
When hure through cities, towne, the woods & dales did sound:
Elizabeth this countie peerlesse queene diuine neere:
I was found out, my selfe in person noble queene
Did halt, before thy face in presence to appeare.
Two thousand yeares welue in silence lulling still:
Heare, why to thee alone this seruice I doo preill.
Besides that, at my cities lute their fonder first
Should gratular most this iollifull fight in open field,
Foure speciall points and rare concurring in vs both
This speciall seruice haue referud to thee alone:
The glorie though of each in thee dooth far surmount,
Per great with small compar'd, will like appeare anon.
When doubtfull warres the British princes long had wroong,
My grandfire first uniting all did weare the crowne.
Of Yorke and Lancaster, who did conclude those hostles?
Thy grandfire Henrie seventh, a king of great renowne.
One uncle Belinus eke, my father joining hands,
Did Rome did rule and lake, and halfe consume with fire:
Thy puissant father to, new Rome that purple whore
Did lake and spoile his neere, of all his glittering fire.
Lo Cambridge schooles by mine assignement founded first,
By thee my Cambridge schooles are famous through the world,
Theretic wandring ships of banish men releued.
The thonges of banish soules that in this citie dwell,
Do weepe for joy: and prate for thee with teares vntold:
In all these things thou noble queene doost far excell.
But lo to thee I vowe as dutie dooth me bind
To oft happy fathers kings in such a daughter queene,
To oft happy England were, if thou shouldst neuer die.
So on most noble prince, for I must halt awaie
Thy citie gates doo long, their soueraigne to receaue:
Here true thou neuer conlist, nor loiall subiects find,
Whole harts still fast with perfect love to thee doo cleane.

The ancient-
nesse of Nor-
wich citie by
the founders
age may be
gathered.

King Henrie
the seventh,
a king Hen-
rie the eight.

Gurguntius
youth his
estate to the
queene.

Then hir maiestie drew nere the gates of the citie

called saint Stephens gates, which with the wals
there were both gallantie and stronglie repaired. *S. Stephens
gates in Nor-
wich citie
beautiful.*
The gate it selfe was thus enriched and beautified.
First the portcullis was new made both timber &
iron. Then the outward side of the gate was thus
beautified. The queenes armes were most richlie
and beautifullie set forth in the chiefe front of the
gate. On the one side thereof, but somewhat lower,
was placed the scutcheon of saint George his crosse:
on the other side, the armes of the citie: and directlie
under the queenes maiesties armes, was placed the
falcon, hir highnesse badge, in due forme, and un-
der the same were written these words, God and the
queene we serue. The inner side of the gate was
thus beautified. On the right side was gorgeously
set forth the red rose, signifying the house of Yorke;
on the left side the white rose, representing the house
of Lancaster; in the midst was the white and red
rose united, expresting the union, under the which
was placed by descent the armes of the queene, and
under that were written these verses following,

The union of
the white rose
and the red.

Diuision kindled strife,
Bliss vnion quendit the flame:
Thence sprang our noble Phoenix deare,
The pearelesse prince of fame.

And besides that, at this gate, the waits of the ci-
tie were placed with lowd musick, who cheerefullie
& melodiously welcomed hir maiestie into the citie,
this song being song by the best voices in the same.

*The dew of heauen drops this dew
on drie and barren ground,
Wherefore let fruitfull hearts I saie
as dron and trumpets sound
T'eld that u due, shew what u meet,
to make our ioy the more,
In our good hope, and hir great praise,
we neuer saw before.*

The sun dooth shine where shade hath bene,
long darkenesse brought vs daie,
The star of comfort now comes in,
and here a while will staie.
Rings out the bells, plucke up your speets,
and dresse your houses gaie,
Run in for flowers to strew the streets,
and make what ioy you maie.

The dew of heauen, &c.
Full manie a winter haue we scene,
and manie stormes withall,
Since here we saw a king or queene
in pompe and princelie pall,
Wherfore make feast and banquet still,
and now to triumph fall,
Which dutie let vs shew good will,
to glad both great and small.

The dew of heauen, &c.
The realme throughout will ring of this,
and sundrie regions mo
Will say, full great our fortune is,
when our good hap they know.
O Norwich, heere the wellying runs,
whose vertue still dooth flo,
And lo this day dooth shine two suns
within thy wals also.

The dew of heauen, &c.

This song ended, hir highnesse passed towards hir
lodging, & by the waie in a church-yard, over against
maister Pecks doze (a worthy alderman) was a
scaffold set up & brauelie trimm'd. On this scaffold
was placed an excellent boy, well and gallantie dec-
ked, in a long white robe of cassata, a crim sin scarfe
wrought with gold, folded on the Turkish fashion a-
bout his browes, and a gaie garland of white flowers
on his head, which boie was not sene, till the queene
had a good season marked the musick, which was
maruellous sweet and good, albeit the rudenesse of
some ringers of bells did somewhat hinder the noise
and harmonie: and as some as the musike ended,
the boy stepped reuerendlie before the queene, and
spake these words that follow in comelie order.

The boies
speech at ma-
ster Pecks
doze.

Great things were meant to welcome thee (O queene)
If want of time had not cut off the same:
Great was our wish, but mail is that was sent,
For vs to shew before to greet a dame.
Great hope we haue it pleas'd our princes eie,
Great were the harmes that else our paines should reape:
Our grace or soile dooth in your indgement lie,
If you mislike, our griefes doo grow on heape:
If for small things we doo great fauour find,

Great

Great is the joy that Norwich feels this date:
If well we waid the greatnesse of your mind,
For woe would scarce we had but small to saie,
But knowing that your goodnesse takes things well
That well are meant, we bolliue did proceed:
And so good queene, both welcome and farewell,
Thine owne we are in heart, in word, and deed.

The boy thereupon sang by his garland, and the
queenes highnes said, This deuise is fine. Then the
noise of musike began againe, to heare the which the
queene said a good while, and after departed to the ca-
thedrall church, which was not far from thence. Then
passed the forwarde through saint Stephens street,
where the first pageant was placed in forme follow-
ing. It was builded somewhat in maner like a stage
of 40 foot long, & in breadth eight foot. From the stand-
ing place byward was a bank framed in maner of
a free stone wall, & in the height thereof were written
sentences, that is to saie: The causes of this common
wealth are, God trulie preached, Iustice duly execu-
ted, The people obedient, Idleness expelled, Labour
cherished, Uniuersall concord preferred.

From the standing place downewards it was
beautified with painters worke, artificiallie expre-
sing to sight the posture of these seuerall lomes,
and the locaters in them (as it were working) and
ouer euerie lome the name thereof, that is to saie.
Over the first lome was written, the weaving of
woolsted: ouer the second, the weaving of russels: o-
uer the third, the weaving of barnix: ouer the fourth,
the weaving of tust mockado: the fift, the weaving
of lacc: the sixt, the weaving of cassa: the seuenth,
the weaving of fringe. And then was there the posture
of a matrone, and two or thre children, and ouer
hir head was written these words: God nurture
changeth qualities. Upon the stage there stood at the
one end eight small women children spinning woolsted
parne, and at the other end as manie knitting of
woolsted parne hofe: and in the middell of the said
stage stood a pretie boy richlie apparelled, which repre-
sented the common wealth of the citie. And all the
rest of the stage was furnished with men, which
made the said seuerall works, and before euerie man
the worke in deed. Euerie thing thus readie, and hir
maiestie come, the child representing the common
wealth, spake to hir highnesse these words following.

Oost gracious prince, undoubtedly soveraigne queene,
Our onelie joy next God, and chiefe defense:
In this small isle, our whole estate is seene,
The wealth we haue, we find proceed from thence,
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath ill to serue his need.
Again, our seat denies our traffike here,
The sea too neare decides vs from the rest,
So weak we were within this doozen yeare,
As care did quench the courage of the best:
But good aduise hath taught these little hands,
To rend in twaine the force of pinning bands.
From combed wooll we draw this slender threed,
From thence the loomes haue dealing with the same,
And then we againe in order doo proceed,
These seuerall works which skilfull art dooth frame:
And all to diuine dame need into hir care.
Our heads and hands together labour haue.
We bought before the things that now we sell.
These slender unpes, their works doo passe the waues,
Goes peace and thine, we hold and prosper well,
Of euerie mouth the hands the charges laies.
Thus through thy helpe and aid of power diuine,
Dooth Norwich liue, whose hearts and goods are thine.

This shew pleased hir maiestie so greatlie, as the
particularlie viewed the knitting & spinning of the
children, perused the lomes, and noted the seuerall
works and commodities which were made by these
means: and then after great thanks by hir giuen to
the people, marched towards the market place, where
was the second pageant thwarting the street at the
entrance of the market, betwene master Skinner
& master Walsh, being in breadth two and fiftie foot of
assise, and was diuided into three gates, in the midd
a maine gate, & on either side a posterne: the maine
gate in breadth fourtene foot, each posterne eight foot,
their heights equall to their proportion: ouer each po-

sterne was as it were a chamber, which chambers
were replenished with musike. Over all the gates
passed a stage of eight foot broad, in maner of a page-
ant, curious, rich, & delitefull. The whole worke, from
the pageant downewards, seemed to be asper & mar-
ble. In the forefront towards hir maiestie was the
armes of England on the one side the gate, & on the
other side the falcon with crowne and scepter. The
other side was beautified with the arms of England
on the one side of the gate, & the crest of England on
the other. The pageant was furnished with six persons
nages apparelled like women. The first was the citie
of Norwich; the second Deboza; the third Judith; the
fourth Hester; the fift Partia, sometime queene of
England. At the first sight of the prince, & till hir ma-
iesties comming to the pageant, the musicians used
their loud musike, and then ceased: wherewith hir
highnesse staled, to whome the personage represen-
ting the citie of Norwich, did speake in these words.

Whom fame reounds with thundring trump, that rends the
And perleth to the haucie heauens, and thence descending flies
Through suckering aire: and so conioines the sea & shore together,
In admiration of thy grace, good queene thart welcome hither:
I hope welcome than Cerpiscope was to the towne of Crole.
Sea faring men by Gemini conceine not halfe my iote.
Strong Hercules to Chelous was neuer such delight,
Nor Atlas to Curialus as I haue in this sight.
Penelope did neuer thinke Odysseus more to see,
Than I poore Norwich hungered haue to gaine the sight of thee.
And now that these my happie eyes behold thy heauenlie face,
The Lord of lords I humbly praye, to blisse thy noble grace
With thy life, with Sibils helch, with Cereus stocke & store,
With all good gifts of Salomon, and twise as manie more.
What shuld I saie? Thou art my joy next God, I haue none other,
My pryncesse & my peerlesse queene, my louing nurse and mother.
My goods & lands, my hands and hart, my liues and life are thine,
What is mine owne in right or thought, to thee I doo reigne.
Grant then (oh gracious soveraigne queene) this onlie my request,
That that which shall be doone in me, be construed to the best.
And take in part my slender shewes, wherein my whole pretense
Is for to please your maiestie, and end without offense.
So shall I clap my hands for joy, and hold my selfe as rich
As if I had the gold of Ind, and double twise as much.

Where princes sitting in their thrones set God before their sight
And liue according to his law, and guide their people right,
There doth his blessed gifts abound, there kingdoms flourish stand
Where force of foes cannot preuaile, nor furie fret the land.
My selfe (oh peerlesse prince) doo speake by poore of matter past,
Which prooue by practice I performe, and loide his foes at last.
For Jabin king of Canaan, poore Israel did spire,
And meant by force of furious rage to ouerrun us quite.
Nine hundred iron chariots, he brought into the field,
Which cruell captaine Sissera by force to make vs yeeld.
His force was great, his fraud was more, he fought, we did defend,
And twentie winters long did last this waere without an end.
But he that neither sleepes nor slackes such furies to correct,
Appointed me Deboza for the iudge of his elect:
And did deliuer Sissera into a womans hand,
I slue them all, and so in rest his people held the land.
So mightie prince, that puissant Lord, hath plakt thee here to be,
The rule of this triumphant realme alone belongs to thee.
Continue as thou hast begun, weed out the wicked rout,
Uphold the simple, meeke and good, pull downe the proud & stout.
Thus shalt thou liue and reigne in rest, & mightie God shalt please,
Thy state be sure, thy subjects safe, thy commonwealth at ease.
Thy God shall grant thee length of life, to glorifie his name,
Thy deeds shall be recorded in the booke of lasting fame.

Oy flour of grace, oh prime of Gods elect,
Oh mightie queene and finger of the Lord,
Did God sometime by me poore wight correct
The champion stout, that him and his abhord?
Then be thou sure thou art his mightie hand,
To conquer those which him and thee withstand.
The rage of foes Bethulia did opprest,
The people faint were readie for to yeeld:
God aided me poore widow nertheless,
To enter into Holofernes field,
And with this sword by his directing hand,
To slay his fo, and quiet so the land.
If this his grace were giuen to me poore wight,
If widowes hand could banquish such a fo:
Then to a prince of thy surpassing might,
Althar tyant liues but thou maist ouerthow:
Perseuere then his seruant as thou art,
And hold for aie a noble victors part.

The fretting heads of furious foes haue skill,
As well by fraud as force to find their prey.
In smiling looks dooth lurke a lot as ill,
As where both sterne and turdie streams doo swaie,
Thy selfe oh queene, a poore halfe scene of this,
So well as I poore Hester haue I wis.
As Jabin force did Israel perplee,
And Holofernes fierce Bethulia beleage,
So Hamans flights sought me and mine to vex,
Perthend a face of subiect to his liege.
But force no fraud, nor tyant strong can trap,
Thole whom the Lord in his defense dooth wap.
I will it.

which is his
owne badge.

These mu-
sicians
were inclosed
in the cham-
bers of the
said pageant.

How Nor-
wich is affec-
ted to the
queens high-
nesse.

Then spake
Deboza the
second person.

The applica-
tion of the
former exam-
ples.

Then spake
Judith the
third person.

The applica-
tion of the
former exam-
ples.

Then Hester
spake the
fourth person.

The queene
heard this
speak.

The first pa-
geant was in
the shape of
a ship in this
maner.

From the pa-
geant was
beautified
with respect
to the mysteryes
of the citie.

Pointing to
the spinners.
Pointing to
the loomes.
Pointing to
the works.

The second
pageant which
was the
entrance
of the same,
and what re-
presentation
was.

The queene
purchase
a deuiser.

The descrip-
tion of Hec-
meris coth.

The descrip-
tion of Hec-
meris, his ac-
tivity, &c.

The descrip-
tion of the
quene of a
day.

If that the please to waite and take the aire,
And that to looke as out of doore the goe's
(The time doo leue and weaue warreth faire)
Some od deuise shall meete his highnesse sight,
To make his smile, and ease his burthened heate,
And take away the cares and things of weight
That princes feele, that findeth greatest rest.
Then I had thus receiued my charge at full,
My golden rod in thistle hand I tooke,
And bid in haste my flying horses pull.
But yet I paſt, I gaue about me looke,
To ſee that coth, and eſch thing gallant were:
So done I came all winged as you ſee.
And ſith I haue ſpide that princesse there,
That greateſt kings doe ſue to by degree,
And manie in that ſues no whit, doo feare
I kill his ſteps, and ſhew my maſters will,
And leane with his ſuch graces from aboute,
As at waies ſhall command his peoples loue,
(Althow his reigne, maintaine his regall ſtate,
Find out falſe harts, and make of iudicars true,
Plant perfect peace, and root up all debate)
So with this grace good queene now here adue,
For I may now on earth no longer ſtate,
Thus ſeruants muſt to maſters will obate.

Hecmeris hauing thus ſpoken to the queene,
whole grations inclination is ſuch, as will not haue
anie thing dutifull offered to paſſe vntregarde,
was well heard, his highnes ſtanding at a window,
and the ſpeech verie well taken and underſtood. Hec-
meris as he came paſſed aſwaie, at whole coth the peo-
ple that had ſeldome ſene ſuch a deuſe maruelled,
and gazed verie much; for it had hoſtes to draw it
finely painted and winged, to as great ſhew and or-
der of that it preſented, as wit might imagine: the
cothman ſutable to the ſame, and a trumpet in
ſight good garments, as decent for that purpoſe as
could be deuſed. But the coth was made and ſtra-
med on ſuch a faſhion as few men haue ſene: the
whole whereof was couered with birds and naked
ſpirits, hanging by the heeles in the aire and clouds,
cunningly painted out, as though by ſome thunder
cracke they had bene ſhaken and tormented: yet
ſtaied by power diuine in their places, to make the
more wonder and miraculous ſhew. And on the
middle of that coth ſtood a high compaſſed tower be-
decked with golden and gaie ſeawels, in the top wher-
of was placed a faire plume of white feathers, all to
beſpanged and trimmed to the moſt brauerie: Hec-
meris himſelfe in blew ſatin lined with cloſe of gold,
his garments cut and ſlaſhed on the fineſt manner, a
peaked hat of the ſame colour, as though it ſhould
cut and ſeuer the wind aſunder; and on the ſame a
paire of wings, and wings on his heeles likewiſe.
And on his golden rod were little wings alſo, about
the which rod were two wrigling or ſcralling ſer-
pents, which ſeemed to haue life when the rod was
moued or ſhaken. So in this ſort and ſort was
Hecmeris and his coth ſet forth, and indeed at ſuch a
ſeaſon as a great ſort looked not for anie ſhew, nor
things were readie, as ſome thought, to perſorme
that was neceſſarie and expected: yet hap was ſo
good, and the grations fauour of the prince, that all
was well taken, and conſtrued to the beſt meaning
of the deuſer. So ended that daies deuſe, which of-
fered occaſion to further matter.

On tuesday following (for before that date by
meanes of the weather the queene went not abroad)
a verie pretie and pleaſant ſhew was perſormed be-
fore his highnes without ſaint Benets gates, as the
went towards Coſſie parke to hunt. At which ſea-
ſon, although the deuſer was not well provided of
things neceſſarie for a ſhew (by meane of ſome croſ-
ſing cauſes in the citie) yet hearing the queene rode
abroad, determined as he might (and yet by helpe of
friends and hap) verie well to venture the hazard of
a ſhew, and to be ſid in the waie where his highneſſe
ſhould paſſe towards his dinner. In which determina-
tion manie doubts were to be caſt, and manie per-
ſuaded him to tarrie a better time. But conſidering
how time rolled on, and daies and houres did waſt
(without doing anie thing promiſed and not perſor-

med) he haſtily prepared his boies and men with all
their furnitures, and ſo ſet forward with two cordes
handſomely trimmed. The common people beholding
the maner thereof, and greedie to gaze on that ſhould
be done, followed as their fancies did lead them: ſo
that when the deuſer and his retinue came into the o-
pen field, there was as great a traine and preſe a-
bout the ſhew, as came with the court at that in-
ſtant, which graced much the matter, and gaue it
ſome expected hope of good ſucceſſe.

Fiſt, there was a ſained deuſe, that Venus and
Cupid were thruſt out of heauen, and walking on
the earth, met a philoſopher, who demanded from
whence they came. They told the philoſopher what they
were, and he replied, and began with truth & taunts
to tickle them ſo nere, that Venus fell in a great an-
ger, and Cupid ran aſwaie, and left his mother and
the philoſopher diſputing together. But Cupid becauſe
he would be nouriſhed ſomewhere, ran to the court,
and there ſought for ſuccor, & incounting the queene
began to compleine his ſtate and his mothers, and
told how the philoſopher had handled them both. But
finding neither answer nor aid, he returned againe,
but not to his mother, for ſhe was fallen mad vpon a
conceit that ſhe was not made of. And Cupid wan-
dering in the world, met with dame Chaſtite & her
maids, called Modesty, Temperance, Good ererciſe,
and Shameſaſſnes: and ſhe with her foure maids in-
counting Cupid in a godlike coth, and without anie
honeſt gard waiting on him, ſet vpon him, threw
him out of his golden ſeat, trod on his pompe, ſpo-
led him of his counterſeit godhead and cloke, & toke
aſwaie his bow and quiter of arrows, the one beaded
with lead, and the other with gold, and ſo ſent him
like a fugitiue aſwaie, and mounted vp into the coth
his ſelfe and her maids, and ſo came to the queene, and
reherſed what had hapned. Although this was done
in her view, & becauſe (ſaid Chaſtite) that the queene
had choſen the beſt life, ſhe gaue the queene Cupids
bow, to learne to ſhoot at whom ſhe pleaſed, ſith none
could wound his highneſſe heart, it was met (ſaid
Chaſtite) that ſhe ſhould do with Cupids bow & ar-
rows what ſhe pleaſed; and ſo did Chaſtite depart as
ſhe ſaid to the powers diuine. Cupid in the meane
while wandering in the world had found out Wan-
tonneſſe and Riot, who ſone fell into beggerie and
ruine (a ſpectacle to be looked into) and felt ſuch da-
lie miſerie with Wantonneſſe and Riot, that Cupid
was forced to ſling aſwaie once againe, and hazard
himſelfe to fall into the hands of naughtie people, or
where fortune aſſigned: and continuing abroad, hap-
pened vpon the philoſopher, who talked with him a-
gaine, told him his errors, and other points of pride
and preſumption; declaring it was a great blaſphe-
mie & abuſe, to report & beleue that in heauen were
anie other gods but one, who had the onelie rule of
all, & that made all of naught. In which reaſoning &
diſcourſe Cupid waied warme, & yet in his greateſt
heat knew not how nor where to coole himſelfe, at
which time came Wantonneſſe & Riot, & perſuaded
Cupid to plaie no longer the ſole in ſtriving with
philoſophers, and go aſwaie with them. So Cupid de-
parted, & went aſwaie with Wantonneſſe and Riot,
& the philoſopher remained, & declared that all abuſes
& follies ſhuld come to no better end than preſentlie
was expreſſed by the miſerie of Wantonneſſe, Riot,
and Cupid. Then Modesty and her fellows, leauing
their miſtreſſe dame Chaſtite with the powers di-
uine, came ſoft and faire in their miſtreſſe coth, ſing-
ing a ſong of chaſte life, as here vnder followeth.

Chaſt life liues long and lookes
on world and wicked waies,
Chaſt life for loſſe of pleaſures ſhort,
dooth win immortall praife.
Chaſt life hath merrie moods,
and ſundrie rakeſh reſ:

Titit. iii.

The whole
manner of
the deuſe of
ſhew.

Dame Chaſti-
tie & her maids
incounter
with Cupid.

What affects
as Cupid
found out to
keepe him
company.

Chaſtite and
her maids
matched toge-
ther, &c.

Chast life is pure as babe new borne,
 ita: hugs in mothers brest,
 Leud life cuts off his daies,
 and loone it as out his date,
 Confounds good wills, breeds naughtie blond,
 and weakens mans estate,
 Leud life the Lord both loth,
 the law and land milikes,
 The wife will him, fond foolles doo secke,
 and God loze plages and strikes.
 Chast life may dwell alone,
 and find few fellows now,
 And sit in regall throne,
 and seach lewd manners throw.
 Chast life feares no mishap,
 the whole account is made,
 When soule from worldie cares is crept,
 and sits in sacred shade.
 Leud life is laught to scorne,
 and put to great disgrace,
 In hollow caues it hides the head,
 and walks with muffled face,
 Found out and pointed at,
 a monster of the kind,
 A ranked woman that conscience eates,
 and strikes cleere senses blind.
 Chast life a pretious pearle,
 dooth shine as bright as sun,
 The faire houre glasse of daies and yeeres,
 that neuer out will run.
 The beautie of the soule,
 the bodies blisse and ease,
 A thing that least is loost vnto,
 yet most the mind shall please.

And when the song was ended, modestie sent (as she said she was) from hir maiestie, spake to the queene a good season, and so the matter ended. For this shew the deuiler had gracious words of the queene openlie and often pronounced by hir highnesse. On the same daie the minister of the Dutch church, pronouncing to hir maiestie at hir being abroad the oration following, presented the cup there in mentioned, which was esteemed to be worth fiftie pounds, verie curiouslie and artificiallie wrought.

Oratio ad serenissimam Angliæ reginam habita 19. Augusti 1578 à ministro ecclesiæ Belgogermanicæ Nordouici in loco publico.

Quam orator antiqua etate preclarissima laudatissimi exsistit.

Magna oratoribus, qui percelebratorum etate vixerunt fuit laus, serenissima regina, quod indicum animos partim suauiloquentia, partim posita rei personæque ante ipsorum oculos calamitate, in quemcunque vellent animi habitum transformarent. Prius membrum non vulgare nobis ob oculos ponit hominum facilitatem, quod adeo sequaces dictoque audientes fuerint, ut se linguis duci paterentur. Posterius magnam ubique apud gentes, quarum respublica optabili ordine fuit constituta, obtinuit gratiam: longè autem maiorem apud eos, qui Christo nomen dederunt: omnium verò maximam apud te (o serenissima regina) ecclesiæ Christi nutrix, cuius animum verbo Dei obsequentem instruxit, non fatus hic sermo, sed Christi spiritus, pietatisque zelus. Ipsissima piorum calamitas afflictiorumque lachryme, lachryme inquam Christi fidelium te commouerunt, misera dispersaque Christi membra quibusvis iniurijs obiecta, mille iam mortibus territa, in tutelam salutemque animi iuxta ac corporis recipere ac protegere. Ob hac singularia tua in nos pietatis beneficia, & quod sub tutore optimo magistratu in hac tua Nordouici urbe (quam maiestas tua nobis ob Christi religionem exulantibus domicilij loco clementer concessit) vivimus, adde quod populi in nos animum fauorabilem experimur, imprimis Deo patri, & Domino unico seruatori nostro Iesu Christo, deinde & tibi serenissima regina immortales non quas debemus sed quas possumus agimus gratias. Porro humile quidem & vnicum tamen nostrum est votum, animi nostri gratitudinem maiestati tue ostendere. Ecce igitur nullum munus, sed animum nostrum: nullum regium splendorem, sed pietatis posteritatisque monumentum serenissima tue maiestati consecratum. Hoc autem eo gratias maiestati tue fore confidimus, quod ex inculpati pssima, Iosephi historia, Dei erga maiestatem tuam bonitas, ad vnum sit delineata, quem nulla astutia, nullum robur, nulla denique regnandi libido, sed fides constans, christiani pectoris pietas, celestique virtus, singulari

Monumentum antiquum regie maiestati exhibitum.

Dei fauore ex sanguinaria fratrum conspiratione, notissimè metu, ad summam dignitatem, regnique deum cunctant. In huius fratres non aliena videtur proreliatus illa apud Hebræos sententia, Inuidia malorum rerum appetitus, & studium vana gloria hominibus sapissimè occasio sunt sui interitus. Tamen quod Iosephi animum attinet, ea fuit præditus Iosephus inquit, & temperantia & fortitudine, ut nimis iniquis simul & inter laudatissimos neque immutatus prauus censeret posset, qui eum vel minimo vindicandi affectu accusare vellet; adeo Dei providentia & se & omne vitæ suæ studium, vitæ inquam in alieno regno periclitantis, commisit, ut non aliunde quam a solo Dei nutu pendere visus sit. Sed quorsum ista? In te ne hæc ipsa aliæque consimilia (o serenissima regina) & regni tui ratione omnium oculis conspiciunt? Hæc inquam esse ecclesiæ Christi felicissimum gaudium, spirituale diadema, & summum decus, huius vero regni verè regium splendorem, atque perennem gloriam, quis mismente captus inficias ire potest? Pissimè tu quidem singulari Dei bonitate animum Iosephi tum in regni tui conseruatione, tum in regno Christi amplificando imitata es (o nutrix ecclesiæ Dei fidelissima) solius enim Dei est hunc per res (propterea hominum oculis sunt subiectæ) secundas disperdere, illum autem per quas vasa sua misericordia agnoscit, ita etiam & bonitate & spiritus sui tum consolatione, tum fortitudine ad æterna vitæ felicitatem prosequitur. Quod nostrum votum ratum esse, maiestatem tuam regnique ordinem spirituali prudentia ac sapientia stabilire, eamque in longam ætatem seruare, tua item maiestatis subditos vera sui cognitione magis ac magis imbuiere, dignetur bonus ille & clemens Deus, per merita filij sui Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Amen.

Regia maiestas in omnibus his rebus equanimitas.

Regia maiestati post orationem oblatum est monumentum aliquod, in cuius superficie artificiosè sculpta erat historia Iosephi: ex lib. Genesis.

In circumferentia verò hoc carmen.

Innocuum pietas ad regia sceptrum Iosephum,
 Ex manibus fratrum, carnificisque, rapit:
 Carcere & infidysis te regina tuorum
 Ereptam duxit culmina ad ista Dem.

Inscriptio erat in ipsius capacitate scripta in orbem, hoc modo.

Serenissimæ Angliæ reginæ Elisabethæ, ecclesiæ Belgicæ Nordouici ob religionem exulantes, hoc monumentum & pietatis & posteritatis ergo consecrabant, Anno salutis humanæ, 1578.

In interiore ipsius parte erat insigne serpentis in gyrum conuoluti, cui media infidebat columba, cum hoc Christi elogio: Prudens ut serpens, simplex ut columba.

The minister of the Dutch church his oration in English.

He orators (most grations queene) which what orators were best commended in the age of them that woone greatest renouwe, were highlie commended for that they could transforme the iudges minds, partlie by eloquence, and partlie by setting downe before their eyes the calamities of the thing and person they spake of, into what disposition them listed. The first part declareth vnto vs no common felicitie of men, in that they were so willing in following, and attentiuely in hearing, as they would suffer themselves to be lead by eloquence. The last obtained great fauour amongst all nations, whose common weale was gouerned in good order, and farre greater amongst the christians: but greatest of all with thee (o most excellent queene) the nurse of Christ his church, whose mind obedient to Gods word, the spirit of Christ, and zeale of godlinesse, and not this prophane kind of speech hath instructed. The verie calamities of godlie men and teares of the afflicted, the teares I saie of faithfull christians haue thoroughlie moued thee to defend and protect the miserable

terable and deplorable members of Christ obiect to euerie kind of iudgement, before beaten in peeces by a thousand deaths, with the sicke and preservation as well of mind as bodie. For these thy singular benefites of godlinesse towards vs, and that we live vnder so good a tutor, being magistrate in this thy citie of Norwich, which thy maiestie hath of clemencie granted vnto vs for a mansion place, which were banished for Christ his religion; and moreouer that we find the minds of the people fauourable towards vs, first wee giue immortall thanks, not such as wee ought, but such as we are able vnto God the father, and the Lord our onelie sauour Iesus Christ; and then vnto thee most mercifull queene. Moreouer, it is our humble and yet our onelie petition, to shew vnto your maiestie the thankfulness of our mind. Behold therefore dedicated to your most excellent maiestie, not anie gift but our mind, no princelie iewel but a monument of godlinesse and posteritie. The which we hope will be so much the more acceptable to your maiestie; for bicause the goodness of God towards your maiestie is liuelie drawne out of the historie of the innocent and most godlie Ioseph, whom neither policie, strength nor desire of bearing rule, but constant faith, godlinesse of a christian heart, and heauenlie vertue by Gods singular mercie deliuered from the bloudie conspiracie of his brethren and feare of death, and brought vnto high dignitie & roiall kingdome. To whose brethren that prouerbiall sentence of the Hebrewes is verie fitlie alluded: Enuie being the desire of euill things, and couetousnesse of transitorie renowne, is oftentimes the occasion of mans destruction. But touching the mind of Ioseph, the same was indued with such temperance and fortitude, that he might be thought no lesse vniust than wicked, that would accuse him so much as with the least affection of reuengement: so wholie did he commit himselfe and all the gouernement of his life, his life I say put in hazard in a strange kingdome vnto the providence of God, that he seemed to hang of no other thing than the onelie will of God. But to what end speake I this? Are not these selfe same things, and others their like (o most excellent queene) by the eyes of all men clearlie beheld in thee and the order of thy kingdome? What man (I saie) hauing his wits, can denie these things to be the most happie ioy, spirituall crowne, & chiefe ornament of Christes church, & trulie of this kingdome the princelie beautie and perpetuall renowne? Thou surelie dost folow most holilie the mind of Ioseph, by the singular goodnesse of God, as well in preserving thy kingdome, as in amplifying the kingdome of Christ (o thou most faithfull nurse of the church of God.) For it is in God onelie to destroy this man by prosperitie (as the world seeth) and aduance another by all kinds of aduersities, tentations, & dangers. Whom as he acknowledged the vessels of his mercie, so by his goodnesse together with the consolation and strength of his spirit, he dooth bring them to the happinesse of eternall life. Which our petition that good and mercifull God grant may be ratified, in establishing your maiestie and gouernance of your kingdome with spirituall wisdom and vnderstanding, in preserving the same full manie years, and in doing your maiesties subiects more and more with true knowledge of him, for his sonnes sake our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

The oration ended, there was a certeine monument presented to hir maiestie, in the upper part whereof was artificiallie grauen the historie of Ioseph out of Genesis. In the inner part of the same there was the figure of a serpent, interfolded with a scorpion: in the midst whereof did sit a dove with this

sentence of Christ, *Matth. 10, 16.* Wife as the serpent, and ineeke as the dove. In the circumference of compasse thereof was these verses to be read.

To roiall keeper, godlinesse,
Ioseph the innocent,
Dooth take from others bloudie hands,
and inuicere intent.
So thee, O queene, the Lord hath led
from prison and deceit
Of thine, vnto these highest tops
of your princelie estate.

On Wednesdaye hir highnesse dined at my lord of Surreis, where were the French ambassadoys also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banquet. At which season the deuiler did watch with his shew (called Panthod & Desert) at my lord of Surreis booke doze, going to the quenes barge: but the rowe was so little, that neither the shot, the armed men, nor the plaiers could haue place conuenient. Whereupon he and his assistants toke boats, and conueied their people doone the water, towards a landing place that they hoped the queene would come vnto. And there hauing althings in readinesse, they hauered on the water three long houres, by which means the night came on, and so they were faine to withdraw themselves and go homeward, trusting for a better time and occasion, which in deed was offered the next daie after by the quenes maiesties olue god motion, who told the deuiler she would see what parties were prepared, as hereafter you shall perceiue by the discourse of these matters, and by this shew of Panthod, and the shew of the Symphes.

After the lesse, as hir maiestie returned homeward, within Bishops gate at the hospitall doze, master Stephan Limbert, master of the grammar schole in Norwich stood readie to render hir an oration. Hir maiestie dzeu neare vnto him, & thinking him fearefull, said gratioullie vnto him: Be not afraid. He answered hir againe in English: I thanke your maiestie for your good incouragement: & then with god courage entered into this oration following.

The quenes maiestie is danted at the earle of Surreis.

A singular affabilitie of a prince to put awaie a subjects bashfulness.

Ad illustrissimam principem Elisabetham, Anglia, Francia, & Hibernie reginam &c: ante fores theatrologias Nor-donicensis, oratio Stephani Limberti ludimagistri publici.



Egyptum fama est inundante Nilo (serenissima regina) & aureo Pactoli flumine quotannis Lidiā irrigari, quæ res in ijs agris maxima fecunditas causa putatur. In nos autem atq; adeo vniuersam Angliam, quæ late patet, non è Tmolò aut alijs nescio quibus montibus, sed ex illo perenni & uberissimo fonte bonitatis tuæ, multi maximeq; pietatis, iusticiæ, mansuetudinis, aliorumq; innumerabilium bonorum, præ quibus iam viluit aurum & obsoleuit, copiosissimi riuus profluxerunt. Atq; ut ex infinitis vel vnum leuiter attingam, propterea quod de pluribus dicere nec est huius loci & temporis nec facultatis meæ. Insignem illam misericordiam celsitudinis tuæ, nobilissimam reginam, & ad leuandum pauperrimorum hominum inopiam incredibilem propensionem, qua de plurimis virtutibus nulla Deo gratior (περὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα) ut canit Homerus in summa principe nulla mortalibus admirabilior esse potest, quibus tandem laudibus efferemus? Quam honorificis verbis prosequemur? Πρωτολόγιον, hoc est, hospitium pauperum celeberrimum est apud omnes posteros regia virtutis atq; beneficentiæ monumentum futurum, institutum quidem ab illustrissimo Henrico patre celsitudinis tuæ, à nobilissimo Edouardo fratre

Egregie necnon impares Anglis doctes.

Henricus & Edouardus reges, necnon Elisabetha regina prædicta, qui benefactores agnoscentur.

The oration of Stephan Limbert, publike schoolemaister, to the most magnificent prince, Elisabeth of England, France, and Ireland queene, &c: before the gates of the hospitall of Norwich.



Tis reported (most gracious queene) that Aegypt is watered with the yerclic ouerflowing of Nilus, and Lidia with the golden streame of Pactolus, which thing is thought to be the cause of the great fruitfulness of these countries: but vpon vs, and further, ouer all England, euen into the vttermost borders, manie and maine riuers of godlinesse, iustice, humilitie, and other innumerable good things, in comparison of the which, gold is vile and naught worth, doo most plentifully gush out, and those not from Timolus, or other hilles I know not which, but from that continuall and most abundant wellspring of your goodnesse. And that of those infinit goodnesse I maie lightlie touch one, for that neither place, time, nor my abilitie dooth permit to speake of manie: with what praises shall we extoll, with what magnificent words shall we expresse that notable mercie of your highnesse (most renowned queene) and incredible readinesse to relieue the need of poore men, than the which of manie vertues none can be more acceptable vnto God, as Homer writeth, neither anie vertue in a mightie prince more woondered at amongst men. This hospitall of poore men is most famous, which will be a monument of princelie vertue and beneficence amongst all posteritie, instituted by the most mightie king Henrie your highnesse father, confirmed with the great scale by the most noble king Edward your brother, but by your maiestie, which deserueth no lesse praise, of late notable increased and amplified by the lands and possessions of Cringleford, that you maie not now worthilie reioice so much in others ornaments, as your owne vertues. For you are said for your singular wisdom and learning, to haue studied that diuine law of the most wise Plato, which he left written in the eleuenth booke of lawes. Such your great bountie therefore, so exceeding and incredible mercie (o most vertuous prince) in what bookes shall we comprehend? With what duties, or with what voice shall we testifie the good will of a thankfull mind? For when we diligentlie seeke all the most exquisite and curious means of thanksgiving: we cannot so much as atteine vnto the greatesse of this one benefit, by the which we acknowledge our selues bound and streitlie holden to your most roiall maiestie. We shall be ouercome, euen with this one and singular benefit, so much the lesse hope haue we then in anie point to counteruaile the huge sea of the rest of your benefits, which ouerfloweth on euerie side as well publike & generallye ouer all your subiects, as properlie and particularie vpon this cite. We certeinlie now inhabit, and lead our liues in those most happie llands, of the which Hesiodus maketh mention, which not onelie abound with all manner of graine, wooll, cattell, and other aids of mans life; but much more with the most pretious treasure of true religion and the word of God, in the which onlie the minds of men haue rest and peace. There be that call England another world, which I thinke maie be most true in this our age. For whereas all lands on euerie side of vs are afflicted with most grievous warres, and tossed with the floods of disention, we onelie (your highnesse gouerning our sterne) doo faile in a most peaceable haue, and seuered from a world of mischiefes, doo seeme after a sort to be taken vp into a heauen of happinesse. We therefore (according to our bounden dutie) first giue thanks vnto God almighty, vnto whose goodnesse onlie with thanks we referre all this our happinesse, how great soeuer it be, & praie that he would vouchsafe to make the same proper and perpetuall vnto vs. And afterwards vnto your highnesse (o most gracious queene) by whose studie, care and diligence we confesse this blessednesse to be gotten, and so manie years preferred vnto vs. We are glad in this beholding you, and we reioice with desire more than maie be beleueed, which as I speake of, I mine owne thought, so also all the subiects of Norwich desire me to saie the same in their behalte. And I woulde

The excellent and commendable blessing of England.

King Henrie and queene Elisabetha acknowledged these things.

Englande doo seruicethe celestiall another world.

Englande doo seruicethe celestiall another world.

Their desires neede no reason to be made.

Per gratias pro imparibus beneficiis agi non posse.

Angliam merito alterum orbem nuncupari.

Nordouicensium veranes ex iniuriis medullas proueniens letitia quam regiam maiestatem videant.

tre maximis tabulis consignatum, a tua vero maiestate, quod non minorum laudem meretur, Crinlefordiensibus fundis & possessionibus egregie nuper auctum atq; amplificatum, ut non tam alienis iam ornamentis, quam proprijs virtutibus merito letari possis. Recordata quippe es pro tua singulari prudentia atq; eruditione, diuinam illam sapientissimam Platonis legem, quam undecimo de legibus libro scripsit reliquit, πλάττω μὲν δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει γυνέσθω. Tani amigitur benignitatem, tam eximiam & incredibilem misericordiam tuam (illustrissima princeps) quibus complectemur studijs? Quibus officijs, aut qua voce grati animi voluntatem testificabimur? Cum enim omnes referenda gratie studio & labore, vel accuratissimas rationes exquisierimus, ne vnus quidem huius beneficij, quo nos augustissima maiestati tue obstrictos esse & deuinctos agnoscimus, magnitudinem assequi poterimus. Superabimur vel ab hoc vno & singulari merito, nedum sperandum est, ut immenso reliquorum meritorum pelago, quod tum in omnes tibi subditos publice & generatim, tum in hanc ciuitatem proprie ac particularim exundauit, pares esse queamus. Vere nos iam in gloriam incolimus, & in beatis illis insulis de quibus meminit Hesiodus πᾶσι δόξωσι βέλτερόν τινα ἀτάτην ἀγίμους, qui non modo frugibus, lana, pecore, alijsq; subsidijs humanae vitae sed multo magis vere religionis verbig, diuini, in quibus animi solum acquiescunt, pretiosissimis opibus abundamus. Sunt qui Britanniam alterum orbem appellarunt, quod hac aetate nostra dici rectissime posse arbitror. Cum enim omnes undique terrae grauissimis bellis affligantur, & discordiarum iactentur fluctibus, soli nos, celsitudine tua clauum moderante, in pacatissimo portu nauigamus, & ab orbe malorum disiecti, in caelum quodammodo felicitatis sublati videmur. Quod est ergo officij nostri, primum deo Op: Max. gratias agimus, cuius vnus bonitati omnem hanc, quantacumq; est, beatitudinem acceptam referimus, precamurq; ut eam nobis propriam & perpetuam esse velit: deinde celsitudini tuae serenissima regina, cuius opera, cura, sollicitudine, & partem hanc nobis felicitatem, & tot annos conseruatam agnoscimus. Letamur hoc aspectu tuo, & gratulamur incredibili studio, quod tum ex meo ipsius sensu loquor, tum omnes qui iam undiq; confluerunt Nordouicenses tui a me dici postulant. Atq; vti nam in hac pectora posses oculos inferere, & oculos animorum nostrorum sinus perlustrare, videtis profecto inclusam intus, quae tantis angustijs erumpere non potest, infinitam molem voluntatis. Fidem omnem, studium, obseruantiam, quae tanta principi debentur, ut haecenus promptissime detulimus, ita studiosissime semper deferemus: & si quando casus aliquis incidere (quod Deus omen auertat) sacrosanctae maiestatis tuae, aut istius florentissimi regni, vel salus in discrimen veniat, vel dignitas periclitetur, non solum bonorum omnium ac facultatum effusionem, sed laterum nostrorum oppositus & corporum pollicemur. Rogamus deinde & obsecramus excellentiam tuam, illustrissimam regina, ut & hoc nostrum quaecumq; officium a summa beneuolentia animoq; quam gratissimo profectum boni consulas, & de nobis Nordouicensibus sic existimes, ad lautiores te fortasse subditos venisse saepe, ad lautiores nunquam.

I would to God you could pearse these our breasts
with your eyes, and throughlie view the hidden and
couered creeks of our minds ! Then vndoubtedlie
should you behold an infinit heape of goodwill close-
lie shut vp within, which cannot breake out of so nar-
row straits. All the faith, studie, and obedience, which
are due to so great a prince, as hitherto we haue most
willinglie impleied, so will we alwaies most diligent-
lie performe the same : and if at anie time anie chance
shall happen (which fortune God turne from vs) that
the state of thy blessed maiestie, or of this flourishing
realme should come in danger, or the worthinesse
therof be in hazard, we do not onlie protect the effu-
sion of all our goods and substance, but also the put-
ting forth and brunt of our strengths and bodies
therein. Finallic, we desire and beseech thy excellen-
cie (most renowned queene) well to accept of this
our dutie, howsoever it be, proceeding from a singu-
lar good will, and a most thankfull mind, and so to
thinke of vs citizens of Norwich, that perhaps you
haue manie times come to people more wealthie, but
to more ioufull neuer.

Immediatlie after the beginning of the oration
hir maiestie called to hir the French ambassadoys,
wherof there were thre, and diuerse English lordes,
and willed them to harken, and the hirselfe was be-
rie attentue, euen untill the end thereof. And the
oration ended, after she had giuen great thanks
therefore to maister Lambert, she said to him ; It is
the best that euer I heard, you shall haue my hand :
and pulled off hir gloue, and gaue him hir hand to
kisse, which befoze kneeling on his knees, he arose and
kissed ; and then she departed to the court without a-
nie other shew that night, but that she sent backe to
know his name. The next night being thursdaie
there was an excellent princelie maske brought be-
foze hir after supper by maister Goldingham in the
prince chamber, it was of gods and goddesses both
strangelie and rightie apparelled. The first that en-
tered was Mercurie, then entered two torchbearers
in purple tassata mandillions laced with siluer lace,
as all other the torchbearers were ; then entered a
consort of musike, to wit, six musicians, all in long
vestures of white farsenet girded about them, and
garlands on their heads, playing verie cunninglie ;
then two torchbearers more ; then Jupiter and Ju-
no, then two torchbearers more ; then Mars and Ve-
nus, then two torchbearers more ; then Apollo and
Dallus, then two torchbearers more ; then Neptune
and Diana ; and lastly Cupid concluding the matter.

Thus when they had once marched about the
chamber, Mercurie discharged his message in these
wordes to the queene : The good meaning maior and
all his brethren, with the rest, haue not rested from
praising vnto the gods to prosper thy comming hi-
ther ; and the gods themselves moued by their vnfa-
uored prayers, are readie in person to bid thee most wil-
come ; and I Mercurie the god of merchants and
merchandize, and therefore a fauourer of the citizens,
being thought meetest am chosen fittest to signifie
the same. Gods there be also which cannot come, be-
ing tied by the time of the yeare, as Ceres in haruest,
Bacchus in wines, Pomona in orchards. Onelie
Iuppiter denieth his god will, either in presence or
in person : notwithstanding Diana hath so counter-
checked him therefore, as he shall hereafter be at your
commendement. For my part, as I am a refoiser
at your comming, so am I a furtherer of your wel-
come hither ; and for this time I bid you farewell.

Fear not oh queene, thou art beloued so,
As subiects true will trulie thee defend :
Fear not my power to ouerthrow thy wo,
I am the God that can euen misse amend.
Thou dost know great Iuppiter am I,
That gaue thee first thy happie conuencie.
I gaue thee still as euer thou hast had,
A peerlesse power vnto thy diene daie :
I gaue thee rule to overcome the bad,
And loue to loue thy louing subiects aie.

I give thee heere this small and slender toad,
To shew thou wast in quiet rule the land.

Is Iuno rich? No sure she is not so,
She wants that wealth that is not wanting heere,
Thy goods get friends, my wealth wins manie a foe,
My riches rust, but thine shine passing cleere.
Thou art beloued of subiects laire and nie,
Which is such wealth as none can not buye.
Farewell faire queene, I cannot giue thee ought,
Nor take auaire the good that is so bound :
Thou canst not giue that I so long haue sought,
For I hold the riches thou hast found.
Yet take this gift, though poore I seeme to be,
That thou thy selfe shalt neuer poorer be.

Then Iuno
spake, whole
gilt was a
pursie curious
she wrought.

There force dooth fiercelie seeke to foster wrong,
Where Mars dooth make him make a quicker reuolt,
Nor can indure that he should harbor long,
Where naughtie wights manure in goodlie soile.
This is the ble that aids the force of warre,
That Mars dooth mend, that force dooth seeke to marre.
And though oh queene thou best a prince of peace,
Yet shalt thou haue me fastlie sure at need :
The stormes of strife and blustering boiles to cease,
Which foren foes or faithlesse friends may breed.
To conquer, kill, to vanquish and subdue,
Such fained folke, as loues to liue vntrue.

Then after
they had mar-
ched againe
about, Mars
gaue his gift,
which was a
faire paire of
knives, and
said :

These knives were ingrauen vpon the knives :

To hurt your fo and helpe your friend,
These knives are made vnto that end :
Both blunt and sharpe you shall vs find,
As pleasest best your princelie mind.

In vaine (faire queene) from heauen my comming was,
To seeke to mend that is no waie amis :
For now I see thy fauour so dooth passe,
That none but thou, thou onelie see it is,
Whose beautie bids eue wight to loue on thee,
By view they may another Venus see.
Where beautie boasts, and fauour dooth not faile,
What may I giue to thee O worthy wight?
This is my gift, there shall no wo preuaile,
That seeks thy will against thy willes delight,
Nor where they will, but where it likes thy mind,
Accept that friend if loall thou him find.

Then spake
Venus whole
gilt was a
white dove.

The dove being cast off, can directlie to the queene,
and being taken vp and set vpon the table befoze hir
maiestie, sat so quietlie as if it had bene tied.
Then after they had marched againe about, Apollo
presented his gift, which was an instrument called
a bandonet, and did sing to the said instrument this
sourt and pithie dittie, as he was plaieng there vpon :

It seemeth strange to see such strangers heere,
Yet not so strange but strangers knowes you well :
Your vertuous thoughts to gods doo plaine appeere,
Your aies on earth betwixt how you excell :
You cannot die, loue here hath made your lease,
Which gods haue sent, and God saith shall not cease.
Vertuous desire desired me to sing,
As I be, sure, though liuers they were all,
Appolos gifts are subiect to no king,
Rare are the gifts that did Apollo call,
Then still reuolt, as God and man saie so,
This is my gift, thou neuer shalt haue wo.

The song of
Apollo to the
queene.

Soft was the wight, what wealthst thou haue of me?
Thou hast so much, thou canst not make no more :
I cannot giue that once I gaue to thee,
Nor take away the good I gaue before.
I robbed was by nature good content,
Against my will, and yet I was content.
I dallus thou, a princelie I will be :
A queene of loist, thou goodie which hast got :
I loom time was, thou onelie now art she :
I take, thou gauest that iucke that was my lot.
I giue not thee this booke to learne thee aught,
For that I know already thou art taught.

Dallus then
spaketh and
presenteth his
gift, which
was a booke
of wisdom.

What art thou (queene) that gods do loue thee for?
Who wooen their wills to bel o at thy will?
How can the world become thy cruell foe?
How can Dildaine or Malice seeke to kill?
Can sea or earth deuise to hurt thy hap?
With thou by gods doost sit in fortunes lap.
As heauen and earth haue vowed to be thine,
So Neptunes seas haue vowed to drench thy foes,
As I am god, and all the waters mine,
Still shalt thou get, but neuer shalt thou lose :
And sit on earth my wealth is nought at all,
Accept good will, the gift is verie small.

Then Neptu-
ne spake a
his gift was
a great artifi-
ciall fish, and
in the bellie
of it a pike,
which he
threw out be-
foze hir ma-
iestie.

Who euer found on earth a constant friend,
That may compare with this my virgin queene?
Who euer found a bodie and a mind
So free from staine, so perfect to be seene?
Oh heauentie hew, that aptest is to soile,
And yet doost liue from blot of anie soile.
Rare is thy gift, and giuen to few or none,
Whatst therefore of some that dare not say,
Where shines thy light, for that I know but one,
That anie such shew, to follow on their waie.
Thou thou art there, take thou the onelie praise,
For chasteest dame in these our happie daies.

Diana pre-
sented a bow
and arrowes
nooked and
headed with
siluer ; his
speech was
this.

Accept

The queene's
high commen-
dation of ma-
ster Lambert's
oration.

The descrip-
tion of an ex-
cellent and
princelie
maske.

Mercuries
message to the
queene.

When march-
ed they about
the chamber,
and came Ju-
piter spake to
the queene in
this sort, and
then gaue her
the good word
which was
the cause of
her happie
marriage.

Except my holme, fish best thou dost desire,
Though well I know by many can thee pierce.

Cupido his
speech, his
gift an arrow
of gold.

Ah ha, I see my mother out of sight,
Then let the boy now play the wag a while,
I seeme but weak, yet weak is not my might,
My bowely wit can oldst folke beguile.
Altho so dooth thinke, I speake this but in iest,
Let me but shoot, and I shall quench his rest,
Marke here my shafts: this all is made of wood,
Which is but soft, and breeds but soft good will,
Now this is gilt, yet seemes it gold full good,
And dooth deceive blind loving people still.
But here is one is seldom felt or seene:
This is of gold, meet for the noblest queene.
Therefore dame faire, take thou this gift of me,
Though some deserue, yet none deserue like you,
Shoot but this shaft at king or Cesar: he,
And he is thine, and if thou wilt allow,
It is a gift that manie here doe craue,
Yet none but thou this golden shaft may haue.

There was written vpon the shaft:

My colour, loe, my substance pure,
My vertue such as shall endure.

The queenes
behaviour af-
ter all this
welcoming.

Her maiestie receiued these gifts berie thankful-
lie, the gods and goddesses with the rest of the make
marched about the chamber againe, and then depar-
ted in like maner as they came in. Then the queene
called vnto hir master Robert Wood, the maior of
Norwich, whom first she heartlie thanked, and toke
by the hand, and vied secret conference: but what I
know not. And thus this delightfull night passed, to
the ioy of all that saw hir grace in so pleasant plight.

The deuill
is commanded
to be readie
with his
shewes to de-
light the
queene.

On thursdate in the morning, my lord chamber-
laine gaue the deuill warning the queene would
ride abroad in the after none, and he commanded
him to be readie, dutifullie to present hir with some
shew. Then knowing which waie the queene would
ride (by coniecture and instructions giuen) the deu-
ill caused a place to be made and digged for the
nymphes of the water, the maner and proportion
whereof was in this forme and fashion. First there
was measure taken for thre score foot of ground eue-
rie waie, the hole to be made depe and foure square,
which ground was all couered with canuas painted
greene like the grasse, and at euerie side on the can-
uas ran a string through cartaine rings, which string
might easilie be drawne anie kind of waie, by reason
of two great poles that lay along in the ground,
and answered the cartaine or canuas on each side, so
that drawing a small cord in the middle of the can-
uas, the earth would seme to open, & so that againe
as the other end of the cord was drawne backward.
And in the same caue was a noble noise of musike
of all kind of instruments, seuerallie to be sounded
and plaied vpon, and at one time they should be sou-
ded all together, that might serue for a consort of ho-
ken musike. And in the same caue also was placed
twelue water nymphes, disguised or dyessed most
strangelie, each of them had either vpon white silke, or
fine linnen, greene sedges stitched cunninglie on a
long garment, so well wrought and also set on, as
scarle anie whit might be perceiued. And euerie
nymph had in hir hand a great bundle of bulrushes,
and had on hir head a garland of iute, vnder the which
iute was a colfe of mosse, and vnder the mosse was
there long goodlie heare like golden tresses that coue-
red hir shoulders, and in a maner raught downe vn-
to hir middle.

Now touching the beaultie of the nymphes, they se-
med to be the chosen children of the world, and be-
came their attire so well, that their beaultie might
haue abused a right good iudgement. For diuerse of
those that knew them before (albeit they were bare
faced) could scarce know them in their garments,
and sundrie toke them to be yong girles and wen-
ches, prepared for the nonce, to procure a laughter.
These nymphs thus appareled, and all things in good
plight and readinesse, there was deuised, that at the
queenes comming nere the water side (as this caue
stood at the brym of the river) one nymph should pop

what was de-
vised to be
done by the
nymphs at the

up out of the caue first, and salute the queene with a
speech, and then another: and so till foure of them
had finished their speeches, there they should re-
maine; and when they retired into their caue, the mu-
sike should begin: which sure had bene a noble hea-
ring, and the more melodious for the varietie there-
of, and because it should come secretly and strange-
lie out of the earth. And when the musike was done,
then should all the twelue nymphs haue issued togi-
ther, & danced a danse with timbrels that were trim-
med with belles, and other tangling things, which
timbrels were as bryde as a sine, hauing bottoms
of fine parchment, and being sounded, made such a
confused noise and pastime, that it was to be won-
dered at: besides the strangenesse of the timbrels
(yet knowne to our forefathers) was a matter of ad-
miration vnto such as were ignorant of that new
found toy, gathered and borrowed from our elders.
So in order and readinesse stood that shew for the
time.

And to keepe that shew companie (but yet farre
off) stood the shew of Spanhob and Desert, as first to
be presented, and that shew was as well furnished
as the other; men all, saue one boy called Beantie;
for the which, Spanhob, Faunor, and Desert, did
strive (or should haue contended) but good fortune
(as victor of all conquests) was to come in, and ouer-
throw Spanhob, Faunor, Desert, & all their powers,
and onelie by fine force (vpon a watchword spoken)
should laie hand on Beantie, and carrie or lead hir a-
way. The other futores troubled with this kind of dea-
ling, should talke together, and sweare to be in one
mind for an open reuenge: and vpon that fortune
should crie Arme, arme. The other side called for their
friends, at the which strife should appeare both their
strengthes: but good fortune should farre in power
exceed his enemies. And yet to shew that Desline
(and who best can conquer) shall gouerne all, for-
tune should make an offer, that six to six with sword
and target should end the byall and businesse. Then six
gentlemen on either side with rebated swords and
targets (onelie in dublet and hose, and murrion on
head) appoched and would claime the combat, and
deale together twelue blowes apiece, and in the end
fortune should be victor: and then the shot and ar-
med men should fall at variance so tharpelie (vpon
mistaking of the matter) that fortunes side should
triumph and march ouer the belies of their enemies:
in which time were legs and armes of men (well and
liuelie wrought) to be let fall in numbers on the
ground, as bloudie as might be. Fortune, regarding
nothing but victorie, marcheth so awaie in great tri-
umph: and then should haue come into the place a
song for the death of Spanhob, Faunor, and Desert,
and so the shew should haue ended.

But now note that befell after this great busi-
nesse and preparation. For as the queenes highnesse
was appointed to come vnto hir coth, and the lords
and courtiers were readie to mount on horsebacke,
there fell such a shewre of raine (in the necke there-
of came such a terrible thunder) that euerie one of
vs were driuen to seke for couert and most comfort,
insomuch that some of vs in boate stood vnder a bridge
and were all so dished & washed, that it was a grea-
ter pastime to see vs loke like drowned rats, than to
haue beheld the vttermost of the shewes rehearsed.
Thus you see, a shew in the open field is alwaies sub-
iect to the sudden change of weather, and a number
of more inconueniences. But what should be said of
that which the citie lost by this cause; beluets, silkes,
fincles, and some cloth of gold being cut out for these
purposes, that could not serue to anie great effect af-
ter: Well, there was no more to saie, but an old ad-
age, that Span doth purpose, but God doth dispose,
to

queens com-
ming nere the
water side.

The shew of
Spanhob and
Desert with
the furniture
declared.

A bloudie fight
and yet harme-
lesse done
by art.

All the prepa-
ration disap-
pointed by
thunder and
raime.

The citie
lost by occa-
sion of this
tempest.

to whose disposition and pleasure the guide of greater matters is committed. So this Thursday took his leave from the actors, and left them looking one upon another, & he that thought he had received most minnie, kept greatest silence, and lapping up (among a bundle of other misfortunes) his cruel chance, euerie person quietly passed to his lodging.

The next daie being fridaie, in which daie the court removed, the streets towards Saint Benets gates were hanged, from the one side to the other, with cozies made of hearbs and flowers, with garlands, coronets, pictures, rich cloths, and a thousand demises. At the gates themselves there was a stage made verie richlie apparellled with cloth of gold and crimson velvet, whereupon in a close place made thereon for the purpose, was placed verie sweet musike: & one ready to render him this speech following. The dolefull houre of his departure came, he passed from the court, to those gates, with sad countenances, both of his maiesties part, and his subjects now dolorous, now cheerfull, as plainlie showed the loving hearts of both sides. When he came there the speech was thus offered unto him in verie plausible sort:

Terrellfull ioyes are the with slender fire,
Each happy hap full hastie doth fire,
As summer season lasteth but a while.
So winter boymes doe longer time abide:
What what blisse can aunc time endure?
Our sunshine daie is but a wither flower.
Could young excheit our severer ioyes of hart,
(Oh my gentle prince) when thou shalt come in place?
For no God nor man can excheit the smart:
Thy subjects feele in this departing care.
But gracious queene, let here thy grace remaine
For gracious wife, till thy returne againe.
In lieu whereof, receive thy subjects harts,
In fied faith continually thine owne:
Altho ready rest to loose their vitall parts
In thy defense, when aunc blast is blowne.
Thou art our queene, our rocke and our life,
We are thine owne to serve by night and daie.
Farewell oh queene, farewell oh mother deare,
Let Jacobs God thy sacred bodie keepe:
All is thine owne that is possessed here,
And all in all is but a small reward
For thy great grace, God length thy life like Day,
To govern us, and rule thy realm in ioy. Amen.

These words were deuised by B. Goldingham, and spoken by himselfe, to whom his maiestie said: Well thank you hartlie. Then with the musike in the same place was song this short dittie following, in a verie sweet voice, to the great delight of the hearers:

What baileth life, where sorrow takes the hart:
What seareth death that is in deepe distress?
Release of life doth best abate the smart:
Of him, whose ioyes are quite without redress.
Lend me your teares, resigne your sighes to me,
Helpe all to waite the dole, which you see.
What haue we done, he will no longer staie:
What may we doe, he will no longer staie:
Shere is our queene, our subjects must obey,
Euen though with weete, to his departing will.
Conclude we then, and sing with sobbing breath,
God length thy life, oh queene Elisabeth.)

On fridaie, the court upon removal, the citie troubled with many causes, and some seeking to do somewhat like the deuiser, moued him to do somewhat of himselfe, because his aids as many times they were before were drawn from him, each one about his owne business, and he left to his owne inuentions and policie, at which exigent or casual things of fortune, he drew his bowes unto him, that were the symphons in the water, and so departed the citie, with such garments and stuffe necessarie as fitted his purpose and the matter he went about. Then he chose a ground, by the which the queene must passe, inclosing his companie in the corner of a field, being defended with high and thick bushes, and there some parts he made, which the bowes might make, because the time was short for the learning of those parts. But he being resolved to do somewhat at night make the queene laugh, appointed that seauen bowes of twelve should passe through a hedge from the place of abode, which was gallantlie trimmed, and beluied seauen speeches. And these bowes (you must under-

stand) were dressed like symphons of the water, and were to play by a deauil and degrass the seiries, and to dance as nere as could be imagined like the seiries. Their attire and coming so strangelic out, made the queenes highnesse smile and laugh withall. And the deuiser hearing this good hope, being appalled like a water spout, began to sound a timbrell, & the rest with him, all the twelue symphons together when the seauen had appeared in) sounded timbrells likewise. And although the deuiser had no great harting, yet as he durst, he led the young solitly seiries a dance, which boldnesse of his hee no disgrace, but as he heard, was well taken. The queene upon their reuerce in, hastied to his highnesse lodging, which was seuen miles off, and at that present, when the show ended, it was past five of the clocke.

All these shewes finished, his maiestie in princelie manner marched toward the confines of the liberties of the citie of Dorchester, which was supposed almost two miles. Before she came there, maiestie maie: brake to my lord chamberlaine, that he was to bitter to his maiestie an other occasion, whereof my lord seemed to haue good liking: but before they came to the said confines, maiestie maie: was willed to forebeare the betterance of the same his occasion, because it was about seauen of the clocke, and his maiestie had then five miles to ride. Nevertheless he gave to his maiestie both his occasions in writing, which she thanked him for. She also thanked the maior, corrie alderman, and the commons, not onlie for the great chere they had made him, but also for the open households they kept to his highnesse seruants, and all others. Then she called maiestie maie: and made him knight: and so departing, said: I haue laid up in my breast such good will, as I shall neuer forget Dorchester, and proceeding onward did shake his riding rod and said: Farewell Dorchester, with the water standing in his eyes. In which great good will towards vs all, I beseech God to continue his maiestie with long and triumphant reigne ouer vs, Amen.

Now to come to the returne of the queenes maiestie from Dorsethe and Suffolke, in which two counties his highnesse knighted certaine gentlemen, as namely in Suffolke George Colt, Philip Barker, Robert Jermine, William Spring, Thomas Barnardiston, Thomas Kidson, Arthur Goldingham: In Dorsethe, Thomas Lancourt, Nicholas Bacon, William Pastons, Edward Clere, Ralph Shelton, Henrie Woodhouse, Thomas Gaudie, Robert Wood maie, Roger Woodhouse. These gentlemen his maiestie knighted, for that they should all their life time after haue the greater regard to God and their prince. Now the queenes maiestie passing from Dorchester, she came to sir Roger Woodhouse that night, where she was well received, and noble entertained. From thence to Wood rising at sir Edward Cleres. From thence to sir Thomas Kidsons, where in verie deed the fare and bankets did exceed a number of other places, that it is too short the mention. A show representing the seiries as well as might be was there scene, in the which shew a rich reuel was presented to the queenes highnesse. From thence to master Henries, where all things were well and in verie good order, and meat liberallic spent.

But now to speake a little by the waie of Gods mightie hand and power, that framed mens hearts so well in many parts, before the queenes highnesse came to Cambridgehire, and to tell how blessedlie of great and good God did deale with our beere sonne, in causing euerie person to shew their dutie, is a matter of great discourse, and of no little weight and comfort to all good minds that shall consider of the same. Such a Lord is our great God,

The deuiser
hanging well
taken of the
queene, &c.

Maie: maie:
purposing
to bitter an-
other occasion,
is willed to
forebeare it,
and so he, &c.

The maior of
Dorchester
knighted.

The queenes
words at her
departing.

Gentlemen
of Suffolke
& Dorsethe
knighted.

The queenes
maie: de-
parting from
Dorchester
and is now inter-
ruined by the
waie.

The butler-
fire of Cam-
bridge present
a faire and
statelie cup to
the queene.

T.C.

The lord of
Leicesters
bountifull in-
tertainment.

Ad solem nubi-
bus obductum
die lune 18.
Augusti, 1578.

Eiusdem in
causam.

that can frame all things to the best, and such a so-
ueraigne ladie we haue, that can make the crooked
paths straight where she cometh, & draw the hartis
of the people after hir whersoever she traueleth. So
from master Reucts hir highnesse came to my lord
Dorset, who was no whit behind anie of the best for
a franke house, a noble heart, and well ordered inter-
tainment. And there was an oration made by a
gentleman of Cambridge, with a statelie and a faire
cup presented from the vniuersitie, all the ambassa-
dors of France beholding the same. And the gentle-
men of the shire (as in manie other places) did beare
the queenes meate to the table, which was a great li-
king & gladnesse to the gentlemen, & a solemne sight
for strangers & subiects to looke vpon. From my lord
Dorset to sir Giles Allingtons, where things were
well, and well liked. From thence to sir John Cuts.
From thence to Mr. Rapels, where was excellent
good chere & intertainment. From thence to Hyde
hall, where I heard of no great chere nor banquet-
ting. From thence to Rockwood hall, but how the
traue was there interteined, I am ignorant of.
From thence to master Stonars, and from thence
to my lord of Leicesters house, where the progresse
ended, & (to knit vp all) the good chere was reuiued,
not onelie with making a great feast to the queene
and the French ambassadoz, but also in feasting so-
lemnelie (at severall times) the whole garr, on sun-
daie and mondaie before the queene came, at his
owne table, vntill such courtelie vnto them for the
space of two daies, as was and is worthe of perpe-
tuall memorie. Thus much of the queenes highnesse
returne, whom God hath so well preserved, that she
like a worthe prince to our great comfort prosper-
eth in peace, to the great disgrace of the enimies of
God, and aduersaries of our common weale and
countrie, wherein God continue hir maiestie. Amen.

The queenes maiestie, now gone from Dorset,
carried awaie with hir all the gladnesse of the citie,
which sprang from hir presence; in place whereof suc-
ceeded melancholie sadness: in somuch that the verie
aier altered with the change of the countrie chere
proceeding from the departure of hir highnesse ro-
all person: which he meant that made these verses,
wherewith the description of this progresse shall end.

Splendide Phoebe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallus adest, splendide Phoebe redi.
Hasta minax procul est, non Gorgonis ora videbis,
Pallus inermis adest, splendide Phoebe redi.
Sic licet à tanto metuis tibi lumine forsan:
Ne superet radios femina Phoebe tuos.
Pulcher Apollo tibi ne sit regina rubori:
Ipse decore tuo vincis, & illa suo.
Euge redux reducem quis a pulsa nocte reducis
Phoebe diem: toto est gratius orbe nihil.
Hac pepulit tetri tenebras noctemque papismi,
Et liquidum retulit relligionem diem.
Euge ni gras nebulas radijs quas sepe repellis
Phoebe tuus: pene est gratius orbe nihil.
Texuerant remoras discrimina mille papista:
Ne ceptum princeps continuaret iter:
Nec tamen hunc nebula potuerunt cedere solem:
Quamuis tu nebula cedis, & polo tuus.
Ergo imbar nostrum repulisse obstaculo cernis:
Sic age, sol nebulas lumine pelle tuo.
Splendide Phoebe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallus adest, splendide Phoebe redi.

Sustinet, ornat, habet, regnum, literaria formam,
Provida, docta, decens, Iuno, Minerva, Penus.
Singula donatium simul Elizabetha dearum
Provida, docta, decens, sustinet, ornat, habet.
Esse deas lusi: diuinam dicimus istam:
Quamuis nec licet nec libet esse deam.

In shadowing clouds why art thou clost? D Phoebe bright retire:
Unpoued Pallas present is: D Phoebe bright retire:
The threatening spere is long far off doubt not of it: D Phoebe bright retire:
Charmed Pallas present is: D Phoebe bright retire:
Perhaps thou art afraid: And why: at this so large a light:
Least that a woman should exceed, the beams (D Phoebe) bright:
Let not a queene, a virginie pure, which is, and ever was:
D faire Apollo, make thee bludy: you both in beautes selfe:
D Phoebe safe and sound returne, which, benishing the night,
Bringst backe the daie: In all the world nothing of like delight:
She, onelie she, the darknesse dyane of poperie quite awaie:
And by religion hath restored the bright and lightsome daie:
D Phoebe with thy beams, which soist the clouds both blind &
The world, in maner all, a thing of like delight doth lacke: (Blaske,
A thousand dangers and delays the papists had deuise,
To chend our princesse should abridge hir progresse enterpryse:
Yet this our bright & shining sun, cast light through euery cloud:
Although in clouds thou art content, Apollo oft to shroud:
Thou seest our sunne in comelie court, cuts off ech stop and staie:
Do thou the like, and by thy light diue euery cloud awaie:
In shadowing clouds why art thou clost? D Phoebe bright retire:
Unpoued Pallas present is: D Phoebe bright retire:

Hir kingdom all by providence, queene Iuno doch uphold:
And of Minerva ladie learn, is learned lore extol:
And Venus faire of countenance, hath beautes uncontroll:
These lymde gifts of goddesses three, Elisabeth possideth:
By providence hir peoples peace, and comfort she increaseth:
Hir learning, learning amplifies: hir beautes neuer ceaseth.
I did but least, of goddesses to give them thy the name:
This ladie maist thou goddess call, for she deserves the same:
Although she will not undertake, a title of such fame.

At the w Hamont, by his trade a ploughwiffe of
Bertharset thre miles from Dorset, was conuer-
ted before the bishop of Dorset, for that he denied
Christ our saviour. At the time of his appearance it
was objected that he had published these heresies
following. That the new testament and gospel of
Christ are but mere foolishnesse, a storie of man, or
rather a mere fable. Item, that man is restored to
grace by Gods mere mercie, without the meane
of Christs blood, death and passion. Item, that Christ
is not God nor the saviour of the world, but a mere
man, a sunfull man, and an abhominable doll. Item,
that all they that worship him are abhominable ido-
laters, & that Christ did not rise againe from death
to life by the power of his godhead, neither that he
ascended into heauen. Item, that the holie ghost is
not God, neither that there is anie such holie ghost.
Item, that baptisme is not necessarie in the church
of God, neither the ble of the sacrament of the bo-
die and blood of Christ. For the which heresies he
was condemned in the consistorie, and sentence was
pronounced against him by the bishop of Dorset
on the thirteenth daie of Aprill, and therupon deliue-
red to the sherriffes of Dorset. And because he spake
wordes of blasphemie (not to be recited) against the
queenes maiestie and others of hir counsell, he was
by the recorder, master sergeant Windham, and
the mayo: sir Robert Wood of Dorset condemned
to lose both his eares, which were cut off on the thir-
teenth of Maie in the market place of Dorset, and
afterwards, to wit on the twentieth of Maie, he was
burned in the castell ditch of Dorset.

This yeare in the moneth of Maie, Parke Scarre In Englishe
liot blacke smith citizen of London, borne in the pa-
rish of saint Clements Dane without Temple bar,
and now dwelling in Coznehill nere unto Leaden
hall, for trfall of workmanship, made one hanging
60 locke of iron, steels and brasse, of eleven severall pe-
ces, a pipe keie filed thre square with a pot vpon the
shaft, & the bow with two eses, all cleane wrought,
which weighed but one graine of gold or wheat corne.
He also at the same time made a chaine of gold of
thre and fortie linkes, to the which chaine the locke
and keie being fastened, and put about a fleas necke,
he drew the same with ease. All which, locke, keie,
chaine, and flea, weighed but one graine and a halfe.
A thing almost incredible, but that my selfe (amongst
manie others) haue seene it, & therfore must asseure
it to be true.

The first of June deceased Robert Horne doctor of
diuinitie, bishop of Winchester, and prelat of the Winchester
garter, at Winchester place in Southwiche, and deceased.
was

To the same
countess with
clouds
montane
August 1579

By the same
concerning
the queene.

Mathew
mont burnat
Dorset.

The heresies
that he held.

In Englishe
man made a
locke and a
keie, weighing
but one halfe
corne.

was buried at Winchester. ¶ This man was learned and eloquent, of a round and readie utterance, found in religion and zelous in the truth, in testimonie whereof he chose rather to forsake his native soile, and to liue a stranger in a forren land, than with offense of conscience to tarry at home within the sight and hearing of the manifold abominations which supported poperie: so that although death haue denouced his mortall bodie, yet in respect of his vertue and godlinesse, his name shall be immortal; according to the truth of this sentence:

*Corporis depositio vincit virtute superflua,
De virtute nihil mors violenta rapit.*

John Wolston
b. p. of Ex-
eter.

John Wolston now liuing, was called to be bishop of Excester, & consecrated at Lambith by Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie, in August 1579. He is a professor of diuinitie, and a preacher of the gospell, and vniuersallie scene in all god letters. This William Wolston, being in successiue order the eight and fortieth that occupied the said see, from the first that inioiced the same episcopall advancement, printeth with occasion to insert a catalog of all the bishops of Excester as they followed one after another in that see, being an apt collection, and verie answerable to the description of Excester, and the ancient foundation of saint Peters church there; mentioned in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, page 1007, and continued to page 1028.

A catalog of the bishops of Excester collected by Iohn Vowell alias Hooker, gentleman.

Wulfstanus.

1 Wulfstanus, at a prouinciall synod holden in Excester, in the yeare 905, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, and had his see at bishops Taunton: and in the yeare following 906 he died, and was buried in his owne church.

Putta.

2 Putta, after the death of Wulfstanus, was elected and consecrated bishop, and had his see at Taunton: and taking his tourneie towards Crediton, to see and visit the king (as some saie, As for the kings lieutenant) was by the said Alfis men slaine, and then upon his death the see was removed to Crediton.

Caadulphus.

3 Caadulphus, brother to Alpius duke of Deuon and Cornewall, and founder of Lanceson, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, but installed at Crediton, where he had his see, and continued bishop two and twentie yeares, and then dieng about the yeare 932, he was buried in his owne church.

Chelgarus.

4 Chelgarus, in the yeare 932, succeeded Caadulphus, and in his time king Athelstane subdued the Cornish people, reedified this citie, and compassed the same with a stone wall: he founded the monasterie of saint Peters for monks of saint Benets order. This Chelgarus, after he had bene bishop ten yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Algarus.

5 Algarus, in the yeare 942 after Chelgarus, was constituted & installed bishop at Crediton, and hauing bene bishop about ten yeares, died and was buried in his owne church.

Alfwoldus.

6 Alfwoldus, as Matthew Westminster writeth, was next bishop after Algarus, and consecrated by the aduise of Dunstane, in the yeare 952. In this time Dogarus earle of Deuon, and father in law to king Edgar, builded the abbey of Tauesstoke: and king Edgar called home all the monkes of saint Peters which were dispersed, and without a nie abbat, and made Sidemannus abbat, who was afterwards bishop. This Alfwoldus after sixtene

yeares that he was consecrated, died and was buried in his owne church.

7 Alfwolfus, as Dicetus affirmeth, was consecrated bishop in the yeare of our Lord 969, and Alfwolfus, after nine yeares died, and was buried in his owne church.

8 Sidemannus of an abbat was made a bishop, in the yeare 978. In this mans time the Danes ouerran and spoiled the whole countries of Deuon and Cornewall, burned the towne of Bodmen, and the cathedrall church of saint Petrokes, with the bishops house. Whereupon the bishops see was removed from thence to saint Germans, where the same continued, untill the removing and uniting thereof into Crediton. Sidemannus in the twelue yeare after his consecration died, and was buried at Crediton in his owne church 990.

9 Alpheodus, whome Dicetus calleth Alfricus, abbat of Palmesburie, was consecrated bishop, and installed at Crediton: he was taken for a learned man, because he wrote two booke, the one intituled *De rebus canonicis*, and the other *De rebus naturalibus*. In this bishops time, king Ethelred endowd the bishopricke of saint Germans with lands, liberties, and priuileges. The Danes made a fresh invasion in and vpon all Deuon and Cornewall, burned and spoiled the abbey of Moolphus at Tauesstoke: they besieged Excester, and being removed from thence, were fought withall at Pinneho, about thre miles from the citie, and ouerthrowne. Alpheodus, after he had bene bishop about nine yeares, died in the yeare 999, and was buried in his owne church.

10 Alfwolfus (as Dicetus writeth) was the next bishop. In his time Sweno king of Denmarke, by inticement of one Hugh then earle of Deuon, came with a great host and besieged the citie of Excester, took it and burned it, and with great crueltie vied the people, untill in the end Almarus then earle of Deuon, and the gentlemen did yield and submit themselves, and so obtained peace. This Alfwolfus about the fiftieth yeare of his bishopricke, in the yeare 1014 died, and was buried in his owne church.

11 Arnoldus, by the report of the archdeacon of London, succeeded Alfwolfus, and was installed at Crediton. In this mans time, king Canutus gaue to Athelwold abbat of S. Peters of this citie great gifts, and sundrie priuileges, in recompense of his fathers great injuries. Arnoldus in the fiftieth yeare of his bishopricke 1030 died, and was buried in his owne church.

12 Leuigus or Leuignus abbat of Tauesstoke, and nephew to Bithwaldus bishop of Cornewall, was chosen the next bishop, and according to the orders then vied, consecrated and installed. He was in great fauour and credit with king Canutus, vpon whome he attended in pilgrimage to Rome; and after his vncke the bishop of saint Germans being dead, obtained of the king that the bishops see was removed from saint Germans into Crediton, and both were thereby reduced and united into one bishopricke, and so hath euer since continued. He was after the death of Bithregus bishop of Worcester, removed to that church, and there died, and was buried as some suppose: but some affirme, that in the time of Hardicanutus the king, at the accusation of Alfreodus then archbishop of Poike, for that he should be consenting to the death of Alfreodus the sonne of Ethelred, that he should be deposed of his bishopricke there, and so did retorne into Tauesstoke, where he died. But Dicetus affirmeth, that he purged himselfe of this crime, and by that meanes was restored, both to the fauour of the king, and to his bishopricke.

Sidemannus.

Alpheodus.

Arnoldus.

Leuigus, or Leuignus.

shoppe againe, and died bishop of Worcester. It is recorded that he was bishop of Crediton sixteene yeares.

Leofricus.

13 Leofricus, a man descended of the blood and line of Brutus, but brought up in the land of Lotharingia of Lozeine, was so well commended for his nobilitie, wisdome, and learning, that king Edward the Confessor had him in great fauour, and made him first one of his priue counsell; then lord chancellor of all England: and lastlie the bishoppe of this prouince being void, he was made, consecrated, and installed bishop of the same. By him and by his meanes, the bishops see was remoued from Crediton vnto this citie of Excester: for at his request, king Edward together with queene Edith his wife came to Excester, & remouing the monkes from hense to Westminster, did also remoue the bishops see from Crediton vnto his citie, and did put the bishop in possession. For he conducting the bishop on the right hand, and the queene on the left hand, brought him to the high altar of his new church, and there placed him in a seat appointed for him. He suppressed sundrie houses of cels of religion within his sanctuarie, and appropriated and vniited them to his owne church; as also by the good liberalitie of the king obtained great reuenues, possessions, priuileges, and liberties to be giuen vnto the church. In this mans time, William duke of Normandie made a conquest of this whole realme, as also in the yeare 1068 besieged this citie of Excester, which after by composition he restored to his former estate againe. Also in his time, Richard de Brion, a noble man of Normandie, the sonne of Baldwin of Brion, & of Alured the nece to the Conqueror, was made baron of Dkehampton, warden of the castell of Excester, and vicount of Denon. This Leofricus, after that he had well and worthilie ruled his church and diocese by the space of thre and twentie yeares, he ended his daies in peace, and died in the yeare 1073, and was buried in the cemeterie or churchyard of his owne church, vnder a simple and a broken marble stone, which place by the since enlarging of his church is now within the tower of the same, where of late, in the yeare 1568, a new monument was erected in the memorie of so good, worthie, and noble a personage, by the industrie of the witer hereof, but at the charges of the deane and chapter.

Osbertus or Osbernus.

14 Osbertus or Osbernus, a Normann boine, and brother to an earle named William, was preferred to this bishoppe, and in the yeare 1074 was consecrated and installed to the same. Polydorus writeth, that one Galfred who iouined with Ddo, earle of Kent and bishop of Baton, against William Rufus, should be bishop of Cron: but it was not, nor could not so be. In this mans time, William the Conqueror, and William Rufus his sonne died. This Osbertus or Osbernus, after he had bene bishop thirtie yeares, was blind, and died, and lieth buried in his owne church.

William Warlewast.

15 William Warlewast a Normann boine, and chapleine both to the Conqueror and his two sons, William and Henrie: he was a graue and a wise man, and for the same was preferred by Henrie the king to this bishoppe, in the yere one thousand one hundred and seuen, and was consecrated by Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, in the moneth of August the same yeare. He first began to enlarge his church, which at that time was no bigger than that which is now called the ladie chappell. He founded and builded the monasterie of Plumpton, and placed therein regular canons: in his latter daies he waxed and became blind. And yet notwithstanding for his wisdome the king sent him in ambassage

vnto pope Balchalis the second, wherein he so wisely dealed, and so discretly behaued himselfe in his message, that he made a reconciliation betwene the pope and the king, and returned with great praise and commendation. Not long after his returne, and hauing small iote of the world, he gaue ouer his bishoppe, and became one of the religious canons in his owne house of Plumpton, where he died and was buried, he was bishop about twentie yeares.

16 Robert Chichester, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop vnder Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, Anno 1128, and the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first. He was a gentleman boine, and therefore esteemed for his zeale in religion, wherein he was deuout according to those daies; and thinking his labours to be best imployed that waie, did efforts go in pilgrimage, sometime to Rome, sometime to one place, sometime to another; and euer he would bring with him some one relike or other. He was a liberall contributor to the buildings of his church. In his time was founded and builded the monasterie of S. Stephens in Auncellon, and furthered by Reinold erle of Cornewall; but vnto it this bishop was an auerlarie, not for mistaking the worke, but for feare of an intrusion vpon his liberties. Likewise at this time was builded the priore of saint Nicholas in Excester; by the abbat of Batell, vnto which abbacie this priore was a cell. In this mans time also king Henrie made William Rideners a Normann (and his kinsman) earle of Denon; and therewith the lordship of Twisfordron, and the honoz of Plumpton, together with the thirde pennie of his reuenues in Denon, which in the whole was then thirtie marks, whereof this earle had ten. Also in this mans time king Henrie died, and king Stephan entred, and toke vpon him the crowne, whereof ensued great warres. This bishop, after that he had occupied the place two and twentie yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church. But the monke of Westminster writeth that he should be bishop seuen and twentie yeares, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred fiftie and five, but he neuer saw the records of this church which are to the contrarie.

17 Robert Warlewast, nephew to William the bishop of this church, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop by Theobaldus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred and fiftie, he nothing degenerated from the steps of his predecessors, but was altogether of the same bent and disposition. In his time king Stephan died, and Henrie the second was crowned king. This Robert after that he had occupied this see nine yers or thereabout, died, & was buried at Plumpton by his uncle.

18 Bartholomew Iscanus, otherwise Bartholomew of Excester, was consecrated bishop of Excester vnder Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare a thousand one hundred fiftie nine, he was called Iscanus of Ilica, which is one of the ancient names of this citie. He was a meane citizens son, but being verie apt vnto learning, his parents and friends kept him to schule; and he so well profited therein, that he came and proued to be a verie well learned man: and being bishop he wrote sundrie booke, as of predestination, freewill, penance, and others. Of all men he could not brooke nor fauor Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie for his contempt and disobedience against the king, for the which he sharplie improued, rebuked, and inuighed against him openlie in the parlement house holden at Portsmouth; and with such effectfull reasons, and pitie arguments, he did so temper the same, that the whole parlement relied vnto his iudgement and opinion herein against Thomas Becket. And after

Robert Warlewast.

Bartholomew Iscanus.

after his death, such was the grauntie, modestie, and wisdom of the man, that he was speciallie chosen to be ambassador for the king vnto pope Alexander the third; and so wiselie, and with such discretion bled the same, that notwithstanding his cause and message had manie aduersaries, yet he reconciled the pope and the king, obtained the goodwill and fauour of the pope, and brought his message to good effect. This bishop was in great familiaritie and acquaintance with Baldwin of Excester his countreiman, now archbishop of Canturburie, who was a poore mans sonne in this citie; but for his learning advanced to this estate. In this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thre score and eight, William Fitzralfe a citizen of this citie founded a cell for monks within this citie, and dedicated the same to saint Alerius, which not long after was vnted to saint Johns within the east gate of the same citie. In his time also Reinold of Courtmeie a nobleman of Normandie, the son of Clovus the son of Lewes, named Lewes le Grosse king of France came into this land, and married Hawise daughter and heire to Hubod the daughter and heire to Adelis, sister and heire to Richard de Blonno the first bicount of Deuon, and in his right was bicount of Deuon. This Bartholomew, after he had bene bishop about fouretene yeares, in the yere one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, died: but where he died, and where he was buried it doth not appeare. In this bishops time about the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuentie, one Iohannes Corintensis a Cornish man borne, was a famous learned diuine, he was a student at Rome and other places in Italie, and by that meanes grew into great acquaintance with pope Alexander the third: he wrote diuerse booke, and namelie one *De incarnatione Christi*, against Peter Lombard, who affirmed, *Quod Christus secundum quod homo est, aliquid non est*; and this he dedicated to pope Alexander.

John the chanter.

19 John the chanter of the cathedrall church of this citie was consecrated and installed bishop of this church, in the yeare one thousand one hundred eighty and foure, he was well reported of for his liberalitie in continuing the building of this church, wherein he was nothing inferior to his predecessors. In his time king Henrie Fitzempressie died, and he himselfe, hauing bene bishop about six yeares, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred ninetie and one.

Henrie Warhall.

20 Henrie Warhall archdeacon of Stafford, the brother to Walter earle marshall of England, was consecrated bishop by Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred ninetie and one; he finished the building of his church, according to the plot and foundation which his predecessors had laid; and that done, he purchased the patronage and lordship of Woodburie of one Albemarle, which he gaue and impropriated vnto the vicars chorall of his church. In this mans time, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and one, one Simon Burnasius a Cornish man borne, brought by in learning, did by diligence and studie so prosper therein, that he became excellent in all the liberall sciences, and in his daies none thought to be like him. He left Orenford, where he had bene a student, and went to Paris, and there became a priest, and studied diuinitie, and therein became so excellent, and of so deepe a iudgement, that he was made chiefe of the Sorbonists; at length he became so proud of his learning, and did glorie so much therein, that he would be singular, & thought himselfe to be another Aristotle: and so much he was therein blinded, and ward so farre in loue with Aristotle, that he preferred him before Moses and Christ. But behold Gods

lust iudgement. For suddentlie his memorie failed him, and he ward so forgetfull, that he could neither call to remembrance any thing that he had done, neither could he discern, read, or know a letter of the booke. This Henrie, after that he had spent and liued twelue yeares in his bishopricke, he died, and lieth buried in the north side of the chancel of his church, in a berie faire tombe of marble, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six.

21 Simon de Apulia, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six was installed bishop of this see, of him there remaineth no memorie at all. In his time were famous Ioseph Escanus, and Alexander Beckham; the one was verie well learned in the Latine and Greeke tongue, and in the liberall sciences; the other was prior of saint Nicholas, and was an vniuersall man, being a profound philosopher, an eloquent orator, a pleasant poet, and a deepe diuine. In this bishops time the doctrine of euagation, adozation, reseruation, and praieng for the dead, being established by pope Bononius the third, the parish churches within this citie were limited, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie & two. In this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and twelue, one Iohannes Deuonius, so surnamed, because he was borne in Deuon, being well bent to good studies, was much commended for his learning and modestie. He was familiar and of great acquaintance with Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and being made abbat of Ford, was in such fauor with king John, that he chose him to be his confessor and chapleine: he was a writer, and compiled diuerse booke which were then accounted of. Being dead, he was buried in his abbey, the people much lamenting the want of so good a man. This bishop hauing spent eightene yeares, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure, & was buried in his owne church.

22 William Bzouer, verie hostile after the death of the foresaid Simon, was elected bishop, and consecrated by Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, being brother to sir William Bzouer knight, the husband of the eldest daughter, & one of the heirs to William de Clerona, erle of Deuon; and who also was founder of the abbeyes of Tor, of Hartland, and other monasteries. This bishop so wiselie and discretly behaued himselfe, that he was had in great reputation among all men, and in speciall fauor with the king. For king Henrie, hauing giuen his sister ladie Isabell to wife vnto Frederike the emperor, did commend and betake hir to this bishop, to be conuicted and conducted to the emperor. And such was the fame and good report spred of him, that as he passed through the countries, they were from place to place receiued with great honor; and being come to the citie of Coleine, the archbishop there did not onelie berie honorable receiue them, but also accompanied them vnto the citie of Wormes, where the marriage was solemnized. When this bishop had sene the marriage, and all things performed, he took his leaue, and was dismissed with great presents, and honorable accompanied homewards by the archbishop and others. At his returne he was iustlie receiued of all the noble men about the king, and most thankfullie by the king himselfe, and whome the king vsed as his speciall and most trustie counsellor in all his weightie causes. This bishop being come home to his owne house, aduising (as his predecessors had done) to leaue some good memorie behind him, he made a deane, and constituted twentie foure prebendaries within his church. To the one he impropriated

Simon de Apulia.

William Bzouer.

A k k k k k. g. priated

palated Hampton and Colton Katoletie: for the others he purchased so much land, as out whereof he assigned to euerie prebendarie four pounds by the yeare, and of these he ordered his chapter. Also in this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and fortie, Gilbert Long and Robert his brother citizens of this citie builded and founded the hospitall of saint Johns, within the east gate of this citie, for the sustentance of certeine poore folks, called afterwards the poore children of saint Johns, & gaue all their lands and tenements to the same, which was sufficient. The yeare following, the cell of Alexius was remoued and adistinct to saint Johns, and then the founders being dead, the charge and gouernement of that house was by those founders commended to the maior of this citie, & they themselves were founders and patrons thereof. In the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, there grew a contention concerning the poore lazer sicke people of the Spagdales without the south gate of this citie, whose maner and vfrage was then, with a clappish vpon euerie market daie to resort and come to the markets, and there to beg euerie mans deuotion: but by reason of their sicknesse, which was lothsome and abhorred, the peoples deuotion wared short and scant against them: as also euerie man murmured against their going & begging at large. Wherevpon the matter being brought into question betwene the bishop and this citie, it was concluded that a permutation should be made: and that therefore the bishops should be patrones, and haue the gouernement of saint Johns, and the maior and his successors to be gardians and founders of the hospitall of the Spagdales; with a promise, that the prior of the hospitall of the Spagdales should on one daie in euerie moneth come with his box to saint Peters church at the time of seruice, and there recite and gather the deuotion of the canons, which is used at these presents. This poore house remaineth still, but the other for want of good friends was suppressed and dissolved. This bishop, after he had continued in his church about ninetene yeares, he died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, and lieth buried in the middle of his owne church vnder a plaine marble stone.

Richard
Blondie.

21 Richard Blondie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and five, was consecrated and installed bishop, Bonifacius then being archbishop of Canturburie. This Richard was a man of a mild spirit, but verie stout against such as in his time did offer anye iniurie to the church. And in his old yeares being but a weake man, he was much carried and ruled by such as were his officers and about him, who taking the opportunitie of the time, used all the meanes they might to enrich themselves. His chiefe officers were one Rodewell his chancellor, Sutton his register, Fitzherbert his official, and Crumelow the keeper of his seale. These with others of the these seruants of his household compacted among themselves, that whilst the bishop was yet liuing, who then laie sicke and verie weake in his bed, to make and conuie unto themselves conuiances of such liuelihoods as then laie in the bishops disposition; and accordingly made out aduousons and other such conuiances as to them seemed best, all which were forthwith sealed and deliuered according to the orders among them concluded. But these their subtil dealinges were not so closelie conuied, but that the next bishop following walked and found the same out; and did not onely reuerse all their doings, but also did errecommunitate them, and who were not absolved until they had done their penance for the same: which was done at saint Peters church openlie, vpon Palmesun-

day, being the nineteenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred threescore and seven. This bishop Richard in the twelue yeare of his bishoprike, died, and was buried in his owne church.

24 Walter Bonnesome, archdeacon of Sur-
reie, was consecrated bishop of Exeter vpon
Passion Sunday, in the yeare of our Lord one thou-
sand two hundred foure score and six vnder Bonifa-
cius then archbishop. He was borne in this citie of
Exon, and was the sonne of poore parents; but he be-
ing of a verie towardnesse and good disposition, and
verie apt to learning, they partle of themselves, and
partle by helpe of their friends, did put him to schole
and kept him to his booke, wherein he proued and pro-
spered so well that he was verie well learned. At the
time of his election he was no priest, and therefore
not capeable of anie such dignitie: but immediatlie
he toke that order vpon him, and forthwith was con-
secrated bishop. All which being done within fiftene
daies, it was counted as for a miracle; namelie, that
he should be elected bishop, then made priest, and at
last to be consecrated within that space. For so ma-
nie dignities (as they termed it) to be cast vpon one
man in so short a time, had not bene lightlie scene.
He founded the college of Claresse in Perrin in
Cornetwall, and indowed the same with faire posses-
sions and reuenues. He purchased the Barton of
Kokesdon and Clift, and gaue it to the hospitall of
S. Johns within the east gate of the citie of Exe-
ter. He instituted in his owne church the feast cal-
led Gabzels feast; and gaue a peece of land for the
maintenance thereof. He also did by a policie pur-
chase the lordship and house of Clift Sadziffeld, and
by a deuise did enlarge the Barton thereof, by gain-
ing of Cornish wood from his deane and chapter:
and builded then a verie faire & sumptuous house,
and called it bishops Clift, which he left to his succe-
sors. Likewise he got the patronage of Clift Fo-
melson, now called Sowton, and annexed the same
to his new lordship, which (as it was said) was in this
order. He had a frier to be his chapleine and confes-
sor, which died in his said house of Clift, and should
haue bin buried at the parish church of Faringdon,
because the said house was and is in that parish: but
because the parish church was somewhat far off, the
waies foule, and the weather raine, &c. for some other
causes; the bishop willed and commanded the corps
to be carried to the parish church of Sowton, then
called Clift Fomelson, which is verie nere and boy-
dereth vpon the bishops lordship: the two parishes
there being diuided by a little lake called Clift. At
this time one Fomelson a gentleman was lord and
patrone of Clift Fomelson, and he being aduertised
of such a burfall towards in his parish, and a lech
waie to be made ouer his land, without his leaue or
consent required therein, calleth his tenants toge-
ther, and goeth to the bridge ouer the lake, betwene
the bishops land and his, and there meeteth the bi-
shops men bringing the said corps, and forbiddeth
them to come ouer the water. But the bishops men
nothing regarding the same, doe presse forwards to
come ouer the water; and the others doe withstand
and fall at strife about the matter, so long, that in the
end my lords frier is fallen into the water. The bi-
shop taketh this matter in such griefe, that a holie
fricr, a religious man, and his owne chapleine and
confessor should so vnreuerentlie be cast into the wa-
ter, (that he saileth out with the gentleman, and (vpon
that occasion I know not) he sueth him in the law,
and so bereth and tormenteth him, that in the end he
was faine to yeld himselfe to the bishops deuotion,
and seeth all waies he could to currie the bishops
good will, which he could not obtaine, until for his re-
emption

et all benefactor vnto the hospitall of saint Johns in
 Crester; vnto the which, for the relieuing of certein
 poore children therein, he impropriated the rectorie of
 personage of Crnescome. In the controuersie be-
 twene his maister king Edward the second, and
 Charles the French king, he was sent ambassadour
 to the French king, and ioined in commission with
 the quene, for the treatie of a peace and reconcilia-
 tion: which though it were obtained, yet he ioining
 with the Spencers, who fauoured not the quene, he
 returned into England; leauing the quene behind
 him. And whereas they practised what they could, to
 put enimitie betwene the king and hir; and to set
 hir besides the cushion, they themselves fell into the
 same snares, which they had laied for others. For not
 long after, the quene, by the helpe of the earle of He-
 nault, and of sir John his brother, came into Eng-
 land with a great armie. Whereof the king and the
 Spencers, being affraied, departed from London
 to Wilslow, leauing the bishop at London, and made
 him custos of the same; who requiring the keyes of
 the gates of the citie of the maiors, the commoners
 toke him and beheaded him, as also his brother sir
 Richard Stapledon, in Cheapside, and carried his
 bodie to his house without Templebar, & there bu-
 ried it in a sandhill; namelie the sixteenth of October
 in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred
 twentie and nine. But the quene forgetting all dis-
 curtesies, and reuerencing his calling, commanded
 his corps to some more honourable buriall: where-
 vpon the same was taken by, and brought to this ci-
 tie, and with great solemnitie was buried in his
 owne church, vpon the eight and twentieth of March,
 where his epitaph by the writer thereof is set. Thus
 after that he had bene bishop about twentie yeares,
 he ended his daies.

James
 Warkeleie.

28 James Warkeleie, vpon the six and twentieth
 of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three
 hundred twentie and seauen, before the buriall of his
 predecessor in his owne church, was consecrated bi-
 shop of this citie. He descended of the noble house of
 the lord Warkeleie, and albeit he were reputed to be
 a vertie goodlie and a wise man, yet he had no time to
 yeld the triall thereof. For he died in the fourth mo-
 neth after his consecration, vpon the foure & twen-
 tith daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord one thou-
 sand three hundred twentie and seauen, and was bu-
 ried in his owne church as some say, but some thinke
 he neuer came thither at all.

John Gran-
 deson.

29 John Grandesson, being in Itallie with pope
 John the two & twentieth. After the death of James
 Warkeleie, the king presented him vnto the pope, who
 accepted the presentation, & consecrated him bishop
 of this diocese on the eight of October, Anno 1327.
 He was bozne and descended of the ancient house of
 the Grandessons, dukes of Burgonie, his father
 was named Gilbert, the brother of who the great
 lord Grandesson. Which Gilbert comming into this
 land, was well interteined by the king and nobilitie,
 and had a good liking of the countrie, that by meanes
 of Henrie earle of Lancaster, with whom he came
 into England, he married ladie Sibill, daughter
 and one of the heires to John Tregos, lord of the ca-
 stell of Ewas, nere Hereford east, and by hir had is-
 sue three sonnes, and foure daughters; of which this
 bishop was one, and was bozne in the parish of Ash-
 perton, in the diocese of Hereford. He was from
 his childhood vertie well affected to learning, and be-
 came a good scholar and professor of diuinitie, of which
 method he wrote two books, the one intituled *Pontifi-
 cales maiores*, and the other *Pontificales minores*. He was
 also vertie graue, wise, and politike, and thereby grew
 into such credit with pope John the two and twen-
 tith, that he was not onelie of his priue counsell,

but also *Nuntius apostolicus sedis*; and in all matters of
 weight and importance an ambassadour for him to
 the emperour, to the kings of Spaine, of France,
 of England, and of all others the mightiest princes
 of christendome. And being on a time sent in an
 ambassage to king Edward the third, he did with
 such wisdom and grauitie behaue himselfe, that
 the king was rauished in loue with him; and did so
 tenderlie loue and fauour him, that he neuer ceased,
 vntill he had procured him from the pope, and then he
 gaue him the archdeaconrie of Notingham, and be-
 stowed great liuings on him. He made him one of
 his priue counsell, and in the end preferred him to
 this bishoprike. After this, there being some disliking
 betwene pope Clement the first, and the king; he for
 his approued wisdom was sent in an ambassage
 to the pope, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand
 three hundred fortie and three, for an intreatie of a
 peace and an amitie betwene them to be had; and
 with such wisdom he did his message, that he obtai-
 ned his purpose, and made a reconciliation. After
 his returne home to his bishoprike, he was altoge-
 ther giuen in doing some good things. He builded &
 founded the college of saint Marie Otreie, and in-
 dowed the same with great and goodlie liuelihoods,
 he was a liberall benefactor to the vicars chorall
 of his owne church, as also to the college of Glasneie in
 Perrin; he builded the two last arches in the west
 end of his church, vanted the rose of all the church,
 and fullie performed and ended the buildings of
 the same, and then enriched his said church with plate,
 ornaments, and great riches. Also he builded a vertie
 faire house in his sanctuarie at bishops Teington,
 which he gaue and left full furnished vnto his succe-
 ssors, and did impropriate vnto the same the parso-
 nage of Wadswate, to the end as he setteth downe in
 his testament, *ut haberent locum unde caput suum reclina-
 rent, si forte in manum regis eorum temporalia caperentur*:
 and which his hallening in the end came partlie to
 effect. For not onelie the most part of the temporal-
 ties of this bishoprike, but this new builded house
 and impropriation are come to be the possessions
 and inheritances of temporal men. This bishop was
 red old, and feeling in himselfe a decate of nature,
 made his last will and testament, wherein he made
 such large and bountious legacies to the pope, em-
 perour, king, quene, archbishop, bishops, colleges,
 churches, and to sundrie persons of high estates and
 callings; that a man would maruell, considering
 his great and chargeable buildings & works other-
 wise, how and by what meanes he could haue attai-
 ned to such a masse of wealth and riches; but his wis-
 dome and policie considered, it was easie. For first,
 he sequestereth from himselfe and out of his house
 the trope of manie men and horses, retaining and
 keeping no more than to serue his reasonable estate;
 his diet was frugall, his receipts great, his expenses
 no more than necessarie. Moreover, he had taken
 and set an order with all the ecclesiasticall persons of
 his diocese, that at the time of their deaths, they
 should leaue and bequest all their goods to him or to
 some other in trust, *In pios usus*, & towards his charge-
 able buildings; and so well he was beloued, and his
 doings liked, that they all accepted this his order: by
 meanes whereof he grew within the course of fortie
 yeares to infinite wealth and riches. He was in all
 his life time a plaine man, and void of all baine glo-
 rie and pompe; and preuenting that none should be
 vsed at his buriall, commanded the same to be done
 plainelie & simplie; and that none of his executors,
 chapleins, seruants, nor none of his household should
 weare anie mourning blacke cloths at the same, but
 onelie their accustomed & common apparell, which
 then was commonlie greie coloured cloths. His

bishop was no lesse graue and wise, than stout and of courage, if occasion did so require. And amongst other things this is reported of him; that about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, Simon Pepham, then archbishop of Canturburie, sent his mandatum to this bishop, that he would visit his church & diocese vpon mondaie next after Ascension daie then following. This bishop (vpon that occasion it is not written) did refuse this mandatum, and appealed from the same, aduertising the archbishop that he should not visit his church nor diocese. Notwithstanding, the archbishop at the time appointed came to this citie, and went to St. Peters church, nothing thinking that anie durst to withstand him. But the bishop knowing of his coming, goeth to the church doore, meeteth the archbishop, and forbiddeth him to enter into his church; but the archbishop pressing forward, as with force to enter, the bishop being then well garbed, denied and resisted him: wherupon the archbishop departed, and after at a prouinciall counsell holden at London, the archbishop complained hercof, but by meanes of the like discorde betwene him & his suffragans, he prevailed not. In this bishops time one William of Excester, a verie well learned man, was a canon of this church; and he joining with Nicholas de Cefena, Sheham, Walsingham, and others, did openlie preach, that Christ and his apostles were but poore men, and had no tempozall possessions: neither was anie emperor or laie man subiect to the pope, but onlie in matters of religion. But when he heard that pope John the thirde and twentieth had excommunicated, and would condemne them all for heretikes; this William, to saue his livings, secretlie shooke a waie from his old companions, and changed his copie, and writeth certeine conclusions against them and his owne preachings. Also in this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, one John of Wampton, so named, because he was borne at Wampton, in this diocese, and a monke of the order of the Carmelites, was a verie good scholar, and first did openlie read Aristotle in the vniuersitie of Cambridge; where he was a scholar; and afterwards he studied diuinitie, and was made doctor: he wrote certeine booke, which are not extant. This bishop, after that he had occupied this church about two and fortie yeares, he died vpon St. Withins daie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and nine, and was buried in a chappell which he builded in the west wall of his owne church.

30 Thomas Wentingham, after the death of this John Grandellon, was at one instant chosen bishop of Excester and bishop of Hereford, who refusing the one toke the other, and was consecrated bishop of Excester vpon the tenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, being the feast daie of Perceus and Achilles, William of Worcester then archbishop of Canturburie. This Thomas was a man verie well learned, and experted both in ecclesiasticall matters, and in politike gouernement, and in both these respects greatlie reuerenced and esteemed; and for that cause, at the parlement holden at Westminster, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, was chosen one of the twelue peers of the realme vnder the king. He was a benefactor to the Calenderhate of the vicars chozell of his owne church, and performed and supplied in buildings and otherwise, what his predecessors had left vndone. And having bene bishop foure and twentie yeares, he died the thirde of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1394, and was buried in the north side of the bodie of his owne church.

31 Edmund Stafford vpon the twentieth daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and sixe, was consecrated at Lambeth by William Courtnaie archbishop of Canturburie. He was borne and descended of noble parentage, being brother to Ralfe lord Stafford created earle of Stafford by king Edward the third; he was both wise and learned, and for his wisdom grew into great credit with the king, and was both of his priuie counsell, as also lord chancelor of England. At the parlement holden at Westminster, the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, he being then speaker of the higher house, made a verie learned and pitheie oration, to proue the absolute authoritie of a king: his theme was, *rex unus erit omnibus*. And hauing discoursed at large of the authoritie of a king, he did conclude; *Quod potestas regis esset sibi sola, unita, annexa, solida*; and whosoever did by anie meanes impeach the same, *Pena legis merito esset plectendus*. And for the furtherance of good letters, he did increase two fellowships in the college of Stapledons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and altered the name of it, and called it Excester college. After that he had continued bishop in much honor about three and twentie yeares, he died the fourth of September, being the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt, and lich buried in his owne church in a verie faire towe of alabaster.

32 James Carie bishop of Excester, then being at Florence when news was brought to pope Martin the sixt of the said late bishop Staffords death, was there made bishop of this church, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and ninetene, and also consecrated; but long he intoid not his office, for there he died, and was buried.

33 Edmund Lacie bishop of Hereford was translated from thence vnto this church in the feast of Easter, and in the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and twentie. He was a man verie deuout and religious, but subiect to flatterers, who carried him to their pleasure; he was a liberal benefactor vnto the vicar of Calenderhate. Great contentions were betwene him and the citis for liberties, which by arbitrement were compounded. He founded the chapter house in his owne church. He was a professor of diuinitie, and verie well learned. For in the second yeare of his bishopricke, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, there was a parlement holden at Westminster, in which great complaints were made against the loose and dissolute life of the religious men, and especiallie the blacke monks. And this matter being brought to the conuocation house, this bishop as chiefe prologuitor of that assemblie, did make a verie learned and a pitheie oration before the king, then of purpose present, and the whole cleargie, much lamenting that the religious men were so far strated from the rules of their professions, and the holinesse of their predecessors. And when he had at large discoursed the same, he deliuered vp certeine articles in writing, praying for reformation. Which his speeches were so effectually bittered, and his articles so pitheie penned, that both the king and the clergie did not onelie with great liking and allowance praise and commend the same; but also toke order that there should be a prouinciall counsell called out of hand for a reformation. Which was then promised, but not performed, by reason of the kings death, which not long after followed. But yet in the waie of good speed, it was then concluded and agreed, that euerie thirde benefice, being of the gift of anie of the prelates, or of anie monasterie, should from thenceforth for seauen yeares

Edmund Stafford.

James Carie.

Edmund Lacie.

Thomas Wentingham.

be giuen to some scholar of Exford or Cambridge. This bishop, after he had liued fives and thirtie yeares in this bishopricke, died and was buried in the north wall of the quere in his owne church. After whose death manie miracles were said and deuised to be done at his towne, whereupon great pilgrimages were made by the common people to the same.

George Peuill.

34 George Peuill succeeded Edmund Lacie, and was consecrated in the feast of saint Katharine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and siue, he was of a noble parentage, being the second son of Richard Peuill earle of Salisbury, he finished and ended the chapter house which his predecessor had begun. And after that he had bene bishop about ten yeares, he was removed to Porke, and made archbishop there, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre score and siue.

John Both.

35 John Both, after the translation of George Peuill to Porke, was consecrated bishop vnder Thomas Wurscher archbishop of Canturburie, vpon the two and twentieth date of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred thre score and six. He was by profession a ciuillian, and a bachelor of the same, he gouerned his church verie well, and builod (as some suppose) the bishops see in the quere. But being werie of the great troubles which were in this countrie betwene king Edward the fourth and the earle of Marwick, he removed from hence to his house of Worslegh in Hamshire, where in the twelue yere of his bishopricke he died, vpon the first of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, and lieth buried at saint Clements in London.

Peter Courtneie.

36 Peter Courtneie, immediatlie after the death of John Both, was presented to this bishopricke, and consecrated by Thomas archbishop of Canturburie in Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and seuen at saint Stephens in Westminister; he was the son of sir Philip Courtneie of Wotoderham, his mother was named Elisabeth, daughter to Walter lord Hungerford. He for his wisdom and good behaviour was in great favour & credit with king Henrie the seauenth, by whose means he was translated from this church to Winchester, in the ninth yeare of his being bishop here, and in the fift yeare of his being there he died, vpon the twentieth date of December, in the yere one thousand foure hundred ninetie and one, and lieth buried in his owne church. He finished the north tower of saint Peters, and gaue the clocke bell which is in the same, and which beareth the name Peter.

Richard For.

37 Richard For, vpon the removing of Peter Courtneie, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred thre score and six. He was a verie wise man, and in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the seuenth, vnto whome he was a faithfull counsellor, and of his counsell; with whom he acquainted himselfe at Paris, when he was there a student. For king Henrie then erle of Richmond, being at Venice, and aduertised how the nobilitie of England was bent to haue him for their king, came from thence to Paris, and sought vnto Charles then king of France for aid and helpe: in which the earle his sutes this For was a speciall traveller and counsellor; and in the end, God giuing the succes, the erle obtained the crowne, and hauing had due triall of the fidelitie, wisdom, & trust of this bishop, he made him lord priue seale; and kept and vsed him & his aduise in all his weightie matters as well at home as abroad. He being ambassador sundrie times to the kings of France and Scotland, and of a verie hartie good will and loue, the king made him godfather to his second son king

Henrie the eight. There was a kind of emulation, betwene this bishop and the earle of Surreie, both of them being verie wise and of great seruice to the king and commonwealth: howbeit, in some diuersitie of respects, the one hauing no issue to care for, did deale without anie priuat affection or singular gaite; and the other hauing issue, was desirous to aduance his house and honor. These affections did breed some dislike betwene them two, yet the king finding a fault vnto himselfe, and a commoditie to the commonwealth, mistook it not, if the same exceeded his measure: and they more warne than commendable for their callings and estates. The king then or the counsell would deale betwene them for the appeasing and pacifying of them, and to them he was both friendlie, louing, and liberall. The one he deliuered out of the tower, pardoned him of his offences, restored him to his lands, recused him into speciall fauor, made him of his priue counsell, as also lord treasurer of England, and his generall into Scotland, & augmented his liuelihoods. The other he first made bishop to this church, then removed him to Bath, and from thence vnto Durham, and lastlie vnto Winchester. Erasmus, in his booke intituled *The preacher or Ecclesiastes*, declareth how that the king vpon a time, wanting some peece of monie, was to borrow the same of the commons, and of the clergie. And for the dealings with the clergie, the matter was by commission committed to this bishop. When they came before him, vsed all the excuses that they could, to shift theiuelues from lending of anie monie. Some came verie semelie and well apparelled, and awaited vpon by their men, according to their liuelihoods; and these alleged, that they were greatlie charged in hospitalitie and house keeping, with other charges incident to the same, so that they had no monie, & therefore could paie none. Some came porrelie and barelie apparelled, and they alledged that their liuelihoods were but small, and yet their charges were great, and by that means the world was so hard with them that they had it not to spare. This bishop, hauing heard all these excuses, vsed this dilemma. To the richer sort he said; For so much as you are so well and semelie apparelled, and do keepe so great houses, and haue all things necessarie about you; it is a manifest argument, that you haue some store about you, or else you would not be as ye doe: and therefore ye must needs lend. To the other, who pretended excuse of their pouertie, he thus replied vnto them; that for so much as they were so bare in their apparell, and so sparing of their expences, it must needs be that they saued their purses and had monie, and therefore they must needs paie, and so adiudged them to lend vnto the princes. Now as he arose by learning, so he was a great sanctor and furtherer of learning: and for the good increase of the same he builded and founded *Corpus Christi* college in Wrenford. In his latter daies he waxed and was blind, and dieng in Winchester, he was there buried in his owne church, after that he had bene bishop of Excester six yers, he was removed to Bath, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two.

38 Oliver King, immediatlie vpon the transferring of bishop For, was consecrated bishop of this church, in Februarie, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two, John Sporton then archbishop of Canturburie. This Oliver was chapleine to king Henrie the seuenth, and deane of Winchester, and receiver of the order of the garter. In his time were the rebellions of Joseph the blacke smith in Cornewall, and of Perken Warbecke. This bishop after that he had occupied this see about siue yeares, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred

was ninetie and tenen, and (as some suppose) he was buried at Wilsford.

39 Richard Redman, immediately upon the death of bishop Oliver King, was translated from his bishopricke in Wales to this citie: but after five yeares he was removed unto the bishopricke of Ely, and installed there in September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and one. He was a gentleman borne, and descended of a verie worshipfull house, which joined with his wisdom and learning, did much increase his credit and good report.

40 John Arundell, next after the translation of bishop Redman, was removed from Conventrie and Lichfield unto this citie, and was installed the fifteenth of March, one thousand five hundred and one. Wherein he sought not the preferment for anie likelihoods, but rather desirous to be a dweller and resident in his countrie where he was borne: for he was descended of the Arundells of Lanherne in Cornwall, a house of great antiquitie and worship. He long inioined not his new bishopricke, for after two yeares after his installing, he had occasion to ride unto London, and there died, and was buried in S. Clements church without Templebar, in the yeare one thousand five hundred and thre.

41 Hugh Dlobam, upon the death of Arundell, by the preferment of the countesse of Richmond and Derby, unto whom he was chapleine, was preferred unto this bishopricke, and installed in the same. He was a man having more zeale than knowledge, and more deuotion than learning; somewhat rough in speeches, but friendly in doings. He was careful in the sauing and defending of his liberties, for which continuall suites was betwene him and the abbat of Tauesoke; he was liberrall to the vicars chorall of his church, and reduced them to the keeping of commons, and towards the maintenance thereof he gaue them certeine reuenues, and impropriated vnto them the rectorie of Connelwood. He albeit of himselfe he were not learned, yet a great fauourer and a furtherer of learning and of learned men. Notwithstanding, he was sometime crossed in his honest attempt therein. He first was minded to haue enlarged Creecher college in Driford, as well in buildings as in fellowships: but after being a requester to the fellows for one Atkins to be a fellow, in whose fauour he had written his letters and was denied, he changed his mind, and his good will was alienated. About the same time doctor Smith bishop of Lincoln was building of the college named Brasen nose, and was verie willing and desirous to ioine with him: but being denied to haue the nomination of a founder, his mind was changed. Not long after, being advertised that bishop For of Winchester was minded to erect a found a new college, he ioined with him, and contributed vnto him a great masse of monie, and so a college was builded for scholars, and great likelihoods provided for them: & then the house was named *Corpus Christi* college. Whereof the one of them bare the name of a founder, and the other of a benefactor. Wherewith, some diuersitie was betwene these two bishops at the first, to what use this college should be imployed. For the founder was of the mind that he would haue made it for a house of monks; but the benefactor was of the contrary mind, and would haue it for scholars, alleging that monks were but a sort of buzzing flies, & whose state could not long indure; whereas scholars brought vp in learning would be profitable members to the commonwealth, and good ornaments to the church of God, and continue for euer. The founder being a wise man, and of a deepe iudgement, when he had paused and considered hereof, yielded hereunto: and so it was concluded betwene them to make and

build a college for scholars. And forthwith for the good direction, guiding, and gouernement of the said college and scholars, such wise, good, & politike statutes and ordinaunces were by good aduise and counsell devised, established, and ordeined; as whereby the said college hath bene, and yet continueth one of the best nurseries for training and instructing of good scholars in learning within that vniuersitie. This bishop and the abbat of Tauesoke did still contend and continue in law during their liues: and during which sute this bishop died, being excommunicated at Rome, and who could not be suffered to be buried, untill an absolution from Rome was procured for him. After that he had bene bishop about sixteen yeares, he died the five and twentieth of June, one thousand five hundred and ninetene, and was buried in his owne church.

42 John Wolsseie, otherwise Harman, succeeded John Wolsseie Dlobam, by the preferment of king Henrie the eight, whose chapleine he then was, and deane of his chapell as also of this church; he was doctor of the lawes, verie well learned and wise, and in great fauour with the king, who sent him sundrie times in ambassages to forreine princes; he was lord president of Wales, & had the gouernement of the kings onlie daughter ladie Marie princeesse of Wales. Of all the bishops in the land he was accounted the courtliest and the best courtier. And although he were well reported for his learning, yet better liked for his courtlike behaviour, which in the end turned not so much to his credit, as to the utter ruine and spoile of the church: for of two and twentie lordships and manors, which his predecessors had assigned vnto him, of a goodlie yearelie reuenue he left but thre, & them also leased out. And where he found fouretene houses well furnished, he left onelie one house bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundrie fees and annuities; and by these means this bishopricke, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporall landes one of the meanest, and according to the foresayd possession of bishop Grandisson, a place scarce left for the bishop to laie and rest his head in; and yet neuertheless he was a great fauourer of learned men, and especiallie of diuines, whom he preferred in his church above others. He was verie bounteous and liberrall vnto all men, but especiallie vnto courtiers, vnto his owne kindred and countriemen. Upon manie he bestowed much, to the confusion of some of them; and vpon the others he spent much by building of a towne called Sutton Colshull where he was borne, which he procured to be incorporated, and made a market towne, and set vp therein making of hearthes, but all which in the end came to small effect. In his time, after the death of king Henrie the eight, there was an alteration of religion by king Edward the first, whereof ensued a rebellion & commotion in this diocesse: which in some part was imputed to this bishop, because he late farre from it, and dwelled in his owne countrie. Wherevpon he resigned the bishopricke into the kings hands, after that he had bene bishop about thirte yeares, and liued by the rents of the temporalltie of the bishopricke, which when he alienated and discontinued, he did receiue vnto him for terme of his owne life.

43 Miles Courdale, after the resignation of Miles Courdale, was by king Edward made bishop of this citie, & consecrated at Lambeth by Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and fiftie. He was borne in the north countrie, and from his childhood giuen to learning, wherein he profited verie much: he was one of the first which professed the gospell in this land in the time of king Henrie the eight, he translated

translated the bible out of the Hebrue into English, and wrote sundrie booke vpon the scriptures. Which doctrine being verie new and strange in those daies, and he verie streightlie pursued by the bishops, made his escape, & passed ouer into low Germanie, where he printed the bibles of his translation and sent them ouer into England, and therof made his gaine wherby he liued. But the bishops, namelie D. Stokesleie bishop of London, when he heard hereof, and minding to preuent that no such bibles should be dispersed within this realme, made inquirie where they were to be sold, and bought them all vp; supposing that by this meanes no more bibles would be had: but contrarie to his expectation it fell out otherwise. For the same monie which the bishop gaue for these booke, was sent ouer by the merchant vnto this Couerdale, and by that meanes he was of that wealth and abilitie, that he imprinted as manie more and sent them ouer into England; but he was then so narrowlie sought for, that he was driuen to remove himselfe out of Flanders into Germanie, and dwelled vnder the Pallegraue of Rhene, where he found much fauour. First he taught yong children, and hauing learned the Dutch tong, the prince Palatine gaue him a benefice, named Burghfaber, where he continued and liued verie well, partly by that benefice, and partly by the liberalitie of the lord Cromwell, who was his god lord and reloued him verie much. At length, when the religion was altered in England, and the gospel had a free passage, he returned & did verie much good in preaching of the same. And when the commotion in Deuon was for religion, he was appointed to attend the lord Russell, when he came to suppress the same, and verie thowlie for his learning and godlie life was made bishop of this see; who most thowlie did performe the office committed vnto him. He preached continually vpon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twise in the weeke in some one church or other within this citie. He was after the rate of his liuing a great keeper of hospitalitie, verie sober in diet, godlie in life, friendlie to the godlie, liberrall to the poore, and courteous to all men, void of pride, full of humilitie, abhorring couetousnesse, and an enimie to all wickednesse and wicked men: whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in no wise shewd or haue in his house and companie. His wife a most sober, chaste, and godlie matrone; his house and household another church, in which was exercised all godlinesse and vertue. No one person being in his house, which did not from time to time giue an account of his faith and religion, and also did liue accordingly. And as he had a care for the successe in religion, so had he also for the direction of the gouernement in ecclesiasticall causes. And because he was not skillfull therein, neither would he be hindered from his godlie studies, and be incombered with such worldly matters, which neuertheles he would haue be done in all uprightnesse, iustice, and equitie; he sent to Oxford for a learned man to be his chancelor, and by the ministerie of the writer hereof he procured and obtained one master Robert Wileston doctor of the ciuill law, & afterwards lord chancelor of Ireland, vnto whome he committed his consistorie, and the whole charge of his ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; allowing vnto him, not onelie all the fees thereto appertaining, but also lodged and found him, his wife, familie, horse, and man, within his owne house, and gaue him a yearelie pension of fortie poundes. And surelie the bishop was no more godlie and carefull of his part, concerning preaching; but this man also was as diligent and seuer in doing of his office, without reproch of being affectionated or corrupted. And notwithstanding this god man, now a blamelesse bi-

shop, liued most godlie and vertuous: yet the common people, whose old bottels would receiue no new wine, could not drinke nor digest him; for no other cause, but because he was a preacher of the gospel, an enimie to papistrie, & a married man. Manie deuises were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings, and false libels; sometimes by secret backbitings, and in the end practised his death by imprisonment: but by Gods prouidence the snares were broken and he deliuered. After that he had bene bishop about three yeares king Edward died, and then queene Marie hauing the crowne, the religion was altered, and he deposed. And notwithstanding the malice of prelates and archbishops was most bitter against him, and who had sworn his death: yet by the goodnesse of God he was most miraculously preserved, and deliuered from out of their hands, at the sute and by the meanes of the king of Denmarke: who so earnestlie sued, & so often wrote to the queene for him, that he was deliuered and sent vnto him; with whome after that he had staied a while, he went againe into Germanie to the Pallegraue, who most louinglie receiued him, placed him againe in his former benefice of Burghfaber, where he continued untill the death of queene Marie. And then the preaching of the gospel being againe receiued, & hauing a free passage, he returned into England; but would neuer returne to his bishoprike, notwithstanding it was reserved for him, & sundrie times offered him; but liued a priuat life, continuing in London, preaching & teaching the gospel, so long as the strength of his bodie would permit; and at length being verie old and stricken in yeares, he died, and was honorable buried at saint Magnus church in London.

44 John Wolfe, after the depriuation of Byles Couerdale, was restored to this church, and for the better selling of the Romish religion did here staie for a while: but his mind was addicted to his owne countrie, that he returned thither, and made his owne abode there, practising there what he could, to haue the making of heresies to come to some effect; but the same being more chargeable than profitable, came to small pzoofe. This man being verie old died in his owne house, with a pang, and was buried in his parish church there, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and five.

45 James Troblefield succeeded bishop Wolfe, and was consecrated in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie & six, he was a gentleman borne, and of a good house, verie gentle and courteous; he professed diuinitie, but most zelous in the Romish religion, & yet nothing cruell nor blowdie. And yet that he might not seeme to do nothing, he was contented to prosecute and condemne a gillelesse poore selie woman, named Agnes Porell for religion and heresie, & who was burned in Southwicheam for the same. It was laied to his charge (as doth appeare by an indictment taken at Lancelston, *Die lune in quarta septimana quadragesime, anno Philippi & Maria secundo & tertio*, before William Stanford then iustice of the assise) that he should denie the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, and that the same was but a signe and a figure of Christs bodie, and that none doth eat really the bodie of Christ but spirituallie. He was verie carefull to recouer some part of the lands of his bishoprike, which his predecessor wasted, and did obtaine of queene Marie, to him and to his successors, the fee farme of the manor of Crediton. After that he had bene bishop about two yeares, queene Marie died; and he was deposed, and liued after a priuat life.

46 William Alde, in the second yeare of queene Elisabeth, was chosen bishop, and installed the first of August,

August, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one. In all queene Maries time, which were called the Marian daies, he trauelled from place to place in the north countrie, where he was not knowne; and sometimes by practising of physike, and sometimes by teaching of scholars, he picked out a poore living for himselfe and his wife, and so continued, being not knowne to haue bene a priest, during all queene Maries time: after whose death he went to London, and there did read diuinitie lecture in Paules verie learnedlie, and to his great commendation; and from thence he was taken and made bishop of this citie. He was verie well learned vniuersallie, but his chiefe studie and profession was in diuinitie, and in the tonges. And being bishop, he debated no part of his former trauels, but spent his time verie godlie and vertuouslie. Upon euerie holic daie (for the most part) he preached, and vpon the weake daies he would and did read a lecture of diuinitie; the residue of his time, and free from his necessarie businesse, he spent in his privat studies, and wrote sundrie books, whereof his prelections or lectures which he did read in Paules, and his poore mans librarie he caused to be imprinted: the like he would haue done with his Hebrie grammar, and other his tooles, if he had liued. He was well stored, and his librarie well replenished with all the best sort of wilters, which most gladlie he would impart and make open to euerie good scholar and student, whose companie and conference he did most desire & imbrace. He seemed at the first apperance to be a rough and an austere man, but in verie truth, a verie courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honest speeches, joined with learning and pleasantness, according to the time, place, and companie. All his exercises, which for the most part was at bowles, verie merrie and pleasant, void of all fauour, which might abate the benefit of recreation; loth to offend, readie to forgive, void of malice, full of loue, bountifull in hospitalitie, liberall to the poore, and a succourer of the needie, faithfull to his friend, and courteous to all men; a hater of couetousnesse, and an enemy to all euill and wicked men, and liued an honest, a godlie, and vertuous life. Finally, he was indured with manie notable god gifts and vertues, onelie he was somewhat credulous, of a hasty beleefe, and light of credit, which he did oftentimes mislike & blame in himselfe. In his latter time he waied somewhat grosse, and his bodie full of humors, which did abate much of his wanted exercises: and having bene bishop about eight yeares, he died the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and seauentie, and was buried in his owne church.

William Badoydrage.

47 William Badoydrage, deane of Sarisburie, was the next bishop, and consecrated at Lambeth by Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie, the eighteenth of March one thousand five hundred and seauentie: he was a professor of diuinitie, but not taken to be so well grounded as he persuaded himselfe, he was zelous in religion, but not so forward as he was wished to be. In his latter daies he delighted to dwell in the countrie, which was not so much to his liking, as troublesome to his clergie, & to such as had anie lutes vnto him. It was thought he died verie rich, but after his death it proued otherwise: he died suddenlie, no bodie being about him, at Belton Ferris, the ninth yeare of his bishopricke, vpon the nine and twentieth of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1578, and was buried in his owne church. Thus farre the collection of John Hooker, agreeing with the records.]

I. Stow.

The seuenteenth daie of Iulie the queenes maie-

tie being on the river of Thames, about nine of the clocke at night (betwixt his highnesse manour of Greenwich & Dartford) in his private barge, accompanied with the French ambassador, the earle of Lincoln, and maister vicechamberlaine; it chanced that one Thomas Apetre, a yong man, and servant to maister Henrie Carie, with two or three others, being in a bote on the Thames, rowing by and downe betwixt the places aforesaid: the foresaid Thomas had a caluer or harquebus charged with bullet, and shooting at random, by misfortune shot one of the watermen, being the second man next vnto the daies of the said barge (which sat within sight of his highnesse) cleane through both armes, and moued him out of his place. For the which fact the said Thomas being apprehended and condemned to death, was on the one and twentieth of Iulie brought to the water side, where was a gibbet set vp, directed placed betwixt Dartford and Greenwich. But when the hangman had put the halter about his necke, the right honorable sir Christopher Hattor captaine of the gard, and one of his maiesties priuie counsell, shewed the queenes maiesties most gracious pardon, and deliuered him from execution. This yeare John For of Woodbridge, William Wicknele of Portsmouth, and Robert Spore of Harwich Englishmen, hauing bene prisoners in Turkie about the space of thirtene or fouretene yeares, with more than two hundred and fiftie other Christians of diuerse nations, by killing their keeper, marnellouslie escaped, and returned into their native countries.

A strange story
of the
man Apple-
tree.John For an
Englishman
deliuered two
hundred and
thirty scope
Christians from
captiuitie
of the Turke.

This yeare in the moneths of September and October fell great winds and raging floods in sundrie places of this realme, as in the towne of Portsmouth: the cotages were borne downe, the corne lost, pasture ground ouertwhelmed, and cattell drowned. In the towne of Bedford the water came vp to the market place, where cupboards, chests, stools, and fowles swam about the houses; their felwell, corne and haie was waicht & borne awaie. Also the towne of saint Oes in Huntingdonshire was ouerflowed suddenlie in the night, when all men were at rest; & the waters brake in with such force, that the towne was almost all defaced; the swans swam downe the market place, and all the towne about the botes did float. The towne of Coz Manchester was suddenlie suppressed, their houses flowed full of water, when men were at rest, and their cattell with other things were destroyed.

winds and
high waters.

The one and twentieth of Nouember, sir Thomas Gresham knight agent to the queenes highnesse, who had in his life built the roiall Exchange in London, betwene six and seuen of the clocke in the evening, coming from the same Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuouslie builded) in Bishopsgate street of London, suddenlie fell downe in his kitchen, and being taken vp was found speechlesse, and presentlie dead, who afterwards was solemnlie buried in his owne parish church of saint Helen there, where he had prepared for himselfe a sumptuous tombe or monument, without anie epitaph or inscription thereupon. This sir Thomas Gresham in his testament (which long before his death he had ordeined) bequeathed diuerse large legacies not yet performed.

Anno reg. 22.
Sir Thomas
Gresham de-
ceased.

The eight and twentieth daie of March, one Francis alias Armadake Clouer was hanged on a gibbet set vp for that purpose by the standard in Cheape, for wilfullie murdering sergeant Grace after he was by him arrested. Also on the next morrow, being the nine and twentieth daie of March, the same gibbet was set vp at Hog lane end vpon east Smithfield, nere vnto the tower of London, thereon to hang

1580
Clouer a
murderer
hanged in
Cheape.
Dore executed
for murder.

haue hanged one Richard Dod for murdering of
mistresse Skinner a widow, in hir house there by.
But sir Owen Hopton lieutenant of the tower, com-
manding the officers pertaining to the shiriffes of
London backe againe to the west side of the crosse,
toke the shiriffe of the out shire with the prisoner in-
to an house, and after long talke brought the priso-
ner forth againe, & deliuered him to the officers, to
be by them brought backe to London: Then he cau-
sed the gibet to be taken downe and caried aloste
at his pleasure, and without further contention (to
my knowledge) the said Richard Dod was in the af-
ter none of the same date hanged at Tyborne.

A great
earthquake.

On the first of Aprill, being Wednesday in Easter
weekie about six of the clocke toward evening, a ter-
rible earthquake happening in London, and almost
generallie throughout all England, caused such an
amazement among the people as was wonderfull
for the time, and caused them to make their earnest
prayers to almightie God. The great clocke bell in
the palace at Westminster strake of it selfe against
the hammer with the shaking of the earth, as di-
uerse other clocks & bells in the steeple of the citie of
London and elsewhere did the like. The gentlemen
of the Temple being then at supper, ran from the ta-
bles, and out of their hall with their knives in their
hands. The people assembled at the plaie houses in
the fields, as at the Whoreater (the Theater I would
saie) were so amazed, that doubting the ruine of the
galleries, they made hast to be gone. A peece of the
temple church fell downe, some stones fell from saint
Pauls church in London: and at Christs church
nere to Fleetgate market, in the sermon while, a
stone fell from the top of the same church, which stone
killed out of hand one Thomas Greie an apprentice,
and an other stone fell on his fellow-servant named
Gabell Gueret, and so brased hie that he liued but
fourre daies after. Diuerse other at that time in that
place were sore hurt, with running out of the church
one ouer another for feare. The tops of diuerse chim-
neies in the citie fell downe, the houses were so sha-
ken: a part of the castell at Withops Stratford in
Essex fell downe. This earthquake indured in or
about London not passing one minute of an houre,
and was no more felt. But afterward in Kent, and
on the sea coast it was felt thre times; as at Sand-
wich at six of the clocke the land not onelie quaked,
but the sea also foamed, so that the ships tottered. At
Douer also the same houre was the like, so that a
peece of the cliffe fell into the sea, with also a peece of
the castell wall there: a peece of Saltwood castell in
Kent fell downe; and in the church of Wyde the bells
were heard to found. A peece of Sutton church in
Kent fell downe, the earthquake being there not on-
lie felt, but also heard. And in all these places and
others in east Kent, the same earthquake was felt
thre times to moue, to wit, at six, at nine, and at e-
leuen of the clocke. The nineteenth daie of Aprill
the ferrie at Lambeth was drowned with five men
and foure horses; other two men and five horses
swam to land and were saued.

A ferrie
drowned.

A ferrie
drowned.

William
Lambe es-
quier decea-
sed, his ele-
mentations.

On the one and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeare
1580 departed this life master William Lambe
esquier, sometime gentleman of the chappell in the
reigne of king Henrie the eight, citizen of London,
and free of the clothworkers. Of this mans alme-
deeds and manifold charities, some before, some since
his death put in effectuall praaise, thus reporteth a
memorall recorded in print, agreeing in truth with
his last will and testament: an extract whereof for
others imitation is necessarilie here to be inserted.
This gentleman remembering that learning bring-
eth preferment, yea euen to them which are put base-
lie boyne, as it pleased God to moue him by his god

and grations spirit, he proued himselfe by testimo-
nials of his doings a lover of learning, and a fauor-
er of euery honest profession. For in the towne of
Sutton Walens in Kent, this worshipfull gentle-
man at his owne costs and proper expences erected
a grammar schole for the education of youth in the
feare of God, in good manner, in knowledge and in
vnderstanding.

He also liuing with himselfe, that the labourer
ought of right to haue his hire; and that, no man
goeth to warre of his owne proper charge, besides o-
ther commodities which he thought meet and neces-
sarie, hath allowed the master twentie pounds, and
the other ten pounds, from time to time, as either
place shall be supplied by succession, for their peacelie
stipends and perpetuall pensions. To continue the
reuerend of his good deeds in Sutton aforesaid, note
his tender & pitifull heart toward the poore, for whose
sustentation, maintenance, and reliefe, he hath build-
ed six almes houses for the impotent, and hath gi-
uen six pounds to be yearelie paid vnto them for
their necessarie prouision. Moreover, besides this cha-
ritable deed, to keepe still within the compasse of
Kent, make the singular loue which this gentleman
did beare vnto learning; for the furtherance whereof,
and the more encouragement of poore scholars, he
hath giuen to the schole of Dauidstone ten pounds a
yeare for ever, with this came at or prouiso, that needie
mens children should be preferred to the enioieng of
this singular benefit.

That this gentleman had not onelie a regard for
the seed-plots of learning, to haue them watered
with the springs of his bountie: but also a prouident
eye, and a carefull hart for the profit of the common
wealth, the particulars following substantialee de-
proue. For, seeing in his life time the decaye of fun-
drie trades, the ruine of diuerse occupations, and o-
ther inconueniences, which are like to grow to the
vndoiing of a multitude, except by policie they be
preuented: of a meere affection (if I said fatherlie I
were not controllable) he hath frelie giuen to the
poore clothiers in Suffolke, to the poore clothiers of
Widgenoth in Shropshire, and to the poore clothi-
ers at Ludlow in the said countie, thre hundred
pounds, to be paid by euen portions, to each severall
towne of the said countie one hundred pounds a
peece, for their suppoztation and maintenance at
their worke and occupation. So little esteemed he the
mucke of this world, in respect of doing good, spee-
allie when he saw old age drawing him to his grave:
of which mind it were to be wished all richmen
would be whom God hath made his stewards when
they war crooked & bowe backt, and (as the poet saith)

obrepit canis rugosa senecta capilla.

Furthermore, the well of his welldoiing not yet
waring drie, but yielding liquor of reliefe verie
largelie, hath watered other places. For, as the coun-
trie, so likewise the citie (the citie I meane of Lon-
don) hath cause, yea iust cause with open mouth to
magnifie the godnesse of God, so mightilie working
in this praiseworthy esquier. The memorable mo-
numents, which shall liue when he is dead, and shall
flourish when he is rotten, are witness of the loue,
which he being a citizen bare vnto this citie. For, let
vs begin with the conduit which he of his owne
costs, not requiring either collection or contribu-
tion, founded of late in Holborne, not sparing ex-
pences so it might be substantiall, not pinching for
charges so it might be durable and plentifull, as
they can testifie which saw the seeking of the springs,
the maner of making the trenches, the ordering
of the pipes, lieng in length from the head to the
said conduit, more than two thousand yards: and
finallie, the framing of euery necessarie appur-
tenance

The erection
of a gram-
mar schole
necessarie at
the charge of
the master and
scholar.

When houses
built for the
poore.

Provisione
for poore men
children to be
kept at school.

The common
wealths res-
membrance.

A reliefe
to poore clothi-
ers in diuerse
places.

London the
better by ma-
ster Lambe.

A remem-
brance of
Holborne
conduit foun-
ded in 1577.

to be waite
at the
badge run-
ning at the
ward.

Providence
conduces
there.

These women
benefited by
the conduct.

The right
hospitalfull
Clothworkers
remem-
bered.

Allowance
by four
pence ser-
mons.

Curie paye
man and paye
women a
shirt, a smock,
a gowne, and
a paire of
shoes, &c.

Saint Giles
without Crip-
legate bene-
fited.

tenance therunto belonging. Besides this, means
is made, by a standard with one cocke at y^eoll' yne
bydge to conuene the waite, with doth such seruice, the
water thereof being both sweet, pleasant, and whol-
some, as neither rich nor poore can well misse. Which
great worke as he aduisedly attempted, so he com-
mendable finished, hauing disbursed therabouts, of
his owne costs & charges, to the sum of 1500 pounds.

And yet further note the wisdom and prou-
dence of this gentleman, who considering that the
right vse of a good thing might cut off manie occasi-
ons of vniuersities and idleness, and knowing that
we are placed in this world to follow the vocation
whereunto we are called: besides that, seeing the
hardnesse of this age wherein we live, that manie
would worke if they had meanes, manie neglected and
care not for worke though they haue meanes, some
would willingly withstand pouertie if they might,
some had rather beg and do worse than giue them-
selves to labour, hath bene thus beneficiall to poore
women that are glad to take pains, as to bestow vpon
on them a hundred and twentie paces, wherewith to
carrie and serue water: an honest shift of liuing,
though somewhat toilsome. To descend and come
downe to other his almesdeeds, you shall vnderstand
that he being a member of the right hospitalfull cor-
poration and societie of Clothworkers, was not for-
getfull of that companie, vnto whome he hath giuen
his dwelling house in London, with other lands, and
tenements, to the value of thirtie pounds or there-
abouts, by them to be thus bestowed: to wit, for the
hiring of a minister to read diuine seruice thise a
week, that is, euery sūdate, wednesdaie, and fri-
daie throughout the yeare, in the chapell or church be-
longing to his house, called by the name of saint
James in the wall by Criplegate: and for foure ser-
mons there yerele to be made and preached, a com-
petent allowance.

Out of which sum also of thirtie pounds, it is prou-
ided that a deduction be made by the said Clothwor-
kers, for appareling twelue men, and as manie wo-
men, in forme as followeth: that is to saie, to euery
one of the twelue men one fraise gowne, one loca-
rum shirt, & a good strong paire of winter shoes: to
twelue women likewise one fraise gowne, one loca-
rum smocke, & a good strong paire of winter shoes,
all readie made for their wearing: remembred al-
waies that they must be persons both poore and ho-
nest, vnto whome this charitable deed ought to be ex-
tended. Prorided also, that the execution hereof be
done the first daie of October, orderlie from yeare to
yeare for euery while the world doth last. Moreover,
he hath giuen to those of his companie foure pounds
freelie, not for a time, but perpetuallie: and thus doth
his bountifullnesse manie waies appeare. To the pa-
rish of S. Giles without Criplegate, he hath giuen
fiftene pounds to the bells and chime, hauing meant
(as it seemeth if they had taken time) to be more libe-
rall in that behalfe. The said bells & chime were in his
life, & also after his deith kept in good order according
to his will: but afterwards upon occasion some
of them newlie cast became ill of sound & out of tune: a
fault in some which would be amended. The poore of
the parish aforesaid, by their reliefe in his life time se-
cretlie ministered, haue iust cause to lament the losse
of this right bountifull almoner. For by his means
their succour was the more: now it is to be feared it
will be so much the lesse, by how much it may be sup-
posed he increased their reliefe. Thus regarded he not
so much his priuat shift, as the comon good, giuing
therein to the world a testimonie of christian pro-
vidence, whose nature is to prefer the benefit of manie
before the profit of one, according to that of the poet:

Publica priuatis qui sapit antefere.

This gentleman's distribution is so diuerse, and
so manie, that the reberfall of them requireth a large
discourse. It is well known, and that can the wo-
rshipfull companie of the Stationers witness, that
this gentleman, for the space of these fouretene or
fiftene yeares, while he liued, was pitifull to the
poore of the parish of S. Faiths, and other parishes:
in which said parish church, euery fridaie ordinarilie
throughout the yeare, distribution was made of their
allowance by the hands of the said worshipfull Sta-
tioners, to whome that charge was and is commit-
ted: namelie, to twelue poore people twelue pence
in monie, and twelue pence in bread. Neither is this
charitable deed laid asleepe, but continued even to the
worlds end, for the perpetuall succor of the poore and
impotent, a legacie of six pounds, thirtene shillings
and foure pence, allowed to that end; the bestowing
whereof is in the hands of the said worshipfull Socie-
tie of Stationers, the distributors of this almesse to
the poore: who are put in mind to praise God for that
prouision, in this request of the benefactor grauen in
mettall, and fixed fast in the wall hard by his tombe:

I praie you all that receiue bread and pence,
To saie the Lords praier before ye go hence.

As for Christs hospitall, vnto the which he hath
prouided himselfe a fatherlie benefactor, towards the
bringing vp of the poore children, he hath giuen six
pounds, which they shall inioice for the terme of six
hundred yeares. Moreover (marke the rare liberali-
tie of this vertuous gentleman) he hath giuen to the
said hospitall one hundred pounds in readie monie,
wherewith to purchase lands, that their reliefe, by the
reuenues of the same, might be perpetuall: a nota-
ble deed, and an vndoubted worke of perfect christia-
nitie. As for S. Thomas spittle in Southwarke, to-
ward the succour of the sicke and diseased, he hath gi-
uen foure poundes yerele, and for euery: so that we
may see in all his proceedings with what mercie he
was moued, with what pittie pricked: and finally, in
all respects how godlie giuen. And here by the waie
it is to be noted, that wheras it was reported, that he
gave to the hospitall, commonlie called the S^tauois,
founded by king Henrie the seventh, to purchase
lands for the behoofe of the said hospitall, one hun-
dred pounds in monie: it is nothing so. For his be-
neficence towards that hospitall was staid, not tho-
rough any default in him; but because such agree-
ments could not be concluded vpon, as he reasona-
bly required. Wherefore his contribution that waie
ceased, soe (I dare saie) against his godlie will. Thus
much I was desired to speake touching that mat-
ter, to the intent that nothing but plaine truth might
be reported, with the contrarie whereof he was not a
little offended.

And although offenders deserue rather to be puni-
shed than fauoured, whereupon by politike gouerne-
ment it is prouided, that their bodies apprehended,
be committed to appointed places of imprisonment:
yet this good gentleman remembling that the holie
Ghost willesh vs not to withdraw our hand from a-
nie of our brethren in distresse, considering that cha-
ritie should not be parciall but indifferent, hath for
the reliefe of the poore prisoners of the two Coun-
ters, of Fleetgate, of Ludgate, of the Marshalsee,
of the Kings Bench, and of the white Lion, dealt be-
rie bountifullie, and discretlie: giuing vnto the two
Counters, six pounds to be paid vnto them both by
twentie shillings a moneth: and to the other prisons
aboue mentioned, six mattresses a peece, the whole
number being two dozen and a halfe. In considera-
tion of which charitable deed, how deeplie they are
bound, if they haue anye sparkle of grace, to thanke
God for his goodnesse shewed vnto them by the mi-
nisterie of this gentleman, all the world maie per-
celue.

Reliefe for the
poore people.
By Lambes
house to the
worshipfull
Stationers.

Perpetuall
prouision for
the poore.

Reliefe for
Christs hospi-
tall.

A purchase
for the said
hospitall.

Reliefe for
S. Thomas
spittle.

Why he staie
his benefi-
cence from the
hospitall of
the S^tauois.

Prisoners for
offenders.

Reliefe for
poore priso-
ners.

A charitable
deed.

Marriage
monie for
poore maids.

His loue to-
wards his
seruants.

His faith was
fruitfull.

I. Stow.
An earth-
quake in
Kent.

T. C.

Cassels and
ships seene
in the aier.

cessue. It were iniurie offered, to let slip vntremem-
bered his mindfullnesse of poore maides marriages :
and how willing he was to helpe them, it appeareth
by his good gift of twentie pounds to be equallie di-
uided among fortie such in number by equall por-
tions of ten shillings a peece : with this caveat, that
these poore maides so to be married, should be of god-
name and fame : wherein marke how in all his be-
quests, wisdom is ioined as a yokefellow with his
bountie.

Lastlie, and for conclusion, this discret gentle-
man, carried awaie with the zeale of a god conscien-
ce, tendering the state of his seruants, left them
also at a resonable good staie. For besides their halfe
peares boord fraile given and granted, he hath bene
beneficiall to them in diuerse other respects, which I
passe ouer vntremembred. But alas ! these sorrowfull
seruants do not a little lament the losse of so louing
a maister. I omit the hundred & eight fraile gownes
readie made, which he bequeathed at his funerall to
poore people, both men and women : with the dis-
persing of the remnant of all his goods after his bur-
iall, where need and reason required. And thus you
see what monuments this gentleman hath left be-
hind him, to beare witness to the world of the fruit-
fullnesse of his faith : which if (as saint James saith)
it maie be iudged by works, and that it is a dead and
a barren faith which declareth not it selfe by dedes :
then the sequelle maie be this, that the faith where-
with he (of whome this is written) was indued, the-
with it selfe to be the same faith which is wished,
and I would to God were in the heart of euerie Chris-
tian. As for his religion, it was sound ; his professi-
on sincere ; his hearing of Gods word, attentue &
diligent ; his vse of prayer, deuout : in his sicknesse
patient, willing to forsake the world, and to be with
Christ, in whose faith he died ; and lieth intombed in
a faire large vatot in saint Faiths vnder Paules,
this epitaph grauen in brasse or copper, fixed vpon his
grauel stone, compising a note of our mortalitie :

As I was, so are ye :
As I am, you shall be :
That I had, that I gaue :
That I gaue, that I haue :
Thus I end all my cost :
That I left, that I lost.

Hitherto concerning maister Lambes almost
dedes, wherein thus much hath at large bene spoken
for others example, whome as God hath indued with
riches : so it were to be wished they would vse them
no worse. The first daie of Maie, after twelue of
the clocke in the night, was an earthquake felt in di-
uerse places of Kent, namelie at Ashford, great
Chart, &c : which made the people there to rise out of
their beds, and run to the churches, where they called
vpon God by earnest prayers to be mercifull vnto
them. Of this earthquake one writeth thus. Ma-
nie thousands haue heard and commonlie it is re-
ported, that latelie in Kent an other earthquake
was seene and felt, and so terrible and soze the
earth did tremble and quake, that it wakened
people that soundlie slept, and had like to haue ro-
ked them all asleepe that were awake. So feare-
full was the matter, and so dreadfull is the wrath of
God in time of visitation, and wicked season of in-
quitie. This was a pretie naturall cause : in deed so I
thinke. For the naturall diseases of man, and the
naughtie filthinesse of the flesh (full of lust and in-
firmities) caused God for the correction of natures in-
clination, to make Dover, Sandwich, Cantuar-
rie, Grauesend, and sundrie other places tremble
and shake.

The eighteenth daie of Maie, about one houre be-
fore sun setting, diuerse gentlemen of worship, and

god credit, riding from Bodman in Cornewall to T. C.
wards foie, there appeared to their seeming in the
northeast, a verie great mist or fog, much like vnto
the sea : and the forme of a cloud in the fashion of
some great cassell, with flags, & streamers the reon
as it were standing in the sea, which presentlie ba-
nisthed awaie. In whose stead, and nere to the same
place, appeared an other cloud which altered into the
likenesse of a great argosie, furnished with masts,
and other necessaries ; and his sailes seeming full of
wind, made his waie on the south-west of the cassell,
hauing streamers and flags verie warlike, with two
boats at either sterne. Where incontinent appeared
againe the forme of a cassell, and behind the same
came following on the south-west side, an other great
argosie, furnished as the first. This being past, there
appeared three or foure gallies with their masts and
flags in warlike sort, hauing boats at their sternes ;
and thereby appeared other small clouds to the num-
ber of twelue, which altered into the proportion of
the said cassels, and one following an other, as some
as ante of them vanished other came in their room ;
and this continued the space of an houre. Shortly af-
ter the lights in the aier aforesaid, a worthy Gen-
tleman in the countrie wrot to a right good gentle-
man in the court, that there was seene vpon a
downe called Wobwells downe, in Summerfet-
shire, three score personages all clothed in blacke, a
furlong in distance from those that beheld them ; and
after their appearing, and a little while tarieng, they
vanished awaie ; but immediatlie, an other strange
companie in like maner, colour and number appea-
red in the same place, and they incountered one an
other, and so vanished awaie. And the third time ap-
peared that number againe all in bright armour and
incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie.
Foure honest men which saw it, reporting the same
abroad, were examined thereof, before sir George
Porton, to whome they swore, that those things they
had seene were true, as here before is rehearsed.

Moreover, it is crediblie reported of manie honest
men, that fve miles from Wolsdon in Wiltshire,
a crie of hounds was heard in the aier, the selfe same
daie that the first earthquake was, and the noise
was so great that was made, that they seemed three
or foure score couples : whereat diuerse toke their
greyhounds, thinking some gentlemen had bene a
hunting in the chace, and thought to course : yet some
of those that went out of their houses, seeing nothing
below abroad, looked vpwads to the skies, and there
espied in the aier fve or six hounds perfectlie to be
discerned. Now (to saie my fanisie) I doubt not but
thousands hold these newes for fables inuented for
pleasure. But I protest before God and man, I can
belene a great deals more stranger matter than
this, in this strange world : for the people so estrange
themselues from God by vsing manie strange fa-
shions, and clapping on new conditions & natures,
that except he shew some miracles, his godhead
would quickelie be forgotten on earth, and men
would belene there were no other world but this.

The thirteenth of June, about six of the clocke in
the morning, at Shipton with in the baronie of Wo-
rthell in Northumberland, there happened a tempest
of lightning and thunder, after the which, on a sud-
den came a great shoyre of haile, amongst the which
were found stones of diuerse shapes maruel-
lous to behold, as in the likenes of frogs, mattocks,
swords, horse shoes, nails, crosses of diuerse sorts,
skuls of dead men, &c. The seuenteenth day of June, in
the parish of Blasedon in Northeshire, after a great
tempest of lightning & thunder, a woman of fours-
core yeares old, named Alice Perrin, was deliue-
red of an hideous monsther, whose head was like vnto

T. C.
wonders in
wiltshire and
summerfet-
shire.

T. C.

haile stones
of strange
shapes.

A monsther
birth.

to a fallet or headpiece, the face like unto a mans, except the mouth, which was round and small, like unto the mouth of a mouse, the fore part of the bodie like to a man, hauing eight legs not one like an other, and a taile halfe a yerd long. Which monster brought into the world, besides an admiration of the diuine workes of God, an astonishment at his iudgements. But of these we may saie as a stranger said sometime vpon the like occasion of prodigies and wonders successiuelie insuing, not without weightie signification; to wit; that such things be as tales told to the deafe, verie few weleng in their minds the meaning & effect of strange accidents, and therefore thinke vpon nothing lesse than a reformation of their wicked life: for the which things sake God sendeth these and manie such significant warnings, before he taketh the rod in hand, and whippeth vs till we smart: we then not looking to the meanes that prouoke this vengeance, as willing to auoid them: but murmuring at the self iudge, vnder whose heauie hand we grone, & charging him to be the author of all misfortunes falling vpon vs: which Homer trauile seemeth right well to haue noted in this sense:

Cur sultis incusant mortales numina celi?

Et sibi nos dicunt autores esse malorum?

Cum prater fatis leges in aperta ferantur

Damna, suauentis proprijs erroribus orti.

About the eighteenth daie of Iulie, the lord Erie toke his voyage towards Ireland as lord deputie thereof, after whom was sent diuerse bands of lustie souldiours, both horsemen and footmen, vnder the leading of expert captaine, of whose prosperous and happy success against their enemies, the Irish and others, diuerse pamphlets haue bene published, & matter more at large is set downe in the historie of Ireland. The thre and twentieth of September, at fennie Stanton in Huntingdonshire, one Agnes wiife to William Aulsebrook was deliuered of an vgly and strange monster, with a face blacke, the necke red, mouth and eyes like a lion, on the forehead a roll of flesh that might be turned by with ones finger, on the hinder part of the head a lump of flesh proportioned like a fetter, being hollow, with one eare growing on the lower part of the cheek, his belie big and hard, the armes big, hauing five fingers and a thumbe on either hand, and in place of toes on the left foot five fingers and a thumbe, on the right foot a thumbe and seuen fingers, & in the place of pynitie the shape both of male & female: a strange sight to be seene, and I feare, signifieth our monstrous life, which God for his mercie giue vs grace to amend, without procrastination or putting off from daie to daie, as the poet significantlie saith:

Cras vultis, sed vult hodie vindex Deus, & cras,

Aur non vult, aur vos obruet atra dies.

The eight daie of October, immediatlie after the new moone, there appeared a blasing star in the south, bushing toward the east, which was nightlie seene (the aier being clere) more than two moneths. The eighteenth of October were made eight sergeants at law, to wit, William Fleetwood recorder of London, Edward Flowerdew, Thomas Snag, William Periam, Robert Walton, John Clench, John Pickering, Thomas Warmsteie; maister Snag before named was sicke, and therefore was swozne in his chamber at Greies inne, the other seuen were swozne at Westminister, and held their feast at the new Temple at London.

The queenes maiestie being informed, that in sundrie places of this realme, certeine persons secretlie taught damnable heresies, contrarie to diuers principall articles of our belofe and christian faith, who to colour their sect named themselves the familie of loue, and then as manie as were allowed by them

to be of that familie to be elect and saued, and all others of what church soener they be, to be reiect and damned. And for that vpon conuention of some of them before the bishops & ordinaries, it was found that the ground of their sect is maintained by certeine lewd, hereticall, and seditious books, first made in the Dutch tongue, and lastlie translated into English, and printed beyond the seas, & secretlie brought ouer into the realme, the author whereof they name I. P. &c. And considering also it is found, that those sectaries held opinion, that they may before arie magistrat or ecclesiasticall or temporall, or anie other person, not being professed to be of their sect, by any or otherwise denie anie thing for their aduantage: so as though manie of them are well knowne to be teachers and spreaders abroad of these dangerous and damnable sects; yet by their owne confession they can not be condemned. Therefore hir maiestie being verie soie to see so great an euill, by malice of the diuell to be brought into this hir realme, and by hir bishops and ordinaries she vnderstandeth it verie requisite, not onelie to haue those dangerous heretiks and sectaries to be seuerelie punished; but that also all other meanes be vsed by hir maiesties roiall authoritie, which is giuen hir of God to defend Christs church, to rot them out from further infecting of hir realme: she hath thought meet and conuenient, and so by hir proclamation commanded, that all hir officers and ministers temporall shall in all their seuerall vocations assist the bishops of hir realme, and all other person to search out all persons duilie suspected, to be either teachers or professors of the foresaid damnable sects, and by all good meanes to proceed seuerelie against them, being found culpable by order of the lawes ecclesiasticall or temporall: and that all search be made in all places suspected, for the books and writings maintaining the said heresies and sects, and them to destroe and burne, &c: as more at large may appere by the said proclamation, giuen at Richmond the thirde of October, and proclaimed at London on the nineteenth daie of the same moneth.

About this time there arrived vpon the west coast of Ireland, a certeine companie of Italians and Spaniards, sent by the pope to the aid of the earle of Desmond in his rebellion, which fortified themselves stronglie vnto Smerwicke, in a fort which they called castell del Dye, there erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie. Which when the lord Erie of Wiltton deputie of Ireland vnderstood, he marched thitherward, and on the first of Nouember, hearing of the arrivall of the Swift, the Tigre, the Aid, the Hertion, & other of the queenes maiesties ships, and also of thre barks fraughted from Corke and Limericke with vittels, on the morrow after marched towards the fort, vnto the which he gaue so hot an assault, that on the ninth of Nouember the same was yeolced, all the Irishmen and women hanged, and more than foure hundred Spaniards, Italians, and Wilsaies put to the sword: the coronell, capteins, secretarie, and others, to the number of twentie saued for ransome. In which fortresse was found good store of monie, biscet, bakon, oile, wine, and diuerse other provisions of vittels sufficient for their companie for halfe a yeare, besides armour, powder, shot, and other furniture for two thousand men and vtwards.

The eight and twentieth daie of Nouember were arreigned in the kings bench, William Kandoll for conspiring to know where treasure was hid in the earth, and goods feloniously taken were become; Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Rafe Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding, and procuring the said Kandoll to the consuration & L. 1111. ij. foresaid.

The queenes maiesties purpose to rot out this pestilent sect.

Historie against the Irish and other in Ireland.

Anno reg. 23. Kandoll hanged for conspiring.

Strange
speeches of a
childe.

forfeild; Kandoll, Ellis, Spacte, and Waddington were found guiltie, & had iudgement to be hanged; Kandoll was executed, the other were reprieved. About the 24 of December in the towne of Wallingham in the countie of Suffe, a childe of eleuen years old; named William Withers, late in a trance for the space of ten daies without anie sustentance, and at the last comming to himselfe he uttered to the standers by manie strange speeches, intencg against pride, couetousnesse, coldnesse of charitte, and other ontragious sins. To behold this childe there resorted diuerse godlie & zelous preachers, as also knights, esquires, & gentlemen, all of them hearing and seeing that which was wonderfull. And among others that came thither, there was a gentleman of great credit and worship, with certeine of his men to heare and behold the childe: who hauing espied a seruing man that had bene there with his maister two times, whom he had sharple taunted for his great and monstrous ruffes, spake vnto him verie vehementlie, and told him that it were better for him to put on sackecloth and mourne for his sinnes, than in such abhominable pride to pranke vp himselfe like the diuels darling, the verie father of pride and lying, who sought by the exercise of that damnable sinne to make himselfe a preie to everlasting torments in hellicke. Whereupon the seruingman, as one prickt in conscience, forsooked and wept for his offence, rent the band from his necke, toke a knife and cut it in peeces, and vowed neuer to weare the like againe. This for the strangenesse thereof will be condemned as a lie, spectallie of vnbelouers and peruers worldlings, whose hearts are so hardened, that they will not beleue though one rise from the dead, or though God should speake vnto them from heauen (as the poet noteth trulie) which he hath done in times past:

—solique tremendus ab alto

Alitoniens celo signa stupenda dedit.

About the twelue daie of Januarie proclamation was published at London, for renouation of sundrie the queenes maiesties subiects remaining beyond the seas vnder colour of studie, and yet liuing contrary to the lawes of God, and of the realme: and also against the reteining of Iesuits and massing priests, sowers of sedition, and other treasonable attempts, &c. The thirtieth of Januarie a man was hanged, headed, and quartered, for begging by a licence whereunto the queenes hand was counterseited.

One executed
for counter-
seiting the
queenes hand.

Parlement at
Westminster.

On the sixteenth daie of Januarie, the lords and barons of this realme began to sit in the parlement house at Westminster: and on the twentieth daie of Januarie the queenes maiestie went from White hall to the parlement house by water. Where as a great chalenge of iusts was signified by waite of denise before hir maiestie on Twelue night last past, to haue bene perfozmed the sixteenth daie of Januarie, hir maiesties pleasure was for diuerse considerations the same should be deferred untill the two and twentieth daie of the same moneth; on which daie the same was most couragiously accomplished in the accustomed place at Westminster, where manie fauours were valiantlie broken; but through the great concourse of people thither repairing, manie of the beholders, as well men as women, were soe hurt, some mained, and some killed, by falling of the scaffolds overcharged.

After deuoure
the grasse in
Danefete
hundred.

This yeare about Hallowtontide last past, in the marshes of Danefete hundred, in a place called Southminster, in the countie of Essex, a strange thing happened. There suddenly appeared an infinite multitude of mice, which ouerwhelming the whole earth in the said marshes, did speare and gnaw the

grasse by the roots, spoiling & tainting the same with their venemous teath: in such sort that the cattell which grased thereon were smitten with a murraine and died thereof. Which beruine by policie of man could not be defracted, till now at the last it came to passe, that there flocked together all about the same marshes such a number of owles, as all the shire was not able to yeld: whereby the marsh holders were thortlie deliuered from the vexation of the said mice.

This yeare (against the comraing of certeine commissioners out of France into England) by hir maiesties appointment, on the six and twentieth daie of March in the morning (being Easter daie) a banketting house was begun at Westminster, on the south west side of hir maiesties palace of White hall, made in maner and forme of a long square, three hundred thirtie and two foot in measure about; thirtie principals made of great masts, being fortie foot in length a peece, standing vpright; betwene euerie one of these masts ten foot asunder and more. The walles of this house were closed with canuas, and painted all the outsidis of the same most artificiallie with a worke called rustike, much like to stone. This house had two hundred ninetie and two lights of glasse. The sides within the same house was made with ten heights of degrees for people to stand vpon: and in the top of this house was wrought most cunninglie vpon canuas, worke of iute and holie, with pendents made of wicker rods, and garnished with baie, rue, and all maner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toleas made of holie and iute, with all maner of strange fruits, as pomegranats, oranges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes, carrets, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most richlie hangged. Betwixt these worke of baies and iute, were great spaces of canuas, which was most cunninglie painted, the clouds with fawces, the sunne and sunne beames, with diuerse other cotes of sunbzie sozts belonging to the queenes maiestie, most richlie garnished with gold. There were of all maner of persons working on this house, to the number of three hundred seuentie and five: two men had milchances, the one brake his leg, and so did the other. This house was made in three weekes and three daies, and was ended the eighteenth daie of Aprill; and cost one thousand seuen hundred fortye and foure pounds, nineteen shillings and od monie; as I was crediblie informed by the worshipfull maister Thomas Ghaue surueior vnto hir maiesties worke, who serued and gaue order for the same, as appeareth by record.

On the sixteenth daie of Aprill arrived at Douer these noblemen of France (commissioners from the French king to hir maiestie) Francis of Bourbon prince dophin of Auergne, Arthur Coslate marshall of France, Lodonic Lusignan lord of Laneoc, Cauegrinus Caercongin countie of Tillir, Bertrand Salignac lord of Fenselon, monsieur Spanafour, Barnabie Bissen president of the parlement of Paris, Claud Binart, monsieur Gardmont, monsieur Uerate; these came from Grauesend by water to London, where they were honorably receiued and interteined; and thortlie after being accompanied of the nobilitie of England, they repaired to the court and banketting house prepared for them at Westminster, as is afore said, where hir maiestie

—(decussilla Britannium
Gemmaque non alijs inuenienda locis)

with amiable countenance & great courtlesie receiued them: and afterward in that place most roiallie feasted & banketted them. Also the nobles & gentlemen of the court, desirous to thew them all courtlesie possible

1581
Banketting
house at west-
minster.

How this
banketting
house was
garnished and
decked with
artificiall be-
lises.

The colls
and charges
of this bank-
etting house.

Noblemen
of France
arrived at
Douer.

beluet, laid with gold lace, doublets of yellow sattin, hats of crimson beluet with gold bands and yellow feathers, and yellow silke stockings. Then had he six trumpeters that sounded before him, and one and thirtie women that waited after him apparelled in cassocke coats, and venetian hose of crimson beluet, laid on with red silke and gold lace, doublets of yellow taffatie, hats of crimson taffatie, with yellow feathers, and yellow worsted stockings.

The lord windsors entrie the first daie and his attendants.

After him proceeded the lord Windsore, in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture, richlie imbrodered with gold, hauing attendant on him foure pages riding on foure spare horses, and foure and twentie gentlemen, all apparelled in short cloaks of scarlet, lined through with orange tawnie taffatie, and laid about with silver lace, doublets of orange tawnie sattin, venetian hose of orange tawnie beluet, blacke beluet caps, with silver bands and white feathers, and silvered rapiers and daggers, with scabbards of blacke beluet; foure trumpeters, and two footmen in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie beluet, and blacke beluet caps with silver bands and white feathers, foure grooms of his stable leading of his foure horses, in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie taffatie and orange tawnie felts with silver bands, and white feathers. Then had he thre scoze women in coats of orange tawnie cloth, with the unicorne of silver plate on their sleeves, and orange tawnie felts with silver bands and white feathers.

Philip Sidneies entrie, now Sir Philip Sidneies and his attendants.

Then proceeded maister Philip Sidneie, in verie sumptuous manner, with armour part blew, and the rest gilt and ingrauen, with foure spare horses, hauing caparisons and furniture verie rich and coslie, as some of cloth of gold imbrodered with pearle, and some imbrodered with gold and silver feathers, verie richlie and cunninglie wrought: he had foure pages that rode on his foure spare horses, who had cassocke coats, and venetian hose all of cloth of silver, laid with gold lace, and hats of the same with gold bands and white feathers, and ech one a paire of white buskins. Then had he a thirtie gentlemen and yeomen, and foure trumpeters, who were all in cassocke coats and venetian hose of yellow beluet, laid with silver lace, yellow beluet caps with silver bands and white feathers, and euerie one a paire of white buskins; and they had upon their coats, a scrowle or band of silver, which came scarfe wise ouer the shoulder, and so downe vnder the arme, with this poeie, or sentence written vpon it, both before and behind, *Sic nos non nobis*.

Mr. Fulke Grevills entrie with his traine of attendants.

Then came maister Fulke Grevill, in gilt armour, with rich and faire caparisons and furniture, hauing foure spare horses with foure pages riding vpon them, and foure trumpeters sounding before him, and a twentie gentlemen and yeomen attending vpon him, who with the pages and trumpeters were all apparelled in loose ierkins of tawnie taffatie, cut and lined with yellow farfenet, and laid with gold lace, and cut downe the arme and set with lopes and buttons of gold, venetian hose of the same lined (as aforesaid) laid with gold lace downe the side with lopes and buttons of gold, with ech a paire of yellow worsted stockings, and hats of tawnie taffatie with gold bands and yellow feathers. Hauing thus all entered the tiltpard, they proceeded on with the rowling trench before them, which staied against the queene, and they passed by, as though they would behold the Fortresse of beaultie; and so went about the tilt. At last the hole that uttered the first defiance pronounced these speeches to hir maiestie.

The second defiance of challenge.

If the message latelie deliuered vnto you had bene beleued and followed (O queene) in whome the whole storie of vertue is written, with the language

of beaultie; nothing should this violence haue needed in your inviolate presence. Your eyes, which till now haue bene onelie bent to discern the bowed knees of kneeling hearts; and inwardlie turned found alwaies the headenlie peace of a sweet mind, should not now haue their faire beames reflected with the shining of armour, should not now be giuen to see the farts of desire, nor the fierie force ofurie. But sith so it is (alas that so it is) that in the defense of obstinate refusal there neuer groweth victorie but by compassion; they are come: what need I saie more, you see them, ready in hart as you know, and able with hands as they hope, not onelie to assailing but to preuailing. Perchance you despise the smallnesse of number. I saie vnto you, the force of desire goeth not by fullnesse of companie. Flee rather vnto what vntastable determination themselves approach, and how not onelie the heavens send their invisible instrument to aid them: but also the verie earth the buldest of all the elements, which with naturall beaunitie still strives to the sleepie centre; yet for aduancing his enterprise is content actiuelie (as you shall see) to mane it selfe vpon it selfe to rise vp in height, that it maie the better command the high and high minded fortresses. Spante words, when deeds are in the field, are tedious both vnto the speaker and hearer. You see their forces, but know not their fortunes; if you be resolu'd, it boots not, and threats breed not. I haue discharged my charge, which was euen when all things were ready for the assault, then to offer partlie a thing not so much binued as gracious in besiegers. You shall now be summoned to yeeld, which if it be refused, then loke for the affectionat alarme to be followed with desirous assault. The time approacheth for their approaches, but no time shall staie me from wishing, that howeuer this succed, the world maie long intois hir chiefest ornament, which decks it with hir selfe, and hir selfe with the loue of godnesse.

Spante the maile south in the mount.

where with the mount moved a roole by in height.

Which speech being ended, the rowling trench of mount of earth was moued as nere the queenes maiestie as might be, which being setled, the musike played verie pleasantlie, and one of the holes being then accompanied with cornets, summoned the fortresse with this delectable song, here vnder noted.

The rowling trench moued nere to the queene.

Yeeld, yeeld, o yeeld, you that this fort doo hold, which seated is, in spotlesse honors feeld,

The fortresse summoned in song.

Desires great force, no forces can withhold: then to desires desire, o yeeld o yeeld.

Yeeld yeeld o yeeld, trust not on beauties pride, fairenesse though faire, is but a feeble sheeld,

When strong desire, which vertues loue dooth guide, claimes but to gaine his due, o yeeld o yeeld.

Yeeld yeeld o yeeld, who first this fort did make, did it for iust desires, true children beeld,

Such was his mind, if you an other take, defense herein dooth wrong, o yeeld o yeeld,

Yeeld yeeld o yeeld, now is it time to yeeld, before th' assault begin, o yeeld o yeeld.

When that was ended, an other hole turning himselfe to the softer children and their retinue, sang this alarme with pleasant voice & fowmelle countenance.

The alarme song.

Alarme alarme, here will no yielding bee, such marble eares, no cunning words can charme,

Courage therefore, and let the statelie see, that nought withstands desire, alarme alarme.

Alarme alarme, let not their beauties moue remorse in you to doo this fortresse harme.

For sith warre is the ground of vertues loue, no force, though force be vfed, alarme alarme.

Alarme alarme, companions now begin, about this neuer conquered wals to swarme,

More praise to vs we neuer looke to win, much maie that was not yet, alarme alarme.

Alarme

Alarme alarme, when once the fight is warme,
then shall you see them yeeld, alarme alarme.

The shooting
of the two
canons, the
one with sweet
water, and the
other with
sweet powder.

Which ended, the two canons were shot off, the
one with sweet powder, and the other with sweet wa-
ter, verie odoriferous and pleasant, and the noise of
the shooting was verie excellent consent of melodie
within the mount. And after that was shote of pre-
tie scaling ladders; and the fortunen shew floures
and such fanles against the walls, with all such deu-
ses as might seme fit shot for desire. All which did
continue till time the defendants came in.

The manner
of the defend-
ants com-
ing in.

Then came in the defendants in most sumptuous
manner, with euerie one his seruants, pages, and
trumpeters (hauiug some more, some lesse) in such
order as I haue here vnderplaced them. With eue-
rie one his sundrie inuention, which for that some of
them be mysticall and not knowne to manie, I omit
therefore for bycurities sake to speake of anie. Yet
such speeches as were spoken or presented for them
to hir maiestie, so manie as were, or at the least as
I could come by, I haue here in their order placed
them, whereby their inuentions for whome they were
spoken, are therein plainelie declared. Therefore I
referre you to the reading of them hereafter. But
thus the defendants entered the tiltyard, one after
an other as followeth. First maister Henrie Greie,
sir Thomas Perot, maister Anthoine Coke, maister
Thomas Ratcliffe, maister Henrie Knolles, mas-
ter William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles,
maister Francis Knolles, maister Rafe Bolwes,
maister Thomas Ielwaite, maister George Coring,
maister William Tresham, maister Robert Aler-
ander, maister Edward Dennie, maister Hercules
Speantus, maister Edward Hoze, maister Richard
Skippwith, maister Richard Ward, maister Ed-
ward Digbie, maister Henrie Powell, maister
Henrie Bunker. And afterwards in the middell
of the running came in sir Henrie Leigh, as be-
knowne, and when he had broken his sir haues went
out in like manner againe. So passing on one after
an other, when sir Thomas Perot & maister Coke
came to the end of the tilt, ouer against the queenes
maiestie, one of their pages arrayed like an angell
bittered these speeches vnto hir.

The speech of
sir Thomas
Perot and
maister Coke
to the queene.

Despaire, no not despaire (most high and haplie
princesse) could so congeale the frozen knight in the
air, but that desire (ah sweet desire) enforced him to
behold the sun on the earth, whereon as he was ga-
zing with twinkling eye (for who can behold such
beames steadfastlie) he begun to dissolue into drops,
melting with such delight, that he seemed to preferre
the lingering of a certeine death before the lasting of
an vncerteine life. Such is the nature of ingrauen
loialtie, that it chooseth rather to haue the bodie dis-
solved, than the mind disliked. Thus consuming with
content (a sweet sicknesse is conceipt) and pining
with more than speakeable passions, he suddenlie be-
held that sun to be besieged which he so deuoutlie ser-
ued. Wherewith boiling in no lesse disdain, than sur-
prised with immoderat penituenesse, he bittered these
words: O Ioue, if thou meane to resolue nature into
contraries; why dost thou see it? If into nothing,
why dost thou see it? If the foot scale the head, there is
no rest; if desire ouerthot dutie, there is no reason:
and where either of these are, there can be no rule.
And so setting more sighs than maie be numbred by
ciphers, this present time (ah grieve) this present time,
that honest & faire hearted frozen knight died (what
said I) even that which againe with grieve I must
say died, whose ghost making speedie passage into the
Elysian fields (for that more swift than a soule) in
the midst of the infernall multitude, with shriekes,
cries, clamours made both heauen & hell to redouble
this echo: O times, O men, O corruption of ma-

For the sun is
meant but ma-
liffe, called
by the
poetesse of
nature.

niers! The sun is besieged, the sun (O mischance) the
sun is besieged. Which strange and vniacquainted
termes caused not onelie murmuring amongst the
ghosts beneath, but a musing amongst the gods a-
bone: who as well to reuelle the tumults, which
might haue risen among the shadows, as to reuenge
the pride which began to grow on the earth, sent
downte an angell with this commandement; Go de-
seend, and cause Adam and Eue to appeare on the
earth in that sort as they were in paradise, that the
world may know them & wonder at them. For se-
ing out of their loines haue issued those preposterous
limmes, I knowe none more fit to correct them. Cer-
tes none more willing. They will attempt anie
thing for thy sake, and seruice of that earthlie, and
yet (O strange conceipt) most heauenlie sun. For as
they were before diuinen from their desire, because
they desired to know the best: so now shall they be
diuinen vnto their desire, which they couet to honour
most. This shall be their reward, they shall come
nere and yet shall not feare, and be they farre off,
it shall warne. A cloud maie sometimes barre their
sight, but nothing shall deprive them of the safeguard:
yet command them to be humble in affection,
though feruent, least they seme to disdain that
pride in others which they desire themselves.

The sun in the highest delighteth in the shadow
which is shortest, nourisheth the tree whose root grow-
eth deepest, not whose top springeth loftiest. This
commission and counsell ended, all things were in a
moment accomplished with such celeritie (for to the
gods time is tied) that they were sped so sone as they
were spoken. And now most renowned and diuine
sun, Adam and Eue being present, bouchsafe to heare
somewhat in their behalfs pronounced. Sir knights,
if in beseging the sunne ye vnderstood what you had
vnder taken, ye would not despoile a common ble-
sing for a priuat benefit. Will you subdue the sun?
Who shall rest in the shadow where the wearie take
breathe, the disquiet rest and all comfort? Will ye be-
reue all men of those glistering & gladsoime beames?
What shall then prosper in the shining, but you will
cline it by the rales; O rare exhalations! Brothers
you may be to desire, but sons ye are to ill hap, which
thinke you can not sinke depe inough into the sea,
vnlesse you take your fall from the sun. Desist you
knights, desist, sth it is impossible to resist: content
your selues with the sunnes indifferent succor, suffer
the inniper shrub to grow by the loftie oke, and
clame no prerogatiue where the sun grants no pri-
uilege; for being of the same metfall that others are,
the sun will worke the like effects, as the doth in o-
thers. The giants would haue bin gods, if they could
haue scaled the heanens; and you no lesse than stars
could you conquer the same: but as their throwing
bill vpon hill did manifest their pride, but nothing
further their pretence; so your laing challenge vpon
claime, and conquest vpon challenge, may well proue
a will but no worthinesse; a desire to reach, but no
possibilitie to recover. In which your soaring as-
saies if you chance to fall, the only comfort you haue
is to crie with Phaeton, *Magnis excidimus ausis*. But
if no persuasions may moue your minds, know ye
proud knights, there are that haue hearts as big as
mounteins, and as far about you in prouesse as ye
are about all in presumption, yet not so baue (which
ye terme valiant) to assalt the sun. And whie? because
it is impregnable. Wele content to intole the light, ye
to eclipse it; we to rest vnder the set, ye to run ouer
the head; we to yeeld to that which nothing can con-
quer, you to conquer that which maketh all men cap-
tiues. But were it possible that head could deuide,
courage attempt, or hand execute anie thing that
might shew the depth of our vnspotted loialtie, sons
should

Sir Thomas
Perot & mas-
ter Coke
were both in
like armour
beset with ap-
ples and fruit,
the one sig-
nifying Adam &
the other Eue,
who had haire
hanging all
downte his
helmet.

The angell
speeth to
the queene.

He speaketh to
the chalengers
in the behalfe
of the two
knights Ad-
am and Eue.

*Magnis excidi-
mus ausis*, the
crie of Phaeton
at his fall.

The defend-
ants gantlet
throwne
downe, &c.

The defend-
ants sure
and desire.

Mr. Watcliffe
speaketh to the
queene.

A moſſe
cliffe.

Moſſe and
nothing but
moſſe.

should be ſerue (and for your felicitie to ſone) that your enterpriſes ſhould be of as ſmall account then, as now they are of likelihood; ſo deepe an impreſſion is engraven in our thoughts, for the maiestie of that ſun which now perſing our eyes hath fullie ſubdued our hearts, that we are preſt in his deſenſe to offer the whole world deſiance. In proſe whereof I am charged to throw downe this gantlet, which who ſo dareth take vp, ſhall ſeele both the heat of their iuſt conceived quarrell, and the reproch of their owne deſerued ſollicie, not by riding in breaking a few ſtanes to end the ſtriſe, but at ſomewhile, or what elſe ſoeuer they can deuile, or dare aduenture to win the benefit of Beautie. Thus moſt renowned & diuine Beautie, whoſe beames ſhine like the ſun, haue Adam & Cue aduentured to defend the ſun. The ſame I call Beautie the light of the world, the maruell of men, the mirrour of nature, on which their encounter if thoſe fauourable gleames may fall, they will not onlie thinke to haue done good herein, but to be reſtor-
ed againe to paradise. The one incaneth to repoſe his truſt in a woman, who like Cue cannot be beguiled, the other to reſt on a ſaint which by a ſerpent will not be tempted. Thus being placed in the garden of your graces, & of all things moſt gracious, where vertues grow as thicke as leaues did in paradise, they will take hede to taſt of the forbidden fruit, contented to behold, not coueting to take hold. And for that it hath bene long argued, and no arguing can end, whether the firſt offence came by the crudelie of Adam, or the ſimplicitie of Cue; the one deſending his fault by ſound arguments, the other excuſing his by ſharpe anſwers: they moſt humble ſue for this, that either by ſir courtes betwene them the quarrell may be ended, or by your highneſſe peremptorie ſentence determined. For they both being in the world, are deſirous that one might beare the blame of both. And what herein your excellencie ſhall ſet doſone, there is none ſhall gaineſaie; for when ſoeuer the queſtion ſhall be moued, no other reaſon ſhall be allowed or liked than this; *Elizabetha dixit*. This ſpeech being thus ended, ſir Thomas Perot and maſter Cooke proceeded backward on the other ſide of the tilt. And when maſter Watcliffe came like wiſe againſt the queene, one of his pages pronounc-
ed theſe ſpeeches in his maſters behalfe to hir ma-
ieſtie.

So manie were the miſfortunes (moſt renowned and beautifull princeſſe) of the deſolate knight my maſter, as neither the ſhortneſſe of the time will ſuffer me to repeat, nor the greatneſſe of the myſte-
rie to remember. But let this ſuffice, that ſome there were and ſo manifold, that geometrie whereon the bodie of man hangeth could not beare being intol-
erable, nor the mind which conſiſteth in arithmetike number being infinit. Thus alwaies croſſed by for-
tune, whoſe croſſing is no bleſſing, he determined to ſeparate himſelfe as far from ſocietie, as his actions were from ſuccesse; who wandering through manie deſerts, yet finding as he thought no place deſolate,
happened at the laſt to come to a cliffe adioining to the maine ſea, covered all with moſſe, whereon he was walking: much delighted with the ſolitarie ſeat, but not well liking the cold ſituation, he ſudden-
lie ſunke into a hollow vault, ſurpriſed at the firſt with feare, but ſeing it at the laſt a place of ſuccour, he accounted his former miſeries metlie appeaſed by this preſent fortune. In this den he liued for his bed moſſe, for his candle moſſe, for his ceeling moſſe, and breakeſt now and then a few coales, moſſe for his meat: a drie ſod God wot and a freſh, but ſo moi-
ſtened with wet teares, and ſo ſalt, that hard it was to conſecture whether it were better to ſed or to ſalt. Where he gaue himſelfe to continuall meditation, ſe-

parating his mind from his bodie, his thought from his hart, yea diuorcing himſelfe from himſelfe, in ſo much that with his ſtrange diet and new conceits he became ſo enchanted; that neither the remem-
brance of others, nor a thought touching himſelfe could enter into his mind: an alteration ſeldome heard of, that the place where he was throwed in, ſhould make him to forget who he is. Liuing thus a long time ſo that no lim ſhould ſeeme ſhort, riſing according to his manner to walke in the moſſe in the griſping of the day, he clipt upon the ſhore certein men either caſt aſwaie by ſhipwreake, or ouerbord by pirates; unto whom he went; and perceiving by their plaints one which lay dead amongſt them to be their maſter, inquired where he was: But they not willing to repeat their miſfortunes, opened the boſome of the gentleman, and pulled out a ſcroll containing a claime, a challenge, naie a conqueſt of Beautie. At the ſight whereof, ſuddenlie (quoth he) Beautie had the reſiſtance appalled pauſed, entering by little and little out of his preſent melancholies in-
to his former miſfortunes, who as one awaked out of a long dreame began thus to beate. O Beautie, where thy ſortelle is founded I know, but what theſe brethren ſhould meane I maruell; for as I am aſſured that to win thee none could be ſo fortunate, ſo did I thinke that to claime thee none could be ſo fond; when as thou O diuine Beautie art of curie one to be deſired, but neuer to be conquered of De-
ſire. But as the eagle beholding the ſunne, coue-
teth to build his neſt in the ſunne, and ſo dimmeth his ſight; ſo they beſeving the brightneſſe of Beautie are incenſed to conquer it by Deſire. And what then? Becauſe ſhe is inuincible ſhall I be indiffe-
rent? No, I will for ſake this cattie cottage, and will take arms to defend that Beauties caſtell. Nothing ſhall remoue me from mine attempt, which being performed, nothing can moue me. Yea but the bad ſeruaunts already a number; I but vnles I be there, not the whole number: but manie were famous, but none moze faithfull: yet alas, if thou go, thou ſhalt
euer be infortunate: better alwaies infortunate, than once diſſoiall. Which words being ended, he deman-
ded whether they would in like caſe aduenture with one of no leſſe courage than their maſter, but certein-
lie of greater affection: whoſe ſeruiſe he having upon ſmall intreatie obtained, for that beſike they were deſirous to ſee the euent for the which they had ſuffered ſuch aduentures, he departed to his caue, beſeving a ſhield out of the hard cliffe enriched onelie with
ſoft moſſe: a double ſigne of his deſire, thinking that nothing could manifeſt Beautie ſo well as Pytha-
goras walnut, a tender rine and a hard ſhell. And now moſt excellent and diuine Beautie, diuine it muſt needs be that twoſketh ſo heauenlie, ſith he is called from his ſolitarie caue to your ſumptuous court, from bondage to libertie, from a liuing death to a neuer dieng life, and all for the ſake and ſeruiſe of Beautie: bouchſafe his ſhield, which is the enſigne
of your fame, to be the inſtrument of his fortune. And for proſtrating himſelfe to your ſet, he is here readie preſt to aduenture anie aduentures for your
gratious fauour.

Which ſpeech being ended, he retired backe as the reſt. And after him came the ſoure ſonnes of ſir Francis Knolles, one after another, according to their age, and all in like armour: who comming to the end of the tilt, ſtated till theſe ſpeeches were utte-
red by one of their pages, who being apparelled like unto Mercurie, pronounced theſe ſpeeches in the knights behalfe to hir maieſtie.

Report hath bried all abroad, that deſperat De-
ſire with a wonderfull armie of affections hath laid his ſiege againſt the inuincible ſtreſſe of peere-
leſſe

A claime or
conqueſt of
beautie con-
tained in a
ſcroll.

A ſimilitude.

Here the laſt
delivered Mr.
Watcliffe
ſpeaketh to the
queene.

Here enter
the ſoure ſonnes
of ſir Francis
Knolles.

The ſpeech of
the ſoure ſonnes
of ſir Francis
Knolles, &c.

as moved by
their page be-
ing apparell
in the best
attire.

desire and
beauty.

my desire
informs lead
to win beaui-
ty.

The four
sonnes of Sir
Francis
knights.

The running
to the tilt.

lesse beantie, and that the chiefeest champions of this
most famous enterprise are four of famous fel-
lowes, fosterbrothers to desire, and drie nurst by
despaire, balliant knights, and honorable personages,
whose beutie hearts deserve renowne at least, for
venturing to win the golden fleece without speedes
helpe. The giants long ago did scale the clouds
men saie, in hope to win the foot of Iupiter. The
wanton youth, whose waten wings did drie with soa-
ring vp aloft, had scapt unscorcht if he had kept a
meaner gale below. So failes it out in this attempt,
desire haunts to conquer Beauties fast by force,
wherein the goddesse keeps continuallie watch and
ward, so that desire may despaire to win one inch of
hir against hir will. Hir statelie seat is set so high, as
that no leuell can be laid against hir walles: and
soner may men undertake to hit a starre with a
stone, than to beat hir bzaue bulwokes by batterie.
No undermining may preuaile, for that hir fort is
founded vpon so firme a rocke, as will not stir for ei-
ther fraud or force. And is there anie hope to win by
famine such a fort as yields continuall food to all hir
foces: And though they feed not fat therewith, yet must
they either feed thereon or fast: for Beantie is the on-
lie bait whereon desire bites; and loue the chiefe re-
souer that labie Beantie likes, so that she can no
more be left without meat, than men can liue with-
out minds. Of all affections that are, desire is the
most woorthie to win, but lest desires to win Beau-
tie: for in winning his saint, he loseth himselfe: no
soner hath desire what he desireth, but that he dieth
presentlie: so that when Beantie yieldeth once to
desire, then can she neuer want to be desired againe.
Wherefore of force this principle must stand, it is con-
uenient for desire euer to with, and necessarie that
he alwaies want. O rare and most renowned Beau-
tie, O goddesse to be honored of all, not to be equalled
of anie, become not now a prisoner: your fortress
is invincible. No doubt desire will content himselfe
with a fauourable parlex, and wait for grace by total-
tie, not challenge it by lance; although he make neuer
so bzaue. The world doth know that labie Beantie
needs no rescue to raise this siege, for that she sits a-
boue all reach, hir heauenlie looks aboute when she so
lists can dazell all mens eyes. But though she list
not vse those meanes, yet it is mete that all hir ser-
uants come and shew themselves deuout to do hir
will: perchance hir pleasure is to see the forts tried
of these four foster friends. O happie, ten times
happie they whose hap shall be with fauour of hir de-
sire, to take in hand this bzaue attempt: in hope
whereof these four legitimate sonnes of despaire,
brethren to hard mishap, suckled with sighes, and
swathed vp in sorrow, weaned in wo, and drie nurst
by desire, long time fostered with fauourable coun-
tenance, and fed with sweet fancies, but now of late
(alas) wholie giuen over to griefe and disgraced by
disdaigne, are come with readie hearts and hands, to
proue against these other four, that desire doth not
deserve one winke of god fauour from labie Beau-
ties smiling eyes, for threatening to win hir fort by
force. They doubt not the victorie, if onelie they may
find some like shew from their saint in fauor of their
enterprise. If Mercurie haue said amisse, blame
those bright beams which haue bereft him of his wit;
if well, vouchsafe one becke to bid him packe awaie.

These speeches being ended, both they and the rest
marched about the tilt, and so going backe to the ne-
ther end thereof prepared themselves to run, euerie
one in his turne, each defendant six courses against
the former challengers: who performed their parts
so balliantlie on both sides, that their prowess hath
desmerited perpetuall memorie, and woorthilie won
honor both to themselves and their native countrie,

as fame hath the same reported. When this daies
sport was thus accomplished, the boie that uttered
the defiance, in these few speeches toke his good
night of the queene.

In the triall of this debatefull question, O your
selfe: what can be said more than is: You see that
saying begins to faile. Might the ordinarie truce mar-
ker, though no truce be treated, if at least your pre-
sence make it not lightsome, will wrap all in hir
blacke and mourning wards, perchance mourning,
for that the noblest desire hath bene subiect to unde-
serued torments: and therefore these knights by the
authoritie of darkenes berie vnderfrowlie are com-
pelled to depart from thence they came. So com-
clode, thus much they command me in their names
to confesse, that such excellencie they find in your
knights, and in comparison of them such unablencesse
in their felous, that if desire did not bantish despaire
as a traitor out of his kingdome, it would haue al-
readie undermined their best grounded determina-
tion: but no inward no; outward wound, no weak-
nesse, no wearinesse, can dant desire, no; take awaie
the naturall effects that follow it. Therefore hauing
left them no other courage than desire, no other
strength than desire, no other beginning or ending
cause but desire, they will continue this hard and
hardie enterprise to morrow. In the meane time
they can find no place in their hearts that doth not
with you as sweet rest, as Psyche was conueied vn-
to by the gentle Zephyrus, and if it be possible by
the same ghost visited. They wish that when your
lids loke vp, your eyes may be brightened, to see to
morrow a better daie than this, and therewithall so
singular successe, as you may long, fixelie, and ioy-
fullie injoy your selfe, to the delight of lookers, and
wonder of markes. This said, and all the trium-
phant shewes ended, the knights in berie comelie
and conuenient order (as they came) departed:

Et festos soluant artus, molissima quaque

Gustant, et dulci membra quiete fiant.

The next daies shew was done in this order. The
four foster children of desire entered in a bzaue char-
riot (berie finelie and curiously decked) as men fore-
wearing & halfe overcome. The charriot was made
in such sort, as vpon the top the four knights sat,
with a beautifull ladie, representing desire about
them. Wherevnto their eyes were turned, in token
what they desired. In the bulke of the charriot was
conueied some for a full consort of musike, who plaid
still berie dolefull musike as the charriot moued.
The charriot was drawne by four hoes according
to the four knights, which hoes were appareled in
white and carnation lilke, being the colours of de-
sire. And as it passed by the vpper end of the tilt, a he-
rald of armes was sent before to biter these speeches
in the knights behalfe to hir maiestie.

No confidence in themselves, O most unmatched
pzincesse, before whome enuie dieth, wanting all
nereenes of comparison to subseine it, & admiration
is expressed, finding the scope of it void of concei-
vable limits, no; anie slight regarding the force of
your balliant knights, hath encouraged the foster
children of desire to make this daie an inheritour of
yesterdaies action: but the wing of memorie alas,
the swoone enuie vnto the woofull mans quietnesse,
being constantlie held by the hand of perfection, and
neuer ceassing to blow the cole of some kindled de-
sire, hath brought their inward fire to blaze forth this
flame vquenchable by anie meanes: till by death
the whole felwell be consumed. And therefore not able
to master it, they are violentlie borne whither de-
sire draweth, although they must confesse (alas) that
yesterdaies bzaue onset should come to such a confes-
sion, that they are not greatlie companied with hope,

The boie that
uttered the
defiance, in
this speech
toke his good
night of the
queene.

here entereth
a most eccel-
lent and bzaue
charriot, with
rare, curious,
and costlie
workes with
the four chel-
lengers in it,
which charria-
or was berie
curiously draw-
ned with
fine lawne.

The first
speech the
second daie.

Hope the sup-
plier to desires
armie.

the common supplier to desires armie. So as now
from summoning this castell to yeeld, they are fal-
len lowlie to beseech you to vouchsafe your eyes out
of that impregnable fortresse, to behold what will
fall out betwixt them and your famous knights:
wherein though they be so overpressed with the others
valour, that already they could scarce see howe to
able to come hither, if the charriot of desire had not
carried them; yet will they make this whole assem-
bly witnesses so farre of their will, that sooner their
soules shall leave their bodies than desire shall leave
their soules. In that onelie standeth their strength,
that gaue them their first courage, and must be their
last comfort. For what resistance is there, where not
onlie they are met with foreign enemies, such as state-
lie disdaine, which looketh from so high a towre to
poyse desire, that though (in it selfe) it be great, yet in
hir eyes (so seated) it seemeth small, or such on the o-
ther side as vnforsunate despair, which maketh the
countrie so barren where they laie their siege, that it
would take awaie all the food of fancie: but euen ci-
uill warre yesterdaie grew betwixt them and others
who beare the same badge of desire: that they do so,
as thus besetted they are brought to this faire passe,
to desire no more, but that this death or ouerthrow
maie be seene by those eyes who are onlie vnhappie, in
that they can neither find fellows nor see themselves.

Tourneies &
barriers con-
trouersie
tried.

Which speech being done, the defendants came in,
in such order as they came in the daie before. There-
fore I shall not need to make a new repetition of the
same, sith all hath bene touched already. When went
they to the tourneie, where they did berie noblie, as
the shining of the swords might berie well testifie;
and after that to the barriers, where they lashed it
out lustilie, & fought couragiously, as if the Greeks
and Troians had dealt their deadly dole. No partie
was spared, no estate excepted, but eue knight indu-
red to win the golden fleece, that expected either fame
or the fauour of his mistresse, which sport continued
all the same daie. And towards the euening the sport
being ended, there was a boie sent vp to the queene
being clothed in ash coloured garments in token of
humble submission, who hauing an olive branch in
his hand, & falling downe prostrate on his face, and
then kneeling vp, concluded this noble exercise with
these words to hir maiestie.

The last
speech to the
queene signi-
fying the hum-
ble hearted
submission of
the souerain
children
of desire.

Most renowned princeesse of princes, in whome
can nothing obtaine victorie, but vertue. The foster
children of desire (but helres onelie to misfortune)
send me to deliuer in such words as sorrow can af-
ford: their most humble hearted submission. They ac-
knowledge this fortresse to be reserved for the eye
of the whole world, farre lifted vp from the compasse
of their desinie. They acknowledge the blindness
of their error, in that they did not know desire (how
strong soeuer it be) within it selfe to be stronger
without it selfe than it pleased the desired. They ac-
knowledge they haue degenerated from their foster-
er in making violence accompanie desire. They ac-
knowledge that desire receiued his beginning and
nourishment of this fortresse, and therefore to com-
mit vngatefultnesse in bearing armes (though desi-
rous armes) against it. They acknowledge noble
desire should haue desired nothing so much, as the
flourishing of that fortresse, which was to be este-
med according to it selfes liking. They acknow-
ledge the least determination of vertue (which
stands for the gard of this fortresse) to be so strong
for the strongest desire, & therefore they do acknow-
ledge themselves overcome, as to be slaves to this
fortresse for euer, which title they will beare in their
foreheads, as their other name is ingrauen in their
hearts. For witness thereof they present this olive
branch to your presence, in token of your trium-

An olive
branch pre-
sented to the
queene.

phant peace, and of their peaceable seruitude, where-
by they present themselves as bondmen by those
bonds, which the losse of life can onelie lose. Onelie
from out of that which was theirs they craue thus
much, to giue some token to those knights, which
maie be indged to haue done best in eue kind of loca-
pon, or who by his deuill hath come in best fort in this
desirous strife. This being done, they being now
slaves (in whome much dutie requireth) for feare of
offense, dare saie no further; but with from the bot-
tome of their captiued hearts, that while this realme
is thus fortified and beautified; desire maie be your
chiefest aduersarie.

Which speech being ended, hir maiestie gaue them
all praise and great thanks, which they esteemed so
well, and thought themselves rewarded according
to their owne wishing: and so they departed eue one
in order, according to the first coming in. And thus
ceased these courtlie triumphes, set forth with most
costlie bzauerie and gallantnesse, whereof I maie
saie as the academical poet sometime said at the
gratious enterling of hir maiestie into Cambridge:

*Elic cocco murex, aurum superatur ab auro,
Naturam certant vincere queque suam:
Nil ibi sat pulchrum, quamuis pulcherrima queque,
Et quamuis vincant omnia, victa iacent.*

The one and twentieth of June in the night, the
lowest images (which were of Christs resurrection, of
the virgin Marie, and of kings and bishops of this
realme) about the crosse in Cheape (being sir square)
on all the sides, were broken and defaced: wherevpon
two daies after, proclamation was made thro-
rough out the citie, that who so would be waie the
doers thereof, should haue fortye crownes for their
labour: but nothing came to light. The seauen and
twentieth of June, Thomas Butcher brewer, was
conuicted in the Guildhall of London, for that he as
principall, and others as accessaries, to the number
of a thousand persons, on the five and twentieth of
June last past, about ten of the clocke in the night,
with force of armes, in west Smithfield of London,
& other streets of the citie congregated themselves,
and with diuerse exclamations, prouoked the people
in manner of a rebellion, contrarie to the peace & sta-
tutes of the realme. On the eight and twentieth of
June, the same Thomas Butcher, being arraigned at
the Iustice hall in the old Baillie, was found guiltie,
and had iudgement to be whipped on the next market
daie from Fleetgate thorough Smithfield, Long
lane, Aldersgate street, Saint Martins le grand, & so
thorough the citie to the bars without Aldgate, then
to be committed to Fleetgate. On the 30 of June,
the same T. Butcher, being deliuered vnto James
Hale and other beables, to haue receiued execution,
as is aforesaid, he being whipped from Fleetgate
into west Smithfield, was there rescued, taken from
the beables, and sent to hisse for himselfe abrode: for
the which fact the one & twentieth of Iulie, William
Downe, J. Hand, T. Harres, and T. Appowell,
three shoemakers and a brewer, were whipped from
Fleetgate to the middell of Smithfield, and there
set on the pillorie, whereon they stood from ten of the
clocke till twelue, and from thence againe commit-
ted to prison. The thirteenth of Iulie, Richard Cor-
dooz of diuinitie, sometime scholemaister to king
Edward the first, deane of Westminster, and of
Christs college in Orenford, and of late bishop of
Ely deceased, and was buried at Ely; whose epi-
taph (alluding to his name and the execution of his
charge, wherein he was iust) hereafter followeth:

*Vita caduca vale, salueto vita perennis,
Corpus terra regit, spiritus alta tenet.
In terra Christi gallus Christusum resonabam,
Da Christus in cala te sine fine sonem.*

This

Crosse in
Cheape de-
faced.

Thomas
Butcher
whipped and
rescued.

Four men
whipped and set
on the pillorie.

Bishop of E-
ly deceased.

Two men of
strange sta-
tures to be
seen.

This yeare were to be seene in London two Dutchmen of strange statures, the one in height seauen foot & seauen inches, in breadth betwixt the shoulders three quarters of a yard and an inch, the compass of his breast one yard, an halfe, and two inches; & about the waist one yard, quarter, and one inch; the length of his arme to the hand a full yard: a comelie man of person, but lame of his legs (for he had broken them with lifting of a barrell of beere.) The other was in height but three foot, had neuer a good foot, nor anie knee at all, and yet could he dance a galliard, he had no arme, but a stumpe to the elbowe; & little more on the right side, on the which, singing, he would dance a cup, and after tolle it about three or foure times, and euerie time receiue the same on the said stumpe: he would shot an arrow nere to the marke, flourish with a rapier, throw a bowle, beat with an hammar, beate with an ar, sound a trumpet, and drinke euerie daie ten quartes of the best beere, if he could get it. About the seauenteenth of Iulie, I saw these men in the parish of saint Peter vpon Cornhill, the taller sitting on a bench bareheaded, the lesser stood on the same bench, and hauing on his head a hat with a feather, was yet the lower. Also the taller man standing on his feet, the lesser (with his hat & feather on his head) went by right betwene his legs, and touched him not.

Edward
Dance ex-
posed.

Edward
Dance ex-
posed.

Edward
Dance ex-
posed.

Edward
Dance ex-
posed.

Edward
Dance ex-
posed.

Edward
Dance ex-
posed.

The eighteenth of Iulie, Edward Hance, alias Duckett, a seminarie priest, was in the sessions hall in the old Baillie of London arraigned, where he before the quenes iudices affirmed that himselfe being now in England was subiect to the pope in ecclesiasticall causes, and that the pope hath now the same authoritie here in England that he had an hundred yeares past, and which he hath now at Rome, with other traitorous speeches: for the which he was condemned to be drawne, hanged, and quartered, and was executed accordingly on the last of Iulie. At the same sessions were brought from the Fleet, the Gatehouse, Fleetgate, and the Counters, sundrie prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to church; all which being conuicted by their owne confession, had iudgement according to the statute, to paie twentie pounds for euery moneth of such wilfull absence from the church. The first of November, monseigneur Francis duke of Anion, the French kings brother, and other nobles of France (hauing latelie arrived in Kent) came to London, and were honourably receiued, and retained at the court with banquetting, and diuerse pleasant shewes and pastimes, of whome more hereafter in place conuenient.

On mondaie being the twentieth of November, Edmund Campion, Rafe Sherwin, Lucas Herbie, Edward Kishyton, Thomas Cotcham, Henrie Dutton, Robert Johnson, & James Bosgraue. All these before named persons were brought vnto the high barre at Westminster: where they were seuerallie, and altogether indicted vpon high treason, the sum whereof followeth in briefe as thus. That these persons, contrarie both to lone and dutie, forsooke their native countrie, to line beyond the seas, vnder the popes obedience, as at Rome, Rheims, and oiuers other places: where (the pope hauing with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gracious princeesse, and utter subuersion of hir seat & kingdome, to aduance his most abhominable religion) these men, hauing bowed their allegiance to the pope, to obeye him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent; yea vttermost furtherance they might, to aid him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent and purpose they were sent ouer to seduce the hearts of hir maiesties louing subjects, and to conspire and practise hir graces death, as much as in them laie, against a great

daie, set and appointed, when the generall hauch should be made, those onelie referred that iained with them. This laied to their charge, they boldlie and impudentlie denied. Whereupon a iurie was impanelled, their owne confessions, their owne writings, and credible witnesses *Vina voce* produced to their faces, approuing them guiltie of the former allegations, as hereafter followeth.

After the indictment was read vnto them, and their answer, that it was beyond their power to proue them faultie in such matters, so difficult they stood in their apparant impudencie; first was moued to them sundrie treasons past, attempted against hir maiestie by those of their sect and disposition: yet notwithstanding the vttermost of their malice, how mightilie God had defended his chosen Elisabeth, returning their dealings to their owne destruction. Among sundrie these treasonable practises, which the pope, the ancient aduersarie to hir maiestie hath at diuerse times set abroch, the rebellion in the north may remaine as a witnesse of his exceeding malice and spite against hir grace and gouernement. Where to let vs ad the bull sent ouer by Iohn Felton, which traitorously he placed on the bishop of Londons gate: in which bull, the pope vtterlie excommunicated hir maiestie, he was an heretike, he had dispossessed hir of hir crowne and dominion, she was not the lawfull queene of this realme, and hir subjects were not bound to obeye anie of hir laws or decrees; but they were all free, and perfectlie discharged of their allegiance to hir, so that they might lawfullie, when time serued so conuenient for them, both stirre rebellion against hir, and also enter into armes against hir maiestie. The popes will in this hath bin put in execution, as through the ill demeanour of diuerse persons to him affected it was moued in the north, where mainteining themselves on the authoritie of the pope and his traitorous bull secretlie dispersed abroad, they entred into a plaine and manifest rebellion. The like was put in practise in Ireland through doctor Sanders and other traitors, who there iained themselves togither vnder the popes standard, to bring to passe their secret appointment in this realme. Through their persussions and dealings, the people were moued in the popes name to fight against their lawfull princeesse vnder his banner; and to rebell against hir so notoriouly as they might. The encouragement to this great disobedience they receiued through doctor Sanders a fugitive and ranke traitor to his prince and countrie, as also through diuerse Iesuits both English and Irish, whose hypocriticall shew of holinesse and diuinely persussions on the behalfe of the pope their master and head, intised a multitude of the people there to change their profession in religion, and to yield themselves to the popes authoritie, whereby they should renounce the most certeine and iust title of hir maiestie: and when fozen forces should be assembled there, they to iaine with them in their intent, and so traitorously rebell against their lawfull soueraigne. All these practises toke their originall from the pope, as well by sending his secret messengers, as also by his traitorous bull, which being sent by Iohn quintus, is neuertheless confirmed (in the former authoritie) by this pope Gregorie the thirteenth, and remaineth in hope to take effect at some time or other, for which he doth watch opportunitie as conuenientlie as he maie. But God the iust auenger of all causes, as he hath hitherto preferred hir maiestie & this little Island from all their malicious attempts and practises, and hath deservedlie shroude the people of their shame on their owne necks: so will he no doubt continue his fatherlie care, that his children shall be preferred, & their aduersaries confounded.

The rebellion
in the north,
onlie through
the popes
meanes.

The sum of
the popes bull
which our
Englishmen
beyond the
seas hold as
their authori-
tie to rebell a-
gainst hir ma-
iestie.

Doctor San-
ders his re-
bellion in Ire-
land, through
whome the
people were
seduced to
fight against
their lawfull
princeesse.

This bull re-
maineth in
his former
force by this
pope, onlie a
collation for
the straitnesse
to the subjects
therin ament-
ded.

But

Campion, as
sireth not to
heare how
these treasons
toke their o-
riginal, and
how from time
to time they
haue bene en-
creased and
confounded:
wherefore to
blind the pro-
ple, he
maketh this
counterfeit
answer.

But faith Campion: What is this to vs here
present: What appertaineth this to our indictment?
We are here both seuerallie and all together indicted
of high treason; and for that that is objected against
vs we must answer. Let not other mens offenses
be laid to our charge, that we should answer for other
mens faults committed long since. Some of vs were
then but nouices here in the vniversities, and were
altogether ignorant of these matters. What haue
we to do with anie thing that they did? They that
were offenders, let them answer to what you can lay
against them. For vs that be here at this instant,
you must either saie, When Campion did this thing,
or thou (naming some of the other) committedst this
offense, and therupon bring your proofes and witness-
ses, otherwile you shall neuer be able to touch vs. As
for these assertions, for the strength they haue against
vs, I will not esteeme it worth a penniworth of pip-
pins. And therefore to your indictment.

This answer so smoothly deliuered, and with such
coole looks and protestation of action gesse, that all
the standers by gaue perfect notice of the man, both
of his nature and disposition, as also of his prompt
& ingenious wit, to shadow an absolute truth with
a shew of great wisdom and learning. For this he
knew right well, that before he came to that place,
he had wonne a marvellous goodlie report, to be such a
man as his like was not to be found, either for life,
learning, or anie other qualitie that might beautifie
a man. So that by his sauoyers and friends it was
blown abroad, that we had neither doctors, nor o-
thers that were worthy to enter disputation with
him, he was so farre above them all, that they might
not deale with him. Hereto do the great titles which
they adorne him withall giue credit, saieing thus:

Ex bello quæ-
dam famosi.

*Quid? Campiano deerat doctrina perito,
Doctrina natus qui penetrare fuit:
Cui fuit in primis sponsa scientia cunis;
Quique puer nulli mente secundus erat:
Ingenuus iuuenis qui sedulus imbibit artes,
Virque videbatur vix habuisse patrem, &c.*

Now being brought vnto a publike triall, it stood
him vpon to argue somewhat of the praise that had
bene giuen him: wherefore in verie quaint and fa-
miliar eloquent gloses he stood vpon quirks and fine
deuise of speech, thinking as he had deluded manie
before, so at that present he might blind the eyes of
thee, & acquite himselfe of his horrible treasons. But
as truth sheweth most braue when the goeth bare &
naked, and deceipt finest when he is cunninglie fla-
rish; even so the poore habit of the one discovered
the proud hart of the other, and confounded his bold-
nesse with his sacred brightnesse, giuing all men to
vnderstand, that *Veritas vincit omnia*. And because
Campion would haue made such a cunning conue-
nience of the matter, as though it neither might or
could as taint him or anie of them: it was giuen him
to vnderstand, that they would not alone touch him
in the sequele of the former causes, but them all, and
he that thought himselfe the clearest. Where vpon do-

Doctor Sam-
ders and doc-
tor Whittons
writings in
defense of the
popes bull
were read
vnto them, where-
in most traito-
rously they de-
fended the re-
bellion against
his maiestie.

Doctor Sam-
ders and doc-
tor Whittons
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defense of the
popes bull
were read
vnto them, where-
in most traito-
rously they de-
fended the re-
bellion against
his maiestie.

They denied
what one of
their owne fel-
lows had con-

some that they had neuer seene it, and some that they
neuer heard of anie such commandement: when as
John Hart one of their owne fellows had auouched

had auouched it, and therunto subscribed. Besides, my selfe when I came to Rheimes, saw them as
common amongst them, as the little catechisme here
amongst children, the inequalitye of the number con-
sidered. Againe, at Rome they were as common
likewise in the seminarie, and among the English
men in the citie, for my selfe had it, and one of do-
ctor Allens catechismes deliuered me, with great
charge to embrace it as my chiefe instruction. My
companion that went with me had one likewise; the
rest of the witnesses had seene how common they
were, and in what reuerence and authoritie they e-
steemed them: yet these men would with shamelesse
faces denie it; yea, and if they might haue bene so
credited, would haue sworn against it. This ma-
nifest reprofe they would not grant vnto, but Cam-
pion taketh vpon him to wexe it according vnto his
humor, by answering that the booke was not so ill as
they take it for, nor deserued anie such iudgement of
preiudice. Now he thought he could not be taken
tardie, but supposed his argument to passe vnto rep-
arable; for that in the new imprinting of this booke,
such matters as did most sharplie touch them, were
abridged, thinking none of the former booke should
come to light. But here Campion ouerthot himselfe,
for so lie an answer could not couer so foule a ble-
mish. When they had notably considered them of these
matters, which with obstinacie they still denied, they
came to the intent of their secret comming ouer in-
to this realme, which was for the death of his mai-
estie, and ouerthrow of the whole realme, which should
be by domestick rebellion and forren hostilitie, the
sum whereof in briebe is thus. This little Island, God
hauing so bountifullie bestowed his blessings vpon
it, that except it proue false within it selfe, no trea-
son whatsoeuer can preuaile against it, and the pope
being heretofore well persuaded, by reason that
all his attempts haue proued of no effect: he hath
found out a meane, whereby he assureth himselfe to
sped of his desire. Secret rebellion must be stirred
here at home among our selues, the harts of the peo-
ple must be obdured against God and their prince;
so that when a forren power shall on a sudden invade
this realme, the subjects thus seduced must loine
with these in armes, and so shall the pope attaine the
sum of his wish. And all this must be wrought by
certeine locusts of the popes seminarie mainteined
at Rome & Rheimes, arriving in England, and
dispersing themselves into such places, where they
thinke themselves to be surest, some in one place,
and some in another; and disguising themselves like
gentlemen, seruicemen, or what apparell they may
find meetest for them, haue access to manie and
sundry places, where hauing reconciled some, their
friends must likewise be of the same stamp. And so,
that from father to son, husband and wife, kinsman
and acquaintance, a number are seduced & brought
into their detestable dealings. For, after they haue
gotten anie little ground within them to build vpon,
then do they laie vnto them, that a generall bloudie
date is toward England, that the pope and other for-
ren princes haue suthie determined to ouerrun the
realme; then better it were for you (saie they) to peld
your selues willingly, than to see so horrible a
slaughter, both of your princeesse, and all that dare
presume to take his part. Your selues, yea and your
friends shall abide the same hard iudgement, except
you loine with vs in this action. Thus through ter-
rifying, and a thousand traitorous fetches they haue;
one friend byingeth another, and one kinsman ano-
ther. So that, as they themselves will make
their boast, in short time they doubt not to haue the
most part of all England: yea and further they pre-
sume, that his maiestie thinking his selfe in most
safety,

Campion was
sweared this
pointe falsly,
because in the
last edition of
the booke the
chiefe matters
against them
selues were
abridged.

The generall
determination
on how to passe
their intent in
this realme.

Their owne
confession
how they be-
haue them-
selues when
they come into
England.

Campion co-
louring their
causes, and
affirming it
was for the
safeguard of
soules.

safetie, shall then be counted of all beguiled & deceived. These are the men that make themselves so sound and substantiall, that they are as true subsidies to her maiestie, as the best of vs. Yea, saith Campion, neuer shall you proue this, that we came ouer either for this intent or purpose: but onelie for the sauing of soules, which more loue and conscience compelled vs to doe, for that we did pittie the miserable estate of our countrie. But where are your proofes (saith he) these are but quirkes by the waies, our liues I perceiue standeth vpon points of rhetorike, you haue shewen vs the antecedent, now let vs haue the Ergo. With this continuall course of bolonelle and impudencie, Campion and his fellows would grant nothing, but still denied euerie cause: and Campion he took it for a custome to wrest euerie thing as pleased him, saying: that the iurie were not men learned, and therefore causes of conscience ought not to be committed to them, neither was that barre appointed to define on causes of conscience: wherefore, all that you doe (saith he) is but to bring vs in odium with the iurie. After this order he deluded the people, appealing still to the deuoutnesse of his conscience: because he saw the matter brought to the verie pith that would generallie conuict them all, for the witnesses were produced and sworn, Harts confession and their owne writings before them, so that they would remoue them from their ordinarie illusions.

The deposition
of G. Eliot.

George Eliot, one of the ordinarie premen of his maiesties chamber, vpon his oath gaue forth in euidence as followeth. That he, liuing here in England among certeine of that sect, fell in acquaintance with one Paine a prest: who gaue him to vnderstand of a horrible treason intended against his maiestie and the state, which he did expect should to happen, the order how & after what manner in briefe is thus. That there should be leuied a certeine compaignie of armed men, which on a sudden should enterprise a most monstrous attempt: a certeine compaignie of these armed men should be prepared against his maiestie, as manie against my L. of L. as manie against my L. T. as manie against S. F. W. and diuerse other, whose names he doth not well remember. The deaths of these noble personages should be presentlie fulfilled, and his maiestie vied in such sort, as modestie nor dutie will not suffer a subject to rehearse: but this should be the generall cry euerie where, Quene Marie, quene Marie. It was also appointed and agreed vpon who should haue this man of honours rone, and who should haue that office, euerie thing was determined, there wanted nothing but the comming ouer of such prests and others, as were long looked for. Vpon this report, this aforesaid George Eliot took occasion to question with this Paine, how they could find in their hearts to attempt an act of so great and horrible cruelty, considering how high an offense it should be to God, beside great dangers might arise thereby. Whereunto Paine made answer, that the killing his maiestie was no offense to God, nor the uttermost cruelty they could vse to him, or aie that took his part, but that they might as lawfully do it as to a brute beast; and himselfe would be one of the foremost in executing of this villanous and most traitorous action.

A most traitorous
and villanous
and monstrous
offense
is true sub-
stant to be read
with reuerence
of the
person.

As for
their good will
towards, if
God did not
as he daily
both present
their pur-
poses.

Vpon this you may perceiue, that the death of his maiestie and overthrow of this realme was thoroughlie agreed vpon, and fallie determined: there wanted nothing but opportunitie, for prests both then and after came ouer continuallie to further it, so much as in them laie. To the said effect did A. Sp. utter most odious matter, the reading whereof would make aie true English hart quake & tremble: and to witte it, what total subject is able to a-

bide? And therefore as deriued from the diuinitie to his dearlings we omit the same; counting it more loathsome to tell such deuices and consultations all together, than to publish them to the world in blacke & white: due reuerence to the principall objects alwaies reserued. All which abominable fustie, circumstances of times, places, persons, and other particulars duly pondered, giue euident demonstration what affection these fellows afforded their lawfull quene and countrie: well is he that can imagine most against his maiestie, and highlie is he esteemed that beareth the most traitorous hart to him. Yet Campion and the rest of his fellows they plead ignorance in all these causes, they bolster by one another with large protestations, railing words, and subtill turnes: affirming that they were not sent hither for aie such intent, which is as untrue, as we know it for truth, that the Lord God liueth in heauen.

For this * I am able to saie my selfe, that at diuerse other times, it was whispered among them in the seminarie: that shouldie there should be prests appointed for England, to win the people against the appointed time, when as a great armie should be readie to ioinie with them: and Campion, who was then at Praga in Bohemia, he was spoken of amongst them all, to be a rare and singular fellow, and therefore generallie was taken for a meet man to be sent about such a message, so that they iudged that he should be sent for to be a chiefe man in this matter. Well (saith Campion) it may be they had such an opinion of me, which in my selfe I find not to be deserued; and it may be that I was appointed to be sent into England, according as those other prests were, for the sauing of soules and benefit of my countrie: must it follow then that we are sent to praise the death of the quene, and to seeke the ruine of our countrie? Alas, this is a hard case, and I desire you of the iurie to marke it, for these are but shadowes without aie substance. This you are to note, that we which enter into that blessed societie of the Iesuites: we doe as it were for sake the world, forsaking our felices to chastitie and sinceritie of conscience, to obeye our superiours, and to be readie to go whither they shall appoint vs. If they send vs to the Indies, or to aie such places, where the people haue not the true catholike faith: we are bound by dutie in conscience to go whither they appoint vs. And shall it then be said that we come for the destruction of the prince and countrie, where we settle our selues? Alas, that were a hard case, for christian charitie willet vs to comfort one another, and if we can to get the sheepe into the fold which hath long run astrae. And when we heare confession, we do not perswade them to aie disobedience; for that is against the nature of confession: God forbid that we should once thinke aie such thing.

Behold the subtill shifts that he found out still to his vnto, yea though the manifest disproue laie before them, yet would he find some canill or other: for not onelie the euidence of their generall determination beyond the seas was shewen them, but also the traitorous articles were there read vnto them, which John Hart had copied out for doctor Allen concerning the proceeding of these traitorous causes, and for which he went purposefully to Rome to confer with the pope about and subscribed vnto, that they were certeine and true, as also their owne confessions and writings were laid open before them, appoynting them notable guiltie of the matters aforesaid, and yet in their lying pamphlets scattered here & there in sundry hands, they haue faces of braue to report, that

Infidie sanctos implicare viros.

Charles Sled, who sometime serued master doctor Apozon in Rome, in whose house there was manie matters

Campion nor
his fellows
will grant to
aie thing,
but rule and
vse both spee-
ches, whereby
their guiltie
consciences
were disco-
uered.
M. A.

Campion con-
fesseth their
traitorous in-
tention: a
under the
saueing of
soules.

A holie kind
of life were it
not for the

Note here the
perfect image
of hypocritie.

when manie
felt proofes of
their treasons
were laid be-
fore them:
they would in
no wise grant
their guilti-
nesse.

Sp m m m m. f.

matters determined, both by doctor Allen when he came to Rome, and diuers other doctors living there in the citie, as also diuerse of the seminarie: he likewise vnderstood of the provision for the great date, that it was generallie spoken of among the Englishmen: and to be more certeine he kept a iournall or booke of their daillie dealings, noting the date, time, place, and persons present at their secret conferences, and verie much matter hath he iustified against them. One Cradocke a merchant, when he was in Rome, he vnderstood the aforesaid determination, and how that doctor Shelleie the English pri-
or, who is a knight of the Rhodes, for that he sometimes spake against such crueltie to be used to his native countrie, was somewhat mistlike of himselfe, and had almost bene turned out of his office. And this aforesaid Cradocke being in prison there for the space of twentie moneths and more: it was said to him, that he might account himselfe blessed of God that he was there, because he should not see the grievous ruine of his native countrie. He that hath but halfe an eye may see how these matters con-
cord and agree together, and noting euery thing as it lieth, may plainelie see their horrible and traitorous deuises.

Consider euery matter and then iudge how they con- cord and agree together.

A booke which they vse as their instruction, how to answer to euery question so- phisticallie.

To doe their dutie is a sweete bur- den to their consciences, and therefore they abide in their obstina- cie and blind- nesse.

And further, there was a little booke in Latine, which they themselves brought ouer with them, it was there openlie read vnto them: wherein was cer- teine rules and orders prescribed, how they should behaue themselves here in England, and how if they were demanded of anie thing, they should make answer indrectlie: or to take the word if selfe, according as it is mentioned in the booke, they must answer *sophisticallie*, whereby is meant as thus. If they be examined as concerning their allegiance to hir maiestie, they will make their answer after this maner: She is our lawfull soueraigne ladie & queene, and we obete hir. But then object vnto them; Will you obete hir, notwithstanding the popes excommu-
nication, or anie thing that he commandeth to the contrarie? Then will they answer: We desire you not to charge our consciences, and that you would not enter so deepe into our consciences, we trust the pope will not command vs anie thing against hir: & a hundred such like deuiselesse answers they make, neuer agreeing to anie certaintie, but holding the pope in more reuerence than they do hir maiestie.

For this consideration they carrie with them, that if by their shew of humilitie, & their deuised order of craftie answering, they might moue our magi- strats to haue a good opinion of them, & not to deale so strictlie as law and their deseruing doth woorthie merit: then they might with lesse suspect go about their holie fathers businesse, in that their sophis- tical answers couered so foule an abuse. And then so manie as come after them, purposelie sent about the same affaires, seeing their passage made be- fore them, and being schooled after the same maner: they might withdrawe the hearts of a number of hir maiesties subiects, by such meanes as is before largelie exprest; so that destruction should come vpon vs, before we had discovered their trecherous dealings. But God be thanked, as all their deuises haue had their deserued successe, this sophisticall or- der hath sped alike with them for companie: and this let them fullie assure themselves, that that meanes soeuer they seeke against their prince and coun- tre, God will reward them after their owne deal- ings.

Campion his owne answer as concerning his allegiance to hir maiestie.

To Campion himselfe the former questions were put forth at the barre: and this answer he made to them. She is my lawfull soueraigne ladie & queene, and I do obete hir. But when he was demanded, al- though the pope did expresselie command him the

contrarie: if he would neuer thelesse faithfullie o- bete hir: Wh then! they must not so deepe enter in- to his conscience, that barre was not a barre to de- fine on causes of conscience: that question touched his conscience, therefore he flatlie said he might not answer it. No, no, he knew full well that the tra- to-
rious affaires he came about, would not allow him such a direct answer as they had looked for, and glad- lie would haue had, that of a Saule they might haue made him a Paule. Therefore his secret and guile- full behauiour made perfect apperance of his wicked intent, which he shadowed vnder the counter- feit cloke of saving soules, and reconciling his coun-
triemen to the catholike faith, vnder the sweet bait of the amiable title of the Societie of Iesus, to which order hauing bequeathed himselfe (and become a re- solute and obstinate votarie) he thickest after the kingdome of heauen; if we might belue their owne report concerning Campion, of whome they saie:

*Nominis inde tui sancto deuotus Iesu
ille sodalitis celica regna fuit.*

Here if can not be greatlie amisse, to rehearse vnto you the cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull, seeing this sophisticall kind of answer- ing grew chiefe thereby. When anie of these secret messengers should be sent about their holie fathers determination here in England, to reconcile, shue, & twin hir maiesties subiects to their diuillish intent: if such misadventure should happen to them, that their secret dealings came to the eares of iustice, then they fell into the danger of law. Therefore to shadow their subtiltie, and to prosecute the effect of their mes- sage, the pope thought good to harden them by this so- phisticall addition. For well we know, & ourselves likewise are not ignorant thereof, that being exa- mined, if they should denie the queenes maiestie to be their supreme prince and gouernesse in all cau- ses: then they fell into condemnation by hir lawes. Againe, if they denied the authoritie of the pope, as of force they must needs doe, if they will esteeme themselves god subiects, and manifest a dutifull and obedient heart to hir maiestie: then they breake their bow made to the pope, and so fall into his curse and condemnation likewise: so that this is certeinlie appointed them, to cleaue faithfullie to the one, and vtterlie to forsake the other.

The cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull of Pius Quintus.

Yet that they might haue as much fauour and friendship, as the furtherance of such a cause requi- red: this hard clause (being well scanned of diuerse our English doctors and others, both at Rome and at Rhesmes) was thorough earnest sate deliuered to diuerse of the cardinals, who laing their heads together, and throughlie searching the bottome of euery doubt: a toleration for that strict point was found out, which was ordeined as you haue heard before. Then in all the hast the pope was giuen to vnderstand thereof, who respecting what might be for his benefit, and what might turne to his discommo- ditie, authorized them this former toleration, which (God be thanked) carried as slender strength as the rest of his practises hath done. Yet all this being knowne to vs, Campion & his fellowes will grant no knowledge, but pleade still their deuout con- sciences. An other of their owne bookes was also there read vnto them, wherein was other orders pre- scribed them, how they should handle a nobleman, how a gentleman, and how a poore man: which be- ing openlie read before them, gaue all there present to vnderstand, how assuredlie they had appointed the course for their treason. A number of innincible proofs passing against them, they came at last to the point of their comming ouer: how suddenlie, how bas- tlie, & all thorough a general appointment. Cam-
pion, he had staid a long time at Praga in Bohemia, and

Our English doctors con- sidering with the cardinals found out the means for this toleration.

An other booke how to handle all man- ner of persons to win them to their in- tent.

Campion sent 102 from Praga and

go to go with
other priests
appointed for
England.

and on a sudden he was hastily sent for to Rome: by his owne confession he knew not wherefore, but the message was in such hast, that he must come thither with all speed.

The priests
are there one
lie maintaine
for this pur-
pose, and nor
come from
thence, but a-
bout this
cause, which
proneeth them
altogether gi-
ll.

When he came to Rome, he staid there but five daies: in which time, receiving the summe of their charge from the pope, as is their vsuall wont, and their father generall deliuering them what he hath in office: he was dispatched from thence with other priests, who had their *Priaticum* from the popes treasure, and were all especiallie appointed for England. These priests were sent (as all other are) about the chiefe cause, for that none come from thence but onelie for that purpose. The estate of the cause before expressed, it is to manifest, that Campion and his fellowes are guiltie of the matters obiected against them. For this you are to remember, that none must staid there without they will be priests; when they receive their priesthood, they enter into their oath, which oath containeth the summe of the treason: so that all which come from thence (having taken that oath) come about the execution of the treason, in that none but they that are expectallie sent, can haue their *Priaticum* of the pope; and then he sending them, the case is too euident.

Campion
granteth, he
came as the
other priests
did to recon-
cile & shine:
but he wil not
allow that he
came for any
treason.

Let not a light iudgement passe ouer a matter of
so great respect, let the popes intent of keeping them
there be comforted, the great malice and spite that
he beareth hir maiestie and the relme, and then their
oath to execute his commandements; all these laid to-
gether, discouereth the depth of their trecherie. But
what answereth maister Campion to this? He con-
fesseth that he was quietlie settled at Praga, and lit-
tle expected anie such hastie sending for: before that,
he went to Rome with great speed, tarrieng there
no longer than fife daies, as is before expressed, and
that he receiued his *Papaticum* of the pope, when as he
was dispatched thence with other priests, purposelie
appointed for England, and that he came no other-
wise than the ybid, nor for anie other intent than for
the benefit of soules, as he still termed it: but he
would not grant that he came for anie treason.

James Hol-
graue, his ha:
the coming
from Wilna,
whē he heard
that priests
were appoin=
ted for Eng=
land.

So that to seduce his maiesties subiects, to per-
suade them from their dutie and obedience, and
to ioint themselves in such sort, as their princeesse and
countrie must be defroiled thereby: this is no trea-
son in his opinion. Howbeit, Campion and his fel-
lowes pleaded ignorance still, they saw and would
not see, they were so craftilie schooled. James Bos-
graue, he was at Vilna in Polonia, and as he con-
fessed himselfe, he vnderstood that there was priests
appointed for England: vpon which report he came
awaile from thence in verie great hast. And in his
passage, he mentioned to one in the ship, who was
sworne, and confessed the same before certaine iusti-
ces, that there was such matter towards in Eng-
land, as hath bene before exprest: and there vpon
he sought to haue twone him, if his purpose could
haue taken effect. Campion seeing this begun some-
what to touch the quicke, and that in truth it discou-
red the dealings of them all: he taketh vpon him to
answer on his behalfe, for that they all reposed them-
selves on him.

Campion fre-
quently his
accustomed
order of subtil
silencing.

He saith, that if Bosgraue did heare such newes, that there were papists appointed for England, while should they take hold on so small a cause? Iflicng reports are not to be credited, for albeit he heard such newes, how knew he, if they were certaine or no? Againe (quoth he) the man hath bene long out of England, and he doth not speake English perfectly: it maie be then that some word maie escape him vnawares, (which you are not to build vpon, considering the defect of the man, for he maie peraduenture speake he knoweth not what. And where you

saie, that such a one hath anonced before certaine iustices, that he vsed such and such words to him; where is the man, we are not to credit a written paper, what knowe we if it be true or no? Let vs heare him selfe saie so, and then we will beleue it. See what a number of yitts he had continually to wast the time, and all to no purpose. The mans owne confession was there, wherto himselfe had subscribed, and foure or fise iustices set their hands to it for the certieintie thereof; yet this was not sufficient to answer them.

Robert Johnson he was likewise at Autun in France, from whence he came also in verie great hast, vpon the report he had heard of priests that were appointed for England. Now there is another thing to be considered, that these men, settled where they were, by their owne confession they must not depart from thence without they be appointed by their superiours, then it is easie to be answered, that they came by their superiours appointment at this present: and as the generall determination was, so they came all for one cause & intent. Edward Rishston, being here in England, wrote a letter to Richard Boscawen a priest, and who is likewise condemned amongst them; which letter was there openlie read to his face. Whom there were foure goldsmiths of his occupation latelie come ouer, who indeed were priests, and how all things went successiuely forwards. And Sampson being in the Towler wrote a letter vnto Potond likewise, wherein he gaue him to vnderstand that he was verie sozie, that through his frailtie he had be- trayed those, at whose houses he had bene so frendlie interteined; wherefore he asked God hartilie forgiveness, and them all whome he had so bigbly offended. But (saith he) as for the chiefe matter that is as yet vnnuealed, and come rache come rope, neuer shall that be discovered. A number of matters more were brought against them, which to rehearse, would require a farre more large discourse: but to be briefe, in the end, this was the full and certaine

Traitors will
neuer believe
any truth, es-
peciallie if it
touch them
selues.

Robert Johnson has come
from Union in
France.

Edward
Richtons let-
ter to Ri-
chardson one
of the con-
demned.

**Campions
letter to mai-
ster Downd
in the Tower.**

Campion
was resolute
in the chief
matter.

40 sue. That these men, when they were beyond the seas: the generall agreement and determination amongst them, was to worke the death of our most gracious princeesse, to destroye hir dominion, and to erect such as pleased them when this aforesaid daie should take effect. And that their comming ouer, was to subdue hir louing subiects, to win their obedient hearts from hir, so that they should be in readiness to isue with a forren power, and so they should likewise be destroyers of their princeesse and countrye. And that in the meane while they themselves sought to accomplish hir maiesties death, so much as in them laye.

Sentence of
death denounced
against
Campion and
his confes-
sors.

with botes to a place of larning for them appointed, from whence they were conducted to the Tower of London, diuers of them giuing forth sundrie lewd and dishonest speeches: as Thomas Coteham, seeing so manie people to behold them, desired that fire and brimstone might fall from heauen, to destroye both the citie and all that were in it: with diuerse other wicked words, which for modesties sake I omit here to rehearse, desiring God in mercie to giue men better grace.

A verie holle
thing, but verie
meat for
his deuotion.

On the next daie, being tuesday and the one and twentieth daie of Nouember, there was brought to the said high barre these persons following: John Hart, Thomas Ford, William Filbie, Laurence Richardson, John Shert, Alexander Brian, and John Collington. Alexander Brian, he had shauen his crowne himselfe, & made him a crosse of a peece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openlie & praised to: which when he was rebuked for, he boldlie and stoutlie made answer; that his crowne was of his owne shauing, and he had good hope to do it againe. In brasse, they were all indicted on the selfe same treasons as they were the daie before; and John Harts traitorous sermon which he made at Rheims against hir maiestie auouched to his face, their owne writings and confessions with substantiall witness produced against them, so that they were found guilty of their treasons, as the other were before them, except John Collington, he was quit of the former high treason by the Iurie.

Execution of
Campion,
Shertwin,
and Brian.

On fridaie being the first of December, Edmund Campion Iesuit, Kalle Shertwin, & Alexander Brian seminarie priests, being condemned for high treason against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for traitorous practises, touching the subuersion of the true & vndoubted religion here maintained, with the utter ruine and ouerthrow of this realme of England, were drawne from the Tower of London on hurdles, to the place of execution appointed, garded with such a sufficient companie as might expresse the honor of iustice the larger in that behalfe. Being come to the place of execution, where diuerse of hir maiesties honorable counsell, with manie honorable personages, and gentlemen of worship and good account, beside a multitude of people not here to be remembered attended their coming; Edmund Campion was first brought by into the cart, where after the great rumour of so manie people somewhat appeased, he spake thus.

Campion in
his confession
implieth a de-
fence of his in-
nocencie.

First he began (the people then present expecting his confession) with a phrase or two in Latine, when immediatlie after he fell into English in this manner. I am here brought as a spectacle before the face of God, of angelles, and of men, satisfieng my selfe to die as becommeth a true christian & catholike man. As for the treasons that haue bene laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for: I desire you all to beare witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent. Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the counsell, that he might not seeme to denie th objections against him, hauing bene proued so manifestlie to his face, both by sufficient witness and euidence. Well my lord (quoth he) I am a catholike man, and a priest, in that faith haue I liued hitherto, and in that faith I do intend to die; and if you examine my religion treason, then of force I must grant vnto you, as for anie other treason I will not consent vnto. Then was he moued as concerning his traitorous and hainous offense to the quenes most excellent maiestie. Where to he answered; She is my lawfull princeesse and quene. There somewhat he drew in his words to himselfe, whereby was gathered, that somewhat he would haue gladlie spoken: but the great timiditye and

unstable opinion of his conscience, wherein he was all the time euen to the death, would not suffer him to utter it.

Here is with iudgement a deepe point and high matter to be considered, that it is man alwaies directing the course of his life to a baine glorious imagination, and alwaies couetous to make himselfe famous; at this instant made a perfect discourie of himselfe. For being somewhat learned, all matters that soeuer (as you haue heard before) he bare away with a maiestieall countenance, the visor of vanitie aptlie fitting the face of onelie hypocrisie; that was found he would make sophisticall, what was the infallible truth of it selfe he would carrie in his owne conceipt, and delude the people with a pleasant quirk, or some such stuffe, onlie to purchase him credit and affection. And he was not to learne to set a coragious countenance on euerie such slight reason, whereby he peruerterd manie, decelued more, and was thought such a champion, as the pope neuer had the like. But now behold the man, whom neither rache nor rope should alter, whose faith was such as he boasted inuincible: feare had caught hold on this braue boaster, and terror entred his thoughts, whereby was discovered his impudent dissimulations. Now let it with patience be moued a little, that the outward protestations of this man byged some there present to teares, not entring into conceipt of his inward hypocrisie to make a plausible definition of this perillous deceiver, not by coniecture, but by profe it shall be thus answered.

Edmund Campion, as it is by men of sufficient credit reported, at what time he spent his studie here in England both in the hospitall, and also at the vniuersitie of Oxford, was alwaies addicted to a marvellous suppose in himselfe of ripe iudgement, prompt audacitie, and cunning conuenance in his schoole points: wherethrough he fell into a proud and baine glorious iudgement, practising to be eloquent in phrase, and so fine in his quirks and fantasticall coniectures, that the ignorant he won by his smooth deuises, some other affecting his pleasant imaginations he charmed with subtiltie and choked with sophistrie. He learned, who beheld his practises and peremptorie order of life, pitteng his follie, and wishing him a more staied determination, lothed his maners; yet loued the man, because christian charitie willed them so to do. Now this glorious Pharo having by his libels made himselfe famous, and vnder shew and suppose of great learning (though indeed being approued, found verie simple to the speeches giuen of him) subdued manie to affect him verie much; when he was taken he knew it too him upon, not to lose the credit openlie he had wonne secretly. Wherefore in his former ridiculous maner, both in prison, at his arresignment, yea and at his death, he continued the same in all points, which the foulness of his treasons blemished euerie waie. Now indeed, as our English nation is both louing and pitifull: so manie seeing the gifts of God so well bestowed on the man, and by him applied to so great abuse, through naturall kindnesse bemoued his case, wishing he had not fallen into so traitorous a cause. Then was moued to him againe his treasons and hainous offenses against the quenes maiestie, which impudentlie he still denied, seeming to utter words on the behalfe of one Richardson, one likewise of the condemned traitors, taking on his conscience that it was not he. Which hath bin proued to the contrary, for that it is knowne how this Richardson is he, who distributed Campions libels and booke abroad: and when he was put to his oth, whether it was he or no, he refused to sweare on his behalfe. And because the world might be fullie resolved, that neither of an-
ding

Campion no-
ted to be verie
baine glorious.

Campion
describ'd

A further de-
scription of
Edmund
Campion.

Campions
curious care
to keepe the
credit he had
sworne in
England.

ding all the pretended & colourable meanes he could vse for his excuse and innocencie he was to suffer death defensible as a traitor, &c. There was read to his face in the hearing of the assemblie a pamphlet published by authoritie as followeth.

An aduertisement and defense for truth
against hir backbiters, and speciallie against
the whispering fauourers and colourers
of Campions and the rest of his con-
federats treasons.

The error of
Campion & other
his accomplices
in raising the
rebellion in
England.

The error
of Campion
& other
his accomplices
in raising the
rebellion in
England.

The error
of Campion
& other
his accomplices
in raising the
rebellion in
England.

Campion and
his accomplices
in raising the
rebellion in
England.

Although at the late arraignmentes at Westminster of Edmund Campion, & other his complices condemned there of sundrie high treasons, it was manifestlie declared and fullie proued, how they all, under pretense of the names of Iesuits, seminarie priests, & other persons of like condition, had secretlie come into this realme, by sending of sundrie persons authorised by the pope, to moue the people by their secret persuasions to change their professions in the matter of religion, of long time quietlie established in this realme, and to be reconciled to the obedience of the pope, and withdrawn from their naturall allegiance due to the queenes maiestie, and by these meanes to be ready in their hearts and minds and otherwise provided, to ioinie their forces as well with such as their heads and superiors which sent them intended speciallie to procure to be sent into this realme, as with other rebellious subsidies by them to be there to also erected, of purpose to depriue hir maiestie of hir life, crowne, and dignitie; in like maner as late lie hath bene notoriouslie attempted and put in execution by doctor Sanders an arrant and detestable traitor, and whilst he liued one of the said Campions companions, and by other English and Irish Iesuits and traitors in Ireland, where they had first by their like secret meanes and persuasions, incited a great multitude of people of that land, first to change their profession of religion, and to acknowledge the popes authoritie, and to renounce the iust authoritie of hir maiestie; & so departing from their allegiance, vpon the arrival of forren forces they did enter into a manifest rebellion, against the which almightie God the iust auenger of rebels by his goodness hath giuen hir maiestie (through hir good ministers power to the banquishing, not onelie of those forren forces, but also of a great number of the rebels there. Yet it is maliciouslie, falselie, and traitorouslie by some of the secret fauourers of the said Campion, and other the said condemned traitors whispered in coners, that the offenses of these traitors were but for their secret attemptings as Iesuits, by exhorting and teaching; with whoring, murthering, and such like acts, to moue people to change their religion, & to yield their obedience to the pope as Christs vicar although the same be of themselves offenses verie heinous, and seeds of sedition not allowable by the lawes of the realme) whereas in verie truth neuer the lesse it did manifestlie appeere vpon their imbecillities, and at their arraignmentes, by sundrie confessions of some of their owne companions, and by manie good proofes and witnesses produced and sworne before their faces, that their facts whereof they were arraigned and condemned, were such as were in truth his treasons committed against hir maiesties totall person, and against the ancient lawes and statutes of this realme, which manie hundred yeres past were in force against like traitors, and not for facts of doctrine or religion, nor yet for offenses against anie late or new statutes, the same being manie conspiracies at sundrie times beyond the seas, at Rome in Italie and other places, and

lastlie at Rheimes in France, where there are nourished by the popes authoritie in seminarie multitudes of English Iesuits, seminarie priests, and fugitives, whereof their heads and gouernours vse continually in their sermons, and in their bookes published, printed, as traitors to declare their traitorous minds as far forth as they can, to the depriuation of the queenes maiestie of hir life and crowne: to which ends the said Campion and his said companions, by procurement of their said heads, came secretlie into this realme, to moue the subjects to renounce their naturall obedience; & according to a bull of the last pope Pius published to perswade all sorts with whom they durst secretlie deale, that hir maiestie by the said popes excommunication was not the lawfull queene of the realme, nor that the subjects were bound to obeie anie of hir lawes or ministers: but that they were all free, and discharged of their obedience and allegiance, and that they might lawfully, yea that when time might serue, they ought to take armes against hir maiestie, as in the late rebellion in the north was manifestlie by like meanes put in execution, and as now also late lie was notoriouslie attempted in Ireland, by stirring up the people in the popes name, and under his standard to an open general rebellion. And to haue brought these things to passe in this realme, was the coming into this realme of the said Campion and his complices most manifestlie tried and proued; as if by Gods goodness by their apprehensions, after their secret wandringes and disguisings of themselves in a great part of the shires of the realme, these traitors had not bene notified, and by iust punishments ordered to be executed, there would haue appeared such mischief as is lamentable to be thought of; to the danger of hir maiesties person, and to the hazard and ruine of the whole realme by insuasion of the same with forren enemies, and by raising of inward warre within the realme; the end and euent whereof, as of warre civil, can not be without great grieve mentioned or imagined.

And to the further repose and condemnation of the said Campion and other the traitors now condemned, they being all severallie and earnestlie required at the place of their arraignment to declare what they thought of the said popes bull, by which hir maiestie was in the popes intention depriued of the crowne) and of doctor Sanders, and of Iustices traitorous writings in maintenance of the said bull, and allowance of the rebellion in the north, and of Sanders traitorous actions in Ireland; and being likewise demanded what they did thinke if the present pope should publish the like bull: none of them all, but one onelie named Kuston, could be perswaded by anie their answers to shew in anie part their mislikings either of the former bull, or of doctor Sanders, or Iustices traitorous writings or actions, or of the pope that now is, if he should now publish the like bull against hir maiestie; so as they did apparantlie shew their traitorous hearts still fixed to persist in their diuelish minds against their naturall allegiance: whereof God giue all good subsidies, being true Englishmen borne, grace to be ware, and in no sort to giue care or succour to such pernicious traitors, howsoever they shall be conered with hypocrisie, & false and fained holines of Rome.

This aduertisement read and heard, the time by pittifull delays began to passe awaie, in somuch that the executioner was now to fall to his charge: where vpon Campion was exhorted to pray with the people in English; naie, to do so he was desired, howbeit he would not: but said his *Pater noster* in Latine, and desired all those of the household of faith to fate

The form and
substance of
the bull of
Pius his
seditionous
bull.

Which mis-
chief procured
by the
traitorous
wanderinges
of Campion
and his
complices.

How the traitors
stood
opposed to
the said
factious
bull, &c.

Q m m m m m.

one *Credo* for him. Many indirect answers he made, as when he was moued to aske the queene forgiveness, and when the preacher requested him to shew some signe of a penitent sinner, then shortly he replied: *You and I, we are not of one religion.* After a few silent prayers to himselfe, the cart was drawen awaite, & he committed to the mercie of God. Where he hanged till he was dead, when being cut downe, he was bowelled and quartered, according as it was appointed by iustice. Rafe Sherwin seemed a man of better iudgement, more learned, and more obedient; he said the Lords prayer in English, believing in God that made him, in Christ his sonne that saved him, and in the Holieghost that sanctified him: and according to the saying of S. Augustine, desired Jesus, that he would be to him Jesus, as much to saie, as his saulour and redeemer. He likewise confessed himselfe a catholike man and a priest, intending to die in that faith. But when the treasons were moued to him, he likewise did make deniall thereof. He asked the queenes maiestie forgiveness, and desired that she might long liue and reigne ouer vs. Then was read to him the booke of the aduertisement, which before had bene read to Campion, and after a few prayers he likewise ended his life. Alexander Brian seemed more obstinate and impious, vsing verie little signe of repentance and hartie humilitie: he vsed manie prayers to himselfe, and spake verie little worthe the rehearfall. Justice being executed on him, he and Sherwin were quartered, according as Campion had bene before them.

Rafe Sherwin's behaviour at his death.

Alexander Brian's demeanour at his death.

Sooner had iustice giuen the blow of execution, and cut off the foresaid offenders from the earth; but certeine enemies to the state politike and ecclesiastike, greatlie fauouring them, and their cause, which they falslie gaue out to be religion, dispersed abroad their libels of most impudent deniell, tending to the iustificing of the malefactor's innocencie, to the heinous and unrecompensable defamation of the course of iustice and iudgement against them committed and finished: in somuch that speaking of the daie whereon they died, they blushed not to intitle them martyrs, saying among other things not publishable, as in these few verses extracted followeth:

Ex libello quodam falso.

*Vna dies viuos pariter celsosque videbat,
In celum missos vidit & vna dies:
Aeternisque breui gaudent pro morte coronis,
Hac sunt martyribus dona parata pijs.
Felix illa dies mensis fuit illa Decembris,
Martyris donans calica regna tribus:
Felix quae sanctum suscepit terra cruorem,
Quem caccata odij sudorati ira tui:
Supremumque manens felix constantia finem,
Atque in conspectu mors pretiosa Dei, &c.*

* Alludit ad Angliam.

Abr. Fl.
Ex concione apud crucem Paulinam per D. Sellar 6. Feb. 1586.

Thus slanderouslie against the administration of iustice scattered these vipers brood their lieng reports, therein to the skies aduancing the children of iniquitie as spotlesse; yea forging most monstrous fables, put them in print; as though God and nature had suffered violence to their vnapeaseable indignation, for that men of such integritie forsooth and extraordinary sanctified, suffered so shameful a death: in somuch that it was bruted abroad not by men, but brute beasts, that on the selfe same daie whereon Campion was executed, the river of Thames did neither eb nor flow, but stood still. A miracle! Whether this were a lie or not, as all the world may sweare it was no truth; this is certeine and vndoubted, that there was found a facultie about Campion a little before his death, wherein authoritie was giuen him from the bishop of Rome Gregorie the thirtieth, to execute the sentence of the bull published by Pius Quintus against all the queens maiesties subjects as hereticks, &c. and yet this man forsooth (al-

beit notorious) died not for treason but for religion, as with foule mouths they are not ashamed to saie:

Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.

But of this matter inough, & now to the proccesse of English accidents after this tragickall narration. When the queene of England and the monsieur duc d'Anion vnderstood by report made to hir maiestie and his highnesse by monsieur de Bruneau (who had bene sent ouer a little before from the duke to the prince of Orange, and had prosecuted the treatie the former yeares as his ordinarie ambassadoe) what good will and great longing he had found in the prince of Orange, who was come into the Ile of Walcheren with a great number of gentlemen, and with the deputies of the states, and of the chiefest of the best cities of the low countrie to receiue his highnesse, and to do him most humble seruice: and when they had also heard the ambassage of the lords of Rhain & Junius, sent from the lords of the state to the duke, to shew vnto him the exceeding great desire which all the people had to see his highnesse, for the present ratifying of the former covenants that had passed betwixt them: for accomplishing whereof it was needfull that he should passe ouer with all speed: whereby the same thing was confirmed which had bene declared off afore by the lord of mount saint Aldegond, ordinarie ambassadoe to hir maiestie and his highnesse: vpon the intelligence of these things, it was resolved by hir maiestie & his highnesse, that the monsieur should depart. Wherevpon the queene calling the lord Howard, commanded him (for the earle of Lincoln was then sicke) to take vpon him the charge of the admerals ship, and to go to Rochester, and there to chuse vessels meet for transporting of the monsieur & his traine, & to furnish them with men of war, mariners, and all manner of necessaries as well of war as of vittels. Which thing was done with such diligence and speed, that the ships being ready with all things in lesse than eight daies, passed out of the river of Rochester and the Thames, and were conueied to the downes nere to the towne of Sandwich, where the monsieur was to take shipping. And for so much as the monsieur came into England accompanied but with a few princes and lords, & they also had left their traine in France, & some of the same lords were sent backe againe afterward by his commandement and for his seruice; the queene determined to giue him a companie & traine meet for his greatnesse, taking his iournie about so great & noble exploit. And therefore (as agreeing with hir highnesse hart) she commanded the earle of Leicester master of hir hostes, the lord of Hunsdon gouernour of Berwicke hir maiesties nere kinsman,

*(cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
Regina genetrix Henrici nobilis uxor)*

and the lord Howard the viceadmerall (of whom the first two were of hir priue counsell, and all three were knights of the order of the garter) to attend vpon him, and to assemble as great a number of English lords and gentlemen as could be gotten in so little time, to honour him withall: wherevnto the said lords obeyed verie willingly. And there went with them to accompanie them, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Windore, the lord Sheffield, the lord Howard, the lord Audley second sonne to the late duke of Norfolk: master Philip Sidney nephew to the forenamed erle of Leicester, sir George Carew, and master John & Robert Carew all three sonnes of the said lord of Hunsdon; master William Howard brother of the said lord Howard, sir Thomas Sherle, sir Thomas Perot, sir William Russell, sir William Durye, & sir George Botolph knights, and a great number of gentlemen; namelie, master Henrie Windore brother to the lord Windore, master

Monsieur the duke of Anion departed out of England.

* Rempe Anna Henrici 8 uxore, sereniss. regine Elisabethe genitrix.

her John Wozough brother to the lord Wozough, master Walter Kaleigh, master George Carew, master Edward Hobbie, master Francis Darcie, master Michaele Stanhope, master William Knolls, master Francis Knolls, master George Digbie, master Thomas Nauasoz, master Anthoine Philmaie, master Henrie Powell, master Nicholas Gorges, master Michaele Harecourt, master Fulke Grenill: so as the whole traine that attended vpon the said earle, was to the number of an hundred gentlemen, and moze than thre hundred seruicemen. The lord of Hundon had of gentlemen and others togither to the number of a hundred and fiftie: and the lord Howard had as manie; besides manie moze, whereof diuerse were his maiesties seruants. The quene determined to accompanie the monsieur to the sea side, & yet neuertheless commanded the said lords to keepe their course, and to attend vpon his highnesse to the said place, with all maner of solemnities, interteinments, and feastings. He on the other side desired and besought his maiestie not to depart from London, as well for that the iournie would be painefull vnto him; and for that he saw the weather faire and wind sauozable, and therefore was loth to lose anie occasion of performing his voiage with all speed. But he could not preuaile.

The quene's
maiestie
togeth
at
Rochester.

Wherevpon his maiestie toke his iournie with his whole court, the first daie of februarye, & lodged that night at Rochester. The next daie abiding still at Rochester, his maiestie shewed him all his great ships which were in that place, into most whereof his highnesse and the prince and lords of his traine entered, not without great admiration of the French lords & gentlemen, who confessed that of good right the quene of England was reported to be ladie of the seas. Also he beheld how all those ships were readie furnished and well appointed. And his maiestie told him that all those vessels & the furniture of them should doe him seruice, when soeuer he would imploie them: for the which he most humbly thanked his maiestie, and so after all the great ordinance had bene shot off, they returned for that daie againe to Rochester. The third day they went to Sittingborne, where dining both togither, the quene was serued after the English manner by the greatest ladies of his court; and the monsieur after the French manner by the gentlemen of his traine, which ladies and gentlemen dined afterwards togither. Then his highnesse besought his maiestie againe to go no further, declaring vnto him that the faire weather passed awaie. But notwithstanding his intreatance the quene went on still to Canturburie. At which place, after one daies tarriance, when she had openlie feasted all the French nobilitie, either part toke their leaue of other, not without great grieve and shew of verie great amitie, especiallie betwene his maiestie and the monsieur. Which thing was perceived also in the lords and gentlemen of both nations, & likewise in the ladies, to all whome it was like grieve to depart after they had bene conuersant and had liued friendlie and brotherlie togither by the space of thre moneths, without anie change or alteration of good willes. But the honor which enforced his highnesse, alluaged his grieve, and made him to proceed on his iournie with the said prince and lords of both nations.

The quene's
maiestie
spanned
the
monsieur
to
Canturburie
where they
3
their traine
passed.

The first daie of the same moneth, whereas he was determined to haue taken ship, he was counselled to lodge that night of Sandwich, because the wind was somewhat changed. Howbeit, some of the English gentlemen, namelie master Killegreie, master Dier and diuerse others, to elchew thronging at their imbarking went to Dover, and there taking ship the same night laie a while at anchor, and somewhat after

midnight sailed awaie with certeine other vessels. The seventh daie in the morning about nine of the clocke, his highnesse toke the sea in thre great ships of war. In the greatest of them named the Discouerer, sailed the monsieur himselfe with the erle of Leicester, and the lord Howard the viceadmirall; in the second called the Sentinell went the prince Dolphin; and in the third was the countie of Louall, and the lord of Hundon. Now as his highnesse was yet at anchor, there came a post from a lord of England, who brought him word that the states of the low countries were reuolted, and namelie the citie of Antwerpe, and therefore he prayed him not to depart untill he had moze certeine newes. Notwithstanding this, his highnesse determined to depart, and so sailed awaie with fiftene ships: and he had so faire weather (which continued euen untill after his entering into Antwerpe, and his feasting and solempne interteinment there) that the heaven, the winds, the sea, and the earth seemed all to fauour his voiage, and to further the gladnesse which the people shewed in receiuing him with so great good will.

In the meane time the prince of Orange, seeing the time fit, departed from Spiddebozough, where he had taried the monsieurs comming six weekes and moze, and came to Flushing to take order for all things that were requisite for the honorable and commodious interteinment of so great a prince. At the which place, vnderstanding by the letters of the said lords ambassadours and others, that the monsieur was departed from London and come to Canturburie; and therefore thinking it would not be long yer he arrived there: he dispatched monsieur Trelon his viceadmirall of Zeland, with a litle pinnesse called the Chale, to go before to meet the monsieur; commanding him that as soone as he had discovered his fleet, he should giue him a watchword thereof by the shot of two cannons. Monsieur Trelon hauing about nonetide discovered the ships that were parted from Dover, and thinking that they had bene the great fleet, gaue his watchword, which was the cause that a certeine vessel went forth to the sea to meet his highnesse; but anon after perceiving his error, he returned to Flushing, where by and by the fleet of Dover arrived. Then monsieur Trelon going forth, found the monsieur and the great fleet betwene Petwout and Dunkirke: where after salutation giuen and taken on either side, the monsieur standing vpon the battes of his ship, espied his owne secretarie named Sephuc standing likewise vpon the battes of the Chale; to whome he sent his shipbote, commanding him to come aboard to him, which thing he did, and there aduertised the monsieur that as concerning the reuolting of the states there was no such matter, but that all things went verie well, & that his highnesse was waited for with great longing. That daie, by reason the wind was turned northeast, they could go no further, but were faine to cast anchor ouer against a place called Offend, where they passed that night, waiting for the tide the next morning. His ships were perceived by them of Flushing, where after midnight arrived the lord of S. Aldegond, who assured the prince of Orange, that the next morning the monsieur would arrive there with the tide. Wherevpon the prince of Orange and the prince of Espinoie with a great number of gentlemen toke the sea the next morning: but because the tide was against them, and on the other part the monsieur hauing a side wind with him was constrained to balt to the land. By meanes whereof the prince, being not able to come aboard to him with his ship, was faine to turne faile backe againe to Flushing, where the prince Dolphin had taken land already, & sought euerie where for the prince his brother.

The prince of
Orange
ta-
keth order
for
the intertein-
ment of the
monsieur.

Sephuc the
monsieur's
secretarie.

The lord of
S. Aldegond,
the prince of
Orange
and
the prince of
Espinoie, &c.

When

When they had embraced and saluted one another like brethren; the prince of Orange, perceiving the monsieur to approach verie nere, toke the water againe. But when he perceived him to come downe into his bote to take land, he turned backe againe, and bided him so fast that he toke land before him, and there tarried his coming. As soone as he was arrived, while he was yet in his bote ready to come a land, the prince received him with great reverence; and embracing his highnesse knee, because he saw the weather was cold said unto him in few words, that he was verie glad to see that happie daie, which had bene so long expected, wherein he had the honor to behold his highnesse, and to offer unto him his most humble service, with goods and life, & all that he had besides; hoping that by meanes of his highnesse, that countrie hauing endured so great aduersitie, should now be fullie set at libertie. Whereunto the monsieur answered verie wisely and brieflye. And when he had embraced him with such honor as was due in respect of his age and doings: he came a land, and was brought by the prince to the palace of the citie: howbeit not without great difficultie, by reason of the great preease of men of war and other people pestering one another, the folke of that countrie thronging to see his highnesse, and the Englishmen which as then were come downe thither in great numbers preeasing to knowe the prince of Orange. In the meane while the trumpets and drums sounded with such noise that the aire rang of it, and all the ordinance shot off, as well of the queenes ships as of the other ships, whereof the number was great which late then in the rode, with so great roling and thundering, that they conuied the newes of his highnesse happie arrivall in the low countrie to Calis, and to other places of France. They of Flushing shot two peales, with so great noise by reason of the great number of the peeces that are in the towne, that all the ground rang of it. The monsieur found in that place all sorts of his officers; for his household and his gard of Swisses and Frenchmen, departing from Calis and Bullongne foure daies afoze, were come to Spiddleborough.

Embracing
of the knee.

The monsieur
landeth.

A lustie dis-
charging of
guns on all
sides.

The monsieur
verie ioufullie
received.

Antwerpe
reioiceth at
the monsieur
comming.

Unto all these orations his highnesse answered verie sagelie and brieflye, as unto all the residue, to the well liking and contentment of all that stood by. The prince of Orange tarried a while with the monsieur in the towne house of the citie: and then taking his leaue went to visit the princes and lords of both the nations that came with him to see how they fared, and to take order that they should want nothing, so far forth as the abilitie of the towne of Flushing (which is none of the greatest) could extend, where such provision was made, that all were well lodged and served, notwithstanding that about five hundred men of the onelie English lords were come a land that daie. All that after none was spent in feasting, in making of bonafires, in fireworks, in founding of trumpets, and in all maner of tokens of ioy, which all men uttered vntoerfallie for the comming of so great a prince. Also the foure members of Flanders, which came by the counsell of the prince of Orange, waited to present themselves vnto him at Spiddleborough.

English lords
and their re-
tinue.

Three waies
to Spiddlebo-
rough.

The prince of Orange, perceiving that the monsieur was minded to go the next daie to Spiddleborough, told him that there were three waies, the one about the castell of Kamekins, to enter in at the great chanell of Spiddleborough by the bout of the foreland; an other by the little chanell through the countrie; and that he had kept ships in a readinesse to go the outer waie, and a great sort of botes to go the inner waie, because his highnesse could not forenele either by cox or on horsebacke by reason of the winter, and there was but onelie one cause where by folke travelled ordinarilie on foot. The monsieur beholding the fitnessse of the time, for indeed it was verie faire weather, and understanding that the waie was not past a good French league in length, undertooke to go it on foot, and so did all the rest of the princes, lords, and gentlemen, as well of the same countrie, as of France and England. A great sort of the monsieurs house, which were lodged alreadie at Spiddleborough, came to meet him, speciallie his gard of Frenchmen and Swissers. A good waie out of the towne the magistrate of Spiddleborough came to meet him, as it were, about a third part of the waie, and there making an oration to him, told him of the great and long desire which all the people had of his comming, and that the people of Spiddleborough for their owne part thought themselves greatlie honored, in that he had vouchsafed to come to their citie, offering all dutifullnesse vnto him. His gard also met him in the same place, & then began the Swissers to march on in their order, striking by their drums after their manner. Whereouer, six companies of the citizens well armed and well arayed stood im battelled without the towne, who kept their place till the monsieur was past, and then they followed after leifarelie behind.

The monsieur
is met going
to Spiddlebo-
rough.

The deputies of the States of the earldome of Zeland waited his comming at the towne gate; who hauing declared the gladnesse which they conceiued, reioiced at the happie successe which his highnesse had had in making the peace in France, and in reducing the citie of Cambray by his armie and in his owne person, and in his passing into England, which they knew he had taken vpon him for none other cause than for the furtherance of the affaires of those countries; and finallye for that hauing put his person in danger of that passage, he was now happily arrived in Zeland, most humblye thanking his highnesse, and declaring what hope they had conceiued of his presence, and therewithall offering right humble whatsoeuer their dutie required. At the entrie of the gate one brought him a courtois of Feables, but he determined with himselfe (saying that

The deputies
of the States of
the earldome
of Zeland.

The monsieur
would to as
the companies
as

the princes and lords had not their horses there) to go through with his traine on foot, and so entred into the citie of Middleborough in this order. First went the magistrates of the citie with their vnder officers and ministers of iustice. Next went the deputies of the states of Zeland. After them followed diuerse gentlemen of all the three nations, with the deputies of the cities of Brabant, and of the four members of Flanders. Then marched the Swissers after their accustomed fashion; in whose traine were a great sort of noblemen and also gentlemen, of whom the most part were Englishmen of the retinue of the three lords sent thither by the queene. Behind them infused as it were in one troope together, the prince Dolphin, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunsdon, the lord Howard, and the rest of the lords. Then came the monsieur himselfe, hauing on his left hand somewhat more than halfe a pace beneath him, the prince of Orange, of whom he alwaies asked some question. After him followed his gard of Frenchmen, and after them the gard of the prince of Orange, and last of all the six ensignes that stood in battell rate without the citie, and ten others which had marshalled the streets vnto the market place, where all the rest of the citizens were imbattelled. Throughout all the streets from the gate to the monsieurs lodging, there were railes, and at euerie tenth pace on either side were burning cressets. And so his highnesse and all the nobilitie which accompanied him, passed on, marvelled to see so goodlie a citie in so little an Ile, and so nere to three other good towne, not distant one from another above one league. But most of all they wondered at the beautie of the marketsted, and of the common hall of the citie. His highnesse lodging was verie well and richlie hanged and furnished, considering the small respite that the inhabitants had, so as he was verie well and commodiouslie lodged, both he and all the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of all nations that attended vpon him. That euening was passed in feasting, in making of bonfires in the streets, in artificiall fireworks vpon the towers and steeples, and in sounding of trumpets. The next morning the twelve deputies of the four members of Flanders speaking to his highnesse by the mouth of monsieur Tiaard the recorder of Sant, declared at large the great goodwill of all the people of Flanders towards him, and that like as they had bene of the first that had sent vnto him, so they hoped to be of the first that should yeeld all humble seruice and subiection vnto him. Wherevnto his highnesse answered verie discretlie, as his custome was. He passed the rest of the time in plaieing at tennis with the prince of Orange, and after with other lords.

The thirtieth daie he had a solenne feast made him in the townehall, where his highnesse commanded the tables to be prepared of purpose, that he might haue the companie of the prince Dolphin, the prince of Orange, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunsdon, and the lord Howard. For the lords of England were highlie regarded & honored euerie where, both in respect of his maiestie which sent them, and also for the worthines of their persons. The feast was excellentlie well furnished of all things, & speciallie of tapstrie worke & other deuises of sugar, inso much that both the Frenchmen and Englishmen confessed, that they had not bene wont to see such manner of seruices in their countries. The fourteenth daie the prince of Orange would needs go see the putting of the ships in a readinesse, which should carrie the monsieur and his traine, which were in number foure and fiftie, and therefore he would haue gone to the foreland of Middleborough. Whereof the monsieur hea-

ring would needs go with him. On thursdaie the fifteenth of that moneth, his highnesse went to see the towne of Crimwiden, which is about halfe a league from Middleborough. And vnderstanding that the English lords were gone to see the towne of Vere, (called by strangers Camper by reason of the passage that was sometime in the towne of Campe which is now drowned) he also took bote and went thither, where all the companie was verie well receiued by the inhabitants, notwithstanding that they were taken vnprouided. The sixteenth daie his highnesse was determined to haue taken ship, but there arose so great a storme, that the mariners counselled him to forbear the sea for that daie: by reason whereof his imbarcking was deferred till the next morrow, at which time his highnesse with all his traine sailed afaire. He himselfe was caried in a ship painted all ouer with his owne colours beset with a number of flags and pensils of the armes of Antou. The residue had their accustomed flags so greatlie feared of the Spaniards, belated with the colours of the prince of Orange. This fleet came that daie against Beerland in the Ile of south Beerland, where they cast anchor and spent that night there. The next daie being arriued luckilie at Lillo, after manie shot of ordinance from the fort and from the ships of warre which accompanied his highnesse, they did cast anchor againe. He himselfe went aland, and laie that night in the capitains lodging longing for the morning. This fort of Lillo is builded a three leagues beneath Antwerpe vpon the point of a dike or causeie in the parish of Lillo. The place is so commodious, that with a musket a man may easilie shot from the one banke of the riuer Scheld to the other; and by reason that the streame of the riuer and the tide of the sea, which passeth that waie twice a daie, doe make it crooked, that place being occupied by the enimie, might greatlie hinder and annoie the sailing thereof. And therefore the citizens of Antwerpe following the aduise and platfoyme laid forth by the prince of Orange, bestowed great cost in fortifying that place, which hath a great towler with great bulwarks rampires, and ditches, and is so well strengthened and flanked to the purpose, and hath the water so at commandement, that as now it is not to be wonne by any force. The next daie being mondaie, the nineteenth daie of Februarie, his highnesse departed thence to make his entrie into the renowned citie of Antwerpe.

The roiall interteinement of the right high and mightie prince, Francis the French kings onelie brother, by the grace of God duke of Brabant, Anjou, Alanson, Berry, &c. into the citie of Antwerpe.

All great and statelie shewes and assemblies, they that are the authors and setters forth of them, indoeur to beautifie and commend as much as they can the things which they offer to the sight of those whome they intend to honour, and of those which resort thither from strange places, to delight themselves with the beholding of them. The ancient historiographers describe vnto vs manie great triumphes, and statelie interteinements of emperours, kings, and great capitains, and they forget not to put into their writings the great costliness and charges, and what sooner else was set forth to the shew, to content the eyes of the beholders. And albeit that neither gold, silver, pretious stones, tapstrie, cloth of silke, fine linnen, diuersities of vessels, nor varietie of paintings were spared, but all such things haue enriched those shewes: yet notwithstanding,

The earle of Leicester and other English lords.

Burning cressets on rayles.

The monsieur Tiaard recorder of Sant.

Solenne feast made in the townehall.

The monsieurs ships painted with his owne colours.

The fort of Lillo.

The monsieur preparereth to make his entrie into Antwerpe.

1333

The Greek
show that
can be made
what it is.

ding, there is not anie thing that hath yielded greater grace, beautie, and contentment to such assemblies, than the multitude and brightnesse of armorie and of things pertaining to martiall affaires, as engines, artillerie, and shewes of cities and castles beaten downe or taken by force from the enemies. And therefore in the Romane empire (which excelled all the other not onlie in conquests, martiall discipline, and politike order of government, but also in sumptuousnes and roialtie) although infinit numbers of publike games and exercises were exhibited by them being the greatest lords of the world, who not onelie spared not anie thing that was in their owne power, but also made the cities and countries, which were anie waie bound vnto them, to send vnto them whatsoeuer rare and exquisite things they could come by, to serue their turnes in the shewes which they exhibited to the people: yet notwithstanding their triumphes haue so borne the bell aboue all the rest, that the word triumphing which cometh thereof, hath bene applied to all high, great, and statelie doings. Not that in their other shewes anie thing was spared, which might content the eyes even of courteous folke, or satisfie the bloudthirstie harts of such as take no pleasure but to behold the shedding of blood, yea oftentimes of mans blood before their eyes: but in their triumphings nothing was so glorious as the armorie and personages of the great capitaines that had bene conquerors, which thing contented the beholders far more without all comparison. And therefore when men intend to betoken the exceeding huge greatnesse of Rome, they terme it the triumphant Rome, which importeth as much as the rich, wealthe, and victorious Rome, replenished with great numbers of noble capitaines, and valiant souldiours. And this terme is come of the great numbers of triumphs, which were scene there in the times of the Scipios, Paulles, Claudius, Metelles, Pompeis, Celsars, and others. True it is that the other shewes also were verie glorious and beautifull to behold, and did (I wote not how) tickle the harts of such as were fed with the beholding of their riches and of the infinite numbers of lions, tigers, panthers, beares, and swozoplainers incountring one another to the death: but yet the beholding of a goodlie company of men armed in goodlie armour, marching in good order (besides the contenting of the sight, which is far better than to see riches) doth also wonderfulie rauish mens minds, and diue the beholder into an astonishment, setting him after a sort besides himselfe; and yet neuertheless filling him with a toy and contentation surmounting all others. For as in the pleasures of the bodie, those same greatest which do most alter the senses with their pleasantnes: so fares it also with the delights of the mind, which become so much the greater, when admiration being matched with them, doth also moreouer rauish the vnderstanding, and set a man as it were out of his wits. And therefore when great personages (who can better indge of matters than plaine simple folke can) do make discourse of things that are beautifull and desirable to behold: they speake of gold, silver, pretious stones, pictures, vessels, tablets, and diuers other exquisite iewels: but yet they passe ouer those things & stand not vpon them. But when they come to talke of faire armour, good horses, and such other things as belong to knightood and chualtrie: then they make such variance vpon them, as they hold it for a thing fullie agreed vpon & granted, that in beautie and glorie nothing is comparable to a goodlie armie.

The triumphs of the
Romans excelled all their
other shewes.

Other shewes
of the Romas
were gallant.

A comparison
betweene the
pleasures of
the bodie and
delights of
the mind.

A quick
undecided
touching
gallant

Onelie this matter remaineth still in question undecided; namelie, whether is the pleasanter sight, to see three or foure great battels of footmen well ap-

pointed in bright armor, well ranked with small shot, and with their great ordinance before them: or to see as manie squadrons of horsemen, or else two or three hundred ships furnished with their flags and banners, and ranged in order as if they were ready to giue battell. But as for the rest of all goodlie things, all men are fullie agreed that they come nothing nere to anie of those three, and much lesse do them all three together, if a man might behold them all at once: as it is reported that at one instant a man might haue scene the great armie of Perres both footmen and horsemen ranged in battell raie: and also the two fleets of the Persians and of the Greeks fighting vpon the sea by Salamine, where by the wisdome and valiantnesse of Themistocles, the Greeks got that famous victorie of the Persians. In mine opinion that is the cause why the glad receiving and full entering of Francis duke of Wabrant into the citie of Antwerpe seemed so goodlie and roiall to all such as saw it: in somuch that there hath not bene anie of them which hath not confessed that he neuer saw the like. And yet were there verie manie present at it, as well of the same countrie as of strangers, which haue scene manie statelie and roiall meetings, both in the same citie and in other cities of the low countries, and also in other great cities of other countries, as Paris, London, Rome, and Lyons: and yet neuertheless the common voice is, that this last hath passed all the rest. And trulie the citie had no more but six daies respite to prepare for it, as I said before: in somuch that they could not put to making anie worke of silke, nor of gold and silver beaten or women, nor anie imbroderie: no nor in so short time make anie meane apparell new, nor anie rare colline of imageries, pillars, triumphall arches, or other pageants: but were constrained to make a shift with such things as they had in a readinesse aforehand of their owne store.

In other interteinments there haue in deed bene scene great plentie of riches and roialties in attires of kings and quenes, princes and princesses, lords and ladies, citizens and their wiues; but in this intertainment no such were scene: howbeit there was not anie grosenesse, nor ought that might not well become the neatnesse and finenesse of that people, although it came nothing nere the sumptuousnesse of other interteinements. As touching triumphall arches, chariots, portraictures, and such other shewes; although there were manie wittie inventions and agreeable to the time: yet haue men scene of them in other places, which might match these. And as touching the number of their people, although it was great: yet it is well knownen that Paris exceedeth them in that behalfe. But the onelie reason of this contentment cometh of the great number of people in armour, being not fewer than twentie thousand, in so good and so faire armour: and of their order and obedience, and of the small noise which all that huge multitude made: in somuch that if it had not bene for the thundering of the canons, and the sounding of trumpets, clarions, halboies, and other instruments, there was no more noise than is among a councill of graue men. That then was in mine opinion the onelie verie cause, which was greatly furthered by their beholding of the monieur of Wabrant, who representing the statelie of old Wabrant, was clothed in a large mantell, with the bonnet of his dukedome vpon his head: so that among that great number of people (which were so well armed, that three of the best cities in christendome could not shew so manie faire armors of their owne) his highnesse resembled a pretious stone or iewel set in fine gold. And because that they which were the beholders thereof (for they could not be curie there,

The respite
that Antwerp
had to prepare
for this
triumph
was
few.

Paris for
multitude of
people passeth

Monieur of
Wabrant his
attire and his
but,

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34
made
men
upon
page

34
made
men
upon
page

The cause
why this re-
port was
published in
print.

no; for euerie thing) will be verie glad to vnderstand of the things that so escaped them, and delight their minds now with the remembrance of the things which they saw before, as they delighted their eyes and minds with the beholding of them that daie: and strange nations, to whom the fame of that so renowned daies worke is come, will take pleasure to vnderstand the same, whereof they could not be beholders. Therefore is this booke set forth, for the satisfiing of all men, and also to make it knowne to a number of men (who partlie for enimitie, partlie for enuie, and partlie for other furnices and mistrusts will not beleue it) with what mind and affection the prince of Orange, and the other lords and noblemen of Brabant, the good cities, and the small townes, and namelie the most renowned citie of Antwerp, haue receiued their new prince and soueraigne lord.

The monsieur
which toward
Antwerp.

The nineteenth daie of the foresaid moneth in the forenane, the monsieur the duke of Anjou departed from Lillo and sailed towards Antwerpe, hauing in his companie but twentie ships, for the rest had gotten to Antwerpe afore, as well to put themselves in a readinesse as for other affaires. And he came about eight of the clocke nigh to the new towne, and passing along by the towne side, left the foreland of Flanders on his right hand and the towne on his left, and passed beyond all the towne and the place where the castell was. By the waie he heard all the canons shot off from that part of the towne which saith the river, & from a great number of ships which rode at anchor there: and he saw all the shafes furnished with men of warre of the citie, well armed, who welcommed him with their shot, and were answered againe by the ships of warre that accompanied him, conducted by monsieur de Trelon and the viceadmirals, and diuerse captains of Flushing. And so the first foot that he did set on land in Brabant, was at a village called Biell, which is at the canon wharfe at Antwerpe. The states of Brabant, the magistrats of the citie, and diuers other states, comming in like order on horsebacke to the same place with their trumpets, sergeants and heralds, apparelled in cotes of the armes of Lothier, Brabant, and Limbrough, alighted there, and waited on foot at the wharfe to receiue his highnesse, and to shew him the good will and affection of the states and people. But the pzease of people was so great, which resorted thither to see the prince, whom they looked for to be their duke; and againe there were so manie impediments in his landing; that it was found better for them by the aduise of the prince of Orange to returne backe, and to tarte for his highnesse vpon a theater which was prepared for him.

A theater e-
rected for the
monsieur to
show himselfe
vpon to the
people.

Prince Wol-
ph, the earle
of Leicester,
to.

This theater was set vp towards a corner of the castell, and opened towards the citie, so as his highnesse being there, might at one time view both the citie and the castell, and behold the counterscarpes: the deepe ditches full of faire water cleere to the verie bottome of the channell, inclosed on either side with belone stone: the great and faire buildings, the goodlie walles, beautifull to looke on and verie thicke: and the broad rampires garnished with trees planted by hand, that it resembled a little forest. The monsieur was brought vp to this theater accompanied with the prince Dolphin the onelie sonne of the duke of Montpansier: the earle of Leicester, and other English lords representing the queene of England: the princes of Orange and Epinoie, the countie de Lanall, the other English lords, the countie de Chateauroux, and a great sort of the barons, lords and gentlemen, besides the chiefe magistrats and misters of the companies of the citie of Antwerpe. The lords of the state of Brabant waiting vpon the theater, came dutifullie downe to go and meet

his highnesse: which thing he perceiving, did stand still. When the prince of Orange stepped forth to take his place among the states, as one of the chiefe lords and barons of the duchie of Brabant. As soone as they had saluted his highnesse, and with great humblenesse kissed his hand, they mounted by the steps againe with him, after whom followed the princes and lords of France and of England: and when they were come vp above, they ranged themselves on either side. There was set for the monsieur a chaire covered with cloth of gold, wherein he sat him downe. And vpon the theater there was likewise a tranerse of cloth of gold, and all the theater was covered with tapistrie. On the front of the theater on the highest part thereof were the armes of the marqueship of the holie empire: and a little beneath them on the right hand did stand the armes of Brabant with a wreath of fruits: and on the left hand stood the armes of the citie of Antwerpe. Also there were set vp two banners of silke azure with the armes of Anjou, & in one partition were written these same verses:

Kissing the
monsieurs
hand.

A chaire of
state.

Banner
with the
armes of
Anjou.

O noble prince, whose footsteps saide
and gentlenesse preferue:

Receiue thou here the honour which
thy vertue dooth deserue.

That these low countries maie at length
take breath by meanes of thee,

And thou a father to vs all
in name and doings bee.

After that euerie man had taken his place, and silence was made, the states of Brabant began their oration by the mouth of monsieur de Helleles doctor of both the lawes, secretarie to the said states, and one of their counsell. The summe whereof was, that the barons, noblemen, & deputies of the chiefe cities, and of the other good townes, representing the states of the duchie and countie of Brabant, hauing now the good hap to see among them and to behold face to face the prince, in whom next vnto God they had wholie set the hope of their deliuerance, and of the establishing of their ancient rest and libertie, did highlie thanke the almightie Lord, which had shewed them that fauour: taking it for an assured warrant, that he of his infinite goodnesse and prouidence, had not forgotten nor forsaken their iust quarrell: but had chosen his highnesse to be the defender of his people and the administrer of his iustice: to the end that to Gods glorie, and to his owne honour and renowne, the sorowes of all troubles, & of all other things that annoied their estate, might by the beames of his princelie maiestie, wisdom, and prouesse be chased awaie; and the brightnesse of their former prosperitie heretofore knowne to all nations, be made to spring vp & shine forth againe.

The summe
of monsieur
de Helleles
oration to the
monsieur.

In respect whereof they gaue his highnesse most humble thanks for the singular loue and good will, which he of his owne onelie motion and princelie disposition had vouchsafed to continue towards them vnto that instant, notwithstanding all the crosse dealings and practises that cunning heads could skill to put forth to the hinderance of their affaires, so much as they were not ignorant that for their calamities and miseries sakes, nothing could haue fallen in, which could haue made more to the fauour and furtherance of their case. Which thing they had esteemed and would esteeme for ever, as a pèrèlle president of his incomparable staednes and rare constancie: for the which, and for the great number of his other benefits and gracious dealings towards them, they were & ener should be bound to acknowledge themselves indebted to his highnesse with all faithfull obedience, and were readie that daie (by Gods grace) to submit themselves to him, as his humble vassals and subiects. And although they doubted not but that

The states
thankfulness
signified.

They ac-
knowledge
themselves
indebted to the
monsieur.

The secreta-
rie unto the
states saileth
to the point of
the matter.

The king of
Spaines offi-
cers full of ty-
rannicall lord-
lines and bul-
lance.

The cause
why the states
of Brabant
made the mon-
sieur their
prince & lord.

that his highnesse did well understand, and was full-
lie satisfied, not onely of the generall causes which
had binetfallie moued the states of the prouinces
of the low countries together, to sue to him for in-
cour, and to put themselves into his hands: but also
of the particular causes, which the states of that coun-
trie and countie of Brabant had, to renounce their
obedience to the king of Spaine: yet not withstand-
ding, to the intent to put his highnesse in remem-
brance thereof, and to confirme that sacred resolution
and high enterprise of his, builded thereupon, and
moreouer to yeild some reason of all their doings to
the princes and noblemen, and unto the rest of that
whole companie, who for the honour of his highnesse
were come thither of courtesie, to further the solemp-
nities of his intertainment: to the intent that at this
his repaire thither (which alwaies was called tofall)
they might vnder the more good will and gladnesse of
heart, they would saie no more but this, that as long
as the dukes of Brabant (speciallie since the falling
of that duchie into the hands of the dukes of Bur-
gognie, and other the famous ancestors of his high-
nesse) gaue themselves vnto the governing of their
subiects by themselves, thereby making it to appere
that they loued them, and were not carelesse of them;
they reaped so great commodities and notable ser-
uices at their hands, that their names and posses-
sions became oftentimes renowned, yea and some-
times yeadfall to the greatest monarches, kings, and
common-wealths of christendome, whereof their
warres and conquests made proue: howbeit that of
those things, as of matters familiarlie knowne by
the histories, it was not requisite to make discourse in
that place and time, which were appointed to greater
matters. But after that their dukes and princes ei-
ther by other allurements, or being withheld in their
other countie and seignories, began to leaue them
for a time, and afterward at length to forget them,
abandoning them to the pleasure and will, and some-
times also to the lust and couetousnesse of their vnder
officers, whereof the king of Spaine had lastlie shat-
tered and perfected by the worke, leaving them dis-
dainelesse as husbandlesse and fatherlesse, utterlie
desitute of his presence by the space of twentie
yeares; it came to passe, that hauing altered & chan-
ged almost all the whole state of the countie, and
committed the offices to such as by the lawes and
privileges of the countie were not capable of them;
or rather to such as would giue most for them, and
yet the vnassailable couetousnesse, malice, and ex-
ceeding tyrannicall lordlinesse of the Spaniards being
not contented therewith: in the end, when they had
abused the whole common-wealth after their owne
lust, they grew into so great pride, that they fell to
snatching of the priuat goods and substance of the in-
habitants, to liuing vpon the labour and sweat of
the poore: yea and to ransoming the chastitie of mens
wives and daughters: and (to fill vp the measure of
all abhominations and crueltie) they fell to taking a-
waie the liues, & to sucking the blood of those which
sought by all meanes to please them. Whereupon in
the end the great and righteous God (who hath a care
of his seruants) being offended therat, made that
people (who had aforesometimes bene of great valour) to
call to mind their former state and libertie: and gaue
them both will and courage to mainteine the same,
in such sort as they had receiued from their forefa-
thers. Which thing they said could not be better done
than by the election which the said states of Brabant,
binet with the other prouinces, had made of his
highnesse person to be their prince and lord, of pur-
pose to bring all things backe to their former order;
hauing first sought (howbeit in vaine) for all reme-
dies of their mischiefs, and of the disorders of the

estate, from the causes and wellsprings thereof. De-
claring that the dukes in old time had bene of
great valour, powesse, and power; and had made
manie renowned botages and exploits of warre,
and that amongst others, they had chosen a duke of
Antou heretofore, who had bene equall with the
rest in chivalrie & feats of armes; as their conquests
and dominions witnesseth: that they had had their
princes gentle, mild, gracious, familiar, and fauor-
able to their subiects: and that his highnesse had in
that behalfe alreadie giuen such proofes of his gen-
tlenesse, truth, and soundnesse, that to their seeming,
some ancient duke of Burgognie was raised vp a-
gainst them. Insomuch that in his chiefe high-
nesse, they firmly beleued themselves to haue re-
couered whatsoeuer god resourne the dukes of Bra-
bant, Antou and Burgognie could haue left vnto
them. Wherefore, vnto this day there remained no
more, but to proceed in the performance of the chiefe
workes, which it had pleased the sovereigne God to
put into the hands of his highnesse, and of the said
states to performe that daie: they on their part were
readie and resolute to do him the homage, fealtie, du-
tie, and obedience, which to all subiects and good vas-
sals ought to do to their rightfull princes: of which
for they trusted in God without doubting, that his
highnesse was, & that he would promise by forme
oth vnto God so to continue.

Here vnto his highnesse answered in effect, that
intending not to hold the states with long talke, but
onely to be mindfull of the honor and good will which
they had bought to yeild to him, in that among
so manie other great princes, they had chosen him
out to deliuer them from the oppression and tyran-
nie of the Spaniards, and to rule them according to
their customes, lawes, and privileges: he thanked
them hartlie for it, assuring them that the iustice
and equitie of their case, their honourable dealings
in his behalfe, and the loue which they had shewed
him, had made him to resolve with himselfe to take
vpon him their protection, and the reestablishing of
their ancient libertie, and to hazard therein whatsoe-
uer abilitie God had put into his hands, and whatsoe-
uer else it should please the king his lord and bro-
ther, and the quene of England, of their fauour
to bestow vpon him; yea even to the shedding of his
owne blood and the spending of his life.

This done the foresaid monsieur Hefels told his
highnesse, how it was the custome there, to proclaime
openlie before the people in the Dutch tongue the
points and articles of the tofall entrance, which the
dukes of Brabant are bound to promise and sweare
at their admisson. Here vpon, when as one held the
said articles translated into French, readie to re-
hearse them point by point after the proclaiming of
them in Dutch, forsomuch as the daie was farre
spent, and communication had bene had thereof al-
readie, the monsieur to win time thought it expedi-
ent, by the aduise of the prince of Orange, that they
should be read but onlie in Dutch. Which thing was
done by the said monsieur Hefels, with a new pre-
face added to the articles, containing byasie the rea-
sons and causes of that dealing. After the reading
of the said articles, it was demanded of his highnesse
whether he liked of them, and whether he were con-
tent to be swoorne to them, or whether it were his
pleasure to be further satisfied of them? Where vpon
he said to the prince of Orange, that forsomuch as
he had sene the articles, and conferred of them with
him as they came by ship out of Zeland, he held him-
selfe well satisfied with them, and was well conten-
ted to sweare vnto them. Which speech of his was
forthwith proclaimed, and with further declaration,
that for their better contentation his highnesse was
desirous

The states
tonallie and
fealtie signi-
fied by their
secretarie.

The mon-
sieur answers
to the foresaid
oration.

The mon-
sieur promises
even to the
shedding of
his blood.

The monsieur
is content to
sweare to the
articles as
read vpon.

desirous to haue them all knowne, that although the said articles were read but onelie in Dutch, yet would be of his owne good mind, with aduised deliberation and certeine knowledge be sworne vnto them.

Then did the said monsieur Hessel recite vnto the people in the Dutch tong, the first oth which the dukes of Brabant were of old time accustomed and bound to take for the obseruing of the said articles. Which done, deliuering the booke wherein it was contained to messier Hierre de Leiffeld chancelloz of Brabant, he read the same oth againe openlie in French, & the monsieur spake it after him word for word. Then the monsieur Hessel taking the booke againe, told the people that the dukes of Brabant made an other second oth to the barons, noble men, cities, boroughs, & all the inhabitants & subjects of the countie, to be to them a good & iust prince, and not to deale with them after his owne will, nor by waie of rigor, but by law and iustice, & according to their priuileges. Which oth was likewise rehearsed in the Dutch tong, & the booke deliuered againe to the said chancelloz, and the monsieur repeated the oth after him as he had done the first. Then were the mantle and bonnet of the dutchie brought vnto him, which were crimson velvet; the mantle was trailed on the ground, and both of them were furred with powdered ermine turned by verie brode. The prince of Orange told his highnesse, that it becometh him to be apparelled in those robes. And then he asked whether he must weare them into the citie: It was answered, yea: and that it was the solempne attire of the princes and dukes of Brabant of old time. Wherevnto when his highnesse had agreed, the prince did first put vpon him the said mantle, and fastening the button thereof, said these words; My lord, you must keepe this button fast closed, that no man may pull your mantle from you. And then he set the bonnet vpon his head, and said vnto him: Sir I praise God you may well keepe this attire, for now you may well assure your selfe that you be duke of Brabant.

Then the said Hessel told him how the custome required that the states should presentlie be sworne to him againe to yeld him fealtie. Wherevpon he uttered to the people the forme of the oth; and then the said chancelloz required it of the barons, noble men, and deputies, and they pronounced it after him according to the manner of the former othes, reuerentlie doing againe their homage, and promising fealtie and obedience. After the taking of the othes on both sides, as well by the monsieur as by the states of Brabant, while his highnesse was yet still in his robes of estate, the magistrates of Antwerpe commanded their recorder and counsellor maister Wandertuerke to come vpon the stage, to make him an offer of the marquship of the sacred empire, in the name of the citie of Antwerpe, which thing he did as followeth. Most gracious lord and prince, the markegrau, amptman, boroughmaisters, and skopons, the treasurers, and receivers, the chiefe burgesses, and quartermaisters, the wardens, and ancients of the handicrafts, together with the colonels, wardens of guilds, and capitains of the citie, were verie glad when they vnderstood of your highnesse happie arrivall in the Ile of Walcheren, as they haue caused to be verie largely and with all humilitie and reuerence shewed vnto you, by their deputies sent to your highnesse for the same purpose. But now, forsomuch as they see your highnesse not onelie arrived in the countie of Brabant, but also receiued for duke, and for their prince and lord: effect fore-conceiued ioie is greatly increased and made fullie perfect, trusting that by this your comming

there will once insue an end of the desolations, calamities, and miseries, whereinto the countie hath bene brought by the vniust gouernement past, and by the moze vniust and wrongfull warre which the enimies hold yet still to bring the whole countie to destruction, with all manner of calamities and oppressions which they are able to deuise. And therefore they give your highnesse most humble thanks for the paines & trauell which you haue vouchsafed to take to come into this countie: yelding infinitelie like thanks vnto God, for that he hath given & sent them such a prince, as not onelie is of abilitie and power, but also is verie willing, and well disposed to defend them from all enimies, & to rule and gouerne them with all good policie & iustice, according to the priuileges, lawes, and customs of the countie. For although they be ioined in league with the rest of the states of Brabant, and generallie with all the states of the low countries, & that they haue all entered into armes iointlie together; yet their so doing hath not bene to exempt and withdraw themselves from the iust gouernement of their lord and prince, but onlie to mainteine their ancient liberties, lawes, and priuileges, that being gouerned according to the same, they might liue with all dutifull obedience in god rest, peace, and tranquillitie. The full accomplishment of which their desires, they thinke themselves to haue most happilie obtained, with it hath pleased God of his infinit grace & mercie to put into your highnesse heart, to take vpon you the soueraintie of these low countries, the dukedome of Brabant, the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquship of the sacred empire. For seeing that God hath stirred them by so great a prince, the brother of a mightie king; they haue no doubt at all, but that your highnesse will by Gods grace, find means to deliuer these countie from the wretched warres wherein they haue bene so long plunged.

The markegrau, amptman, boroughmaisters, skopons, and other members of this citie, thinke it not expedient to repeat the causes of the warre, and the equitie of the case whereon they stand; forsomuch as it hath diuerse times heretofore bene discussed largely enough by the generall estates: and moreover bene notable knowne to the world, and manie waies allowed by your highnesse. Yet againe therefore with all humble submission and reuerence, they thanke your highnesse, that it hath pleased you to agree vnto them, and to promise the maintenance of their priuileges, lawes, and customs: yea and of the articles compilled in the principall composition, and in the iustfull entrance into the dutchie of Brabant, assuring your highnesse, that the people of the citie of Antwerpe, and of the marquship of the holic empire shall be, and continue right humble subiects to you, euen to the spreading of their bodies & goods, and what soeuer else they be able to make for the increasing of your honour and glorie. Wherevnto his highnesse answered verie gratioullie, that he thanked those noblemen for their good will and affection towards him; and that he meant to shew them by his doings how desirous he was to gouerne and rule the countie with god policie and iustice. And all this he did at large and with verie great grace. This done, the said Wandertuerke turning himselfe to the people cried with a loud voice, that his highnesse, as duke of Brabant, Alanson, Arion, Berre, &c: would be sworne to the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquship of the sacred empire, desiring them to praise vnto God, that by that so god and solempne deed Gods name might be sanctified, the safetie and prosperitie of the countie procured, and the honour and glorie of the said duke increased.

Then was the oth, which his highnesse should take,

The magistrates of Antwerps thankefulness to the monsieur signified.

The source of what places the monsieur had vnderstoden.

Antwerpe and the marquship promise made to the monsieur.

Two othes that the dukes of Brabant were accustomed to take.

The mantle and bonnet of the dutchie of Brabant.

The monsieur created duke of Brabant.

The states promise their fealtie and obedience.

An offer of the marquship of the sacred empire made to the monsieur.

out to be

Antwerpe, and the marquship promise made to the monsieur.

The oth that
the monieur
should take
openlie read
to the people.

read openlie to the people in the Flemmish tong by
the same Vanderwercke. Which being done, mon-
sieur the amptman read the same oth to his high-
nesse in frenche, and his highnesse made and perfor-
med the same in his hands, which the boroughma-
ster of the towne of Antwerpe held by, because the
receiuing of the oth at his hand belonged vnto him.
Also the said boroughmaster, whose name was sir
Philip of Schonehouen, kneeling downe before the
dukes highnesse, at the same time gaue him a gilt
keie in token of subiection, and that he might dispose
of the citie as of his owne: which keie was deliue-
red againe by his highnesse to the boroughmaster, to
whome he said verie grattoulie, that he assured him-
selfe, that the said boroughmaster and all the bur-
gessees and inhabitants of the citie, would keepe the
citie faithfullie for him, as they had done vntill that
instant.

A largesse cast
among the
standers by.

After the finishing and accomplishment of all the
said solemnities, the heralos of Brabant and Lo-
triche (or in the vulgar Brabant, Wallon, Lothier,
that is to saie Lotharing, or the true Lozraine) cried
with a loud voice, God saue the duke of Brabant.
And then sounding the trumpets, they made a lar-
gesse, casting a great sort of peces of gold and siluer
among the standers by. These peces were of two
sorts: the one sort had on for one side the image of
the monieur then duke of Brabant: the other sort
had on the one side the armes of Anjou & Brabant,
and about the verges was written; Francis of
France duke of Brabant. On the other side of them
all was a deuise of the sunne, with the monieurs
owne inscription, Cheriseth and Chaleth, which is the
monieurs ordinarie posie. Without the towne
were three regiments of the citizens, to the number
of a three thousand men in order of battell, who made
a goodlie shew with their faire armours and their en-
signes displayed. And they neuer went out of their
place vntill all the ceremonies were dispatched, and
that his highnesse was gone into the citie. Besides
these, there was an infinit number of people in the
citie, whereof manie were strangers, who maruelled
greatlie at these sights, and especiallie the frenche
men, who wondered to see their master in that appa-
rell, and spake diuerlie of it, as is wont to be done
in matters that are new and erst vnseene. But when
they vnderstood how it was the dukes appa-
rell, and that he wore it as a representation of antiquitie,
the like whereof is worne yet still by the electors of the
sacred empire in their great ceremonies; they were
astonished, and thought him to be a prince of more
statelie countenance and maiestie than afoze: in so
much that it was said aloud among them, that see-
ing it was the mantell of the duchie, it should cost the
liues of fiftie thousand frenchemen, before it should
be plucked from him againe.

The frenche-
men maruell
at the mon-
sieurs strange
habilliments,
ec.

The order of
the monieurs
entering into
Antwerpe.

As sone as the ceremonies were ended, his high-
nesse came downe from the theater, and mounted
vpon a white courser of spayles, couered with a co-
perison of veluet richlie imbroidered with gold. And
so he began to take his waie towards the right re-
nowned and rich citie of Antwerpe, and was con-
ueied along by the countercarfe, vnto the sumptu-
ous and statelie gate, called Kellers gate or S. Ge-
orges gate, whereat he entered into the good citie of
Antwerpe in this sort. First marched the two serge-
ants maiors or marshals of the citie, accompanied
of two pursuants with the armes of the citie, af-
ter whome followed the trumpets with the armes of
Brabant. The first companie was of Almane mer-
chants commonlie called Casterlings, well moun-
ted and well appa-
relled after the manner of Almane.
Next them followed the English merchants in excel-
lent good order, all appa-
relled in cassocks of blacke

veluet all of one fashion. Then came the coronels
and capteins of the citie: after whome followed a
great number of gentlemen, as well of the same
countrie as of other nations. Behind them went
the bodie of the citie, that is to wit, the wickema-
sters, the wardens, the ancient magistrate, the ma-
sters of the wardes, the boroughmasters, deputies,
and wardens of the halles, the others, the secreta-
ries, the registers, the receiuers and treasurers, the
schepens, the amptman, & the two boroughmasters,
all appa-
relled in clokes of blacke veluet, and all of
one fashion. After them came the trumpets of the
states of Brabant, Lembourg, and Lothier, & after
them the states themselves in this order. First went
the deputies of the vnder cities. The deputies of the
citie of Antwerpe. The deputies of Brussels. Then
succeeded the noblemen of Brabant, as the chancel-
lor of Brabant, and aboue him Lamozall Egmond
brother to the countie of Egmond, baron of Cale-
becke. A great number of lords of the same coun-
trie, of France, and of England well horsed and
richlie appa-
relled. The Swissers with their drums
and fifes. The monieurs owne household, among
whome were intermingled certeine lords of Eng-
land. Next this came the countie de Lauall, hauing
on either hand an English lord. The prince of Cspi-
note, hauing on his right hand the lord of Dundon,
& on his left the lord Howard: the prince Dolphin,
hauing on his right hand the earle of Leicester, & on
his left the prince of Orange: the markegrau of
Antwerpe bareheaded, bearing the mace of iustice:
the lord Peterson baron of Perode, taking vpon
him that daie as marshall of Brabant, and bearing
the naked sword before the dukes highnesse: then
came the duke himselfe, mounted and appa-
relled as
you haue heard afoze. Next behind the duke follow-
ed countie Porice of Passau sonne to the prince of
Orange, hauing on his right hand countie Philip of
Passau nephew to the said prince, and sone to coun-
tie John of Passau, and on his left hand the lord Sche-
field. His highnesse was garded by the companies of
the guilds, that is to saie, by the ancient brotherhoods
of the archers, crossbowes, and harquebussers in so
goodlie armours, as farther could not be found: these
went afoze him and about him on a clufter without
order, like flowre beluces vpon a rotall robe.

Lords of
England and
France well
horsed.

The earle of
Leicester on
the right
hand of prince
Dolphin.

The compa-
nies of the
guilds.

After them followed the gard of frenchemen on
a like heape, and after them the prince of Oranges
gard on foot. Then lastlie in verie good order came the
twentie ensignes of citizens, which had stood in order
of battell without the towne. Quer the gate where
his highnesse entered, there was a compartement of
Doctricke worke, wherein was written this title. To
Francis the sonne of Henrie the second, and onelic
brother of Henrie the third king of France, called by
Gods singular prouidence to the souereigne princi-
palitie of the low countries, and to the dukedome of
Brabant, and the marqueship of the sacred empire,
which God grant to be most happie and luckie vnto
him, as to their iauelled prince whom they haue most
earnestlie wished for, and who as now is happie
come into this his most seruiceable citie, his most
hartie fauourers: The senate & people of Antwerpe.

An inscrip-
tion congratu-
latorie to the mo-
nieur.

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe could not
go out of the citie for want of roome to turne in: and
therefore it tarried for his highnesse at the gate with-
in the citie. This chariot was called the chariot of
aliance: wherein sat a damosell appa-
relled in satin
red and white, which are the colours of Antwerpe:
who had in hir left hand a branch of baiera, & on hir
head a garland of laurell, in token of victorie &
gainst the tyrannies of the king of Spaine, and in
token of the deliuerance which the people hoped for
by means of their new prince, through his gracions
goodnesse,

The chariot
of the maiden
of Antwerpe
described.

The house of
Lancastre
continued to
be in possession

goddess, faithfulness, bloodiness, and defense:
to whom with her other hand she presented the keys
of the towne, according to the verses written on
her head, which shall be set downe hereafter. Before
her were the armes of the marqueship of the holie
emperor. On her right hand was Religion apparelled
like one of the Sybils, holding in her one hand an
open booke, named the Law and the Gospel: and in
her other hand a sword: named Gods word: and on
her left hand was Justice holding a balance and a
sword in her hand, and ouer the balance was writ-
ten, *Veritas et Pax*.

David.

Edmond.

Emblems of
peace & civi-
lization.

Direct go-
vernment.

Shirment.

Faithfulness,
watchfulness.

Union.

Defense.
Offense.

Before the damozell late Concord, clothed in
white, yellow, and orange tawine, bearing a tar-
get upon her arme, wherein was painted a crowned
scepter, with two little snakes; and under them, two
doves, all closed in with a garland of olife, betoke-
ning commendable gouernement with prouidence.
Upon her head she had a helme, betokening Wis-
dome. In her hand she carried a lance, with a pennon
upon it, on the one side thereof were the armes of
Anion crowned with olife, and on the other side a
lambe with a wolfe, and a lion with an or, to beto-
ken the great peacefulness that is looked for, under
this prince, as well in religion as in matters of
state. At Concordes right hand sat Wisdome, and
at her left hand Force. In the middle of the chariot
was a pillar right made of Corinthian worke, upon
the top whereof was a hart held betwene two ar-
med hands, which hart had two wings, betokening
Anion, Faith, and Force: and a sword with two
serpents twisting about it, and holding their tails
to their eares; signifying Discreet gouernement, and
eares stopped against flatterers. At the foot of the pil-
ler was a compartement with the armes of Anion
and Sabant. On the breast of the lion of Sabant,
were the armes of the marqueship of the sacred em-
pire, and of the citie of Antwerpe. Upon the armes
was written Attenuement. Upon the corners of the
chariot were two armed images with morions on
their heads, attired in orange white and blew. The
one of them was named Faithfulness, and the other
Watchfulness. In their hands they had each of them a
shield, wherein were painted two swords acrosse,
and two doves with a sheafe of arrowes, betoke-
ning Union. Upon one of the shields was written,
Defense: and upon the other, Offense; each of the
images had a pennon of azure silke: in one of the
which there was a pelican killing himselfe for his
young birds: and in the other a hen brooding her chick-
ens. Over the maidens head were these verses set:

My rulers outrage, wickednesse,
and furious tyrannie,
Haue cast me backe these keyes, which I
had giue disobedientie,
Vpon conditions neuer kept,
o prince of noble fame,
With better heed of lucke and lot,
receiue thou now the same.
Thy godlines and prowesse haue
of right deserued it.
O treble happie prince to whom
these countries doe submit
Their state! o happie Belgike, o
most happie like to bee,
Which vnderneath so great a prince,
maist now liue safe and free.

A canopy
carried over
the monarchs
head.

Six gentlemen of the citie waited at the gate
with a canopy of cloth of gold frized, which they af-
terward unfolded & carried it ouer the dukes head,
who went under it into the towne in the foremen-
tioned order. All the streets from the gate to his lod-
ging were set on either side with armed men under
their ensignes with their fifes & drums. The officers

carried gilt targets and speares in their hands: and
all the rest were armed after the best and goodliest
manner that could be forme. His highnesse passed
forth on to the corner of the street called Galtbois
street, that is to saie, the Spittlebois street. Here
into saint Georges church there was a shew made
in the librarie of a table, verie great and high, which
was made by one of the companies of their fragi-
call and comecall poets, commoners called amongst
them rhetoricians. The companie was called Cere,
as some others terme it, the Fellowship. After the
name of a flour which followeth the sun, & the speech
of the deesse was. Growing up in vertue. The shew
or table had three compartements or partitions. The
first was the first booke of Samuell the fifth
chapter, where Samuell chargeth Saule with his
disobedience, & hath a peece of his garment rent off
by him, in token that the kingdome should be pier-
ced from Saules house & giuen to a better. Whereby
was meant, that the fourteenth of those low coun-
tries was taken from the king of Spaine for his
abominable peticries, tyrannies, & cruelties. In
the second compartement was set forth, how Sa-
muell commanded Ishaie the father of Dauid to
bring forth his sonnes: of whom God would make
one the prince of his people, that is to wit, the pong-
est, which was Dauid. In the third was shewed how
Dauid being annointed fought with Goliath, and o-
uercame him. The title or superscription was a phry-
gian worke, wherein were written these verses:

As God bereauing Saule of crowne and mace,
Did dispossesse him of his kingdome quight,
And after set vp Dauid in his place:
So now likewise dispatching from our sight,
The tyrans which oppressed vs by might,
He giueth thee (o noble duke) the reine
Of these our countries, ouer vs to reine.

The front and crest being garnished with banners,
scuttrions of armes, crests and torches, carried the
dukes devise, Cherubeth and Chaleth. And at the foot
of the table laid Discord closed up in a prison of lat-
tise worke, where she was tormentted with belbonds
and serpents; and there were these verses following:
Alanson whom God Cherish aie,
Death Chase a liue and wrath awaie.

His highnesse passing forth still beyond the place
called the Quetwaistet, came to the street named
Hywinterstreet, that is to say, the chandelers street,
where was an other statelie pageant with armes,
torches, and crests, made by an other companie of
the rhetoricians, called pair ters or violers, who had
for their deuise, knit together by singlenesse. In this
pageant was painted the nere alliance of Dauid
and Ionathas: to betoken the firmnesse of the old
mutualie made by his highnesse & the states of Bra-
bant; and the magistrats, members, colonels, and
captains of the citie of Antwerpe. In this table was
written in a compartement of Iuygian worke:

Like as the faithfull Ionathas
did promise to defend,
Good Dauid from the harmes which Saule
against him did intend:
So keepe thou vs (o gracious prince)
which loue to liue in rest,
Against the tyrans by whose force
we haue beene sore oppress.

Then went he further to the end of the street, where
the upholsters shops are, which part was full of bur-
ning torches & barrells of burning pitch, and so came
to the sperebridge. At the entering thereof stood an
oliphant bearing a castell of stone with souldiers and
artillerie. Before the oliphant were painted the
armes of the marqueshome and of the citie, and be-
hind, a speare with a banner of taffetie, with the
S n n n n n n g. arms

I there in the
librarie of a
table verie
great and
high, &c.

The signifi-
cation of the
dukes com-
mending the
king of Spaine
and the more
gent.

A statelie pa-
geant impos-
tant to the
present pur-
pose.

An oliphant
bearing a ca-
stell of stone
with souldiers
and artillerie.

armes of Antiou in a wreath of laurell, and foure o-
ther bannerets of crimfin taffeta, pulled out, wherein
were painted the hands of Antwerpe, with this poe-
sie: Cherisheth and Chaseth. And vpon his side of
his bellie were these verses manifestlie written:

Whome light of Phebec heretofore did lead,
I now am drawne awaie,
Her brothers beames to follow in hir stead,
A farre more certeine staie.

I thinke my change right gainefull, fith I see,
These lower countries vnder him to bee.

From the Sperebridge he went along the Spere-
street, untill he came to the ward, where were foure
companies ranged in order of battell. From thence
he passed to the corner of Clare street, where was a
stage made by a companie of rhetoricians called the
Disse branch, who had for their possie, Behold grace.

Upon this stage sat a damsell named Antwerpe,
bearing in hir bosome a pretie daughter called the
Knowledge of God: who held a coffer wherein were
privileges, lawes, franchises and truth: which were
kept by the Grace of God, and by Providence, Wis-
dome, Faithfullnesse, Diligence, Loyaltie, Per-
seuerance, Unitie, Good heed, and Order. And aloft
was a compartement of Hygyian worke (verie
artificiallie handled) wherein were these verses:

O prince, our father, hope of helpe and staie:
Dame grace, Gods impe, whom here thou seeest to
From top to toe faire clad in white araie, (stand,
With branch of olife in hir heauenlie hand:

Hath willed thee to harbor here within
The statelie wallles of ladie Antwerpe, and
The loue of hir with endlesse fame to win,
By curing of hir griefes with law and right,
And ecke by putting of hir foes to flight.

Somewhat lower towards the midst, was Peptu-
tine with his threelined mace, riding ouer waues
vpon a dolphin, & on his left hand were these verses:

Gods heauenlie grace, and soothfull skill,
reuiuing Antwerpe new,
Through chare defense of faithfull league
haue kept hir safe, as dew
To thee hir duke innobled both
by father and by brother,
Both kings of France, gone to God
long since, still reigning tother.
And therefore bend thou now thy wits,
by rightfull force to wreake
Hir cruell foes, which did so oft
their leagues through falshood breake.

He passed from Clare street thorough long Scler-
street to saint Katharins bridge, right ouer against
Crosse street, where was a triumphall arch cunning-
lie painted and builded of white stone, which was
garnished with his highnesses armes, and with tor-
ches and crests, and with musike of holboies and
clarions. And on the top of it was written: To the
happie comming hither of Francis, onelie brother
to Henrie the third, sonne to Henrie the second,
grandchild to Francis the first, now inuested duke
of Brabant, the prince that hath most depelie deser-
ued of this their countrie, as a father of the same:
The senat and people of Antwerpe. Underneath this
in an other compartement of Hygyian worke, was
written this: At length yet hinder not this impe to
bring the wrooping world againe vnto some re-
dresse. In passing thorough the short Scler street, & by
the marketsted, he turned toward the Copers street
in the street called Chéselane to the great market
place, which was full of torches of war, and of barrels
of pitch vpon long poles vp to the highest win-
dowes, which commonlie are five stories high. In
this market place were imbatelled six ensignes,
with the ensigne of the youth which was vnder a

greene standard, all in the best armor that was to be
seene in any place of the world. In the midst of the
citizens was the great giant the founder of the citie
of Antwerpe, whose curace was azure, and his ap-
parell tawnie white and graie. He bore banners of
azure with the armes of Antiou, & had these giantlike
speeches cōteined in these verses, written before him:

Fierce furie, moodie rage, vnbredid ire,
Stout force, hot violence, cruell tyrannie,
Nought booted me, ne furthered my desire:
In keeping of my wished souereignie.
The surest waie for kings to gouerne by,
Is mildnesse matched with a prudent mind,
To vice seuer, to vertue meeke and kind.
For oft the calme and quiet gouernance,
Brings things to passe which violence could not win:
Feercenesse that caue will nought at all aduance,
By mildnesse shalt thou better hold folke in:
Outragious storming is not worth a pin,
By mine example therefore haue a care,
All cruell dealings vtterlie to spare.

Behind the giant were written these verses:

See you this orped giant here,
so huge of limme and bone?
Fame saies that Antwerpe was sometime
a thrall to such a one.

This giant was made by cunning to turne his
face towards the duke as he passed by, and to let fall
the armes of Spaine which he held in his hand, & to
put vp the armes of Antiou. Also there was a stage in
the same market place before the towne house, full of
nymphs & vertues. But forsomuch as it serued chief-
lie for the daie of his taking of his oath in the citie of
Antwerpe, which was the 22 daie of that moneth: it
shall be spoken of more at large hereafter. His high-
nes departing out of the market place, toke his waie
towards the street called the High street, and when he
came to the street called the old Conemarket, there
was a whale carieng Neptune naked with his thre-
forked mace in his hand, which betokened the great
commodities which the citie of Antwerpe receiued
by the sea and by the river Schelt. Before this mon-
ster was an other naked man, and by him two other
portraictures, the one of nauigation, and the other of
merchandize, with a booke of accounts, and a purse,
such as the factors do carie with them when they go
to receiue monie. Before this Neptune, in a com-
partement, were written these verses following:

The lordship of the seas to thee
the destinies beight:
In signe whereof I Neptune yeeld
this mace as thine of right.
That Antwerpe hauing rid all lets
by thee on sea and land,
Maie once inioie hir wished fruit,
and safe from perill stand.

His highnesse kept on his waie through the High
street, to a place where sometime was the gate called
S. Johns gate, which was beaten downe the yeare
before: in stead whereof there was a triumphall arch
of Ionian worke. This arch was wholie applied vnto
his highnesse owne possie Cherisheth and Chaseth.
On high ouer it was strained a covering after the
manner of a round vault, wherein was painted the
sun: & vnder the sun was painted the sea with ships,
and the earth clad with hir verdure. Also there ap-
peared a cloud on both sides, so as the light of the
sun did shine forth and yeeld out his force to the earth.
On the outside of the bowling of the arch were pain-
ted thre goddesses: namely Flora, who held hir
floures in hir hand: Ceres, who had hir corne: and
Demodra, who held a home stozed with abundance
of all things. Likewise the earth was clad with
greene trees, fruts, and fields, replenished with all
fruitfullnesse: which thing came to passe by the heat
and operation of the sun, which was betokened by
this word Cherisheth. On the other side being the left

Six ensignes
with the en-
signe of the
youth vnder
a greene stan-
dard.

A cunning
device of a
giant turning
his head.

A whale cari-
eng Neptune
naked with
three forked
mace.

An arch whol-
lie applied to
the monie
owne possie.

A damsell re-
presenting
Antwerpe
holding a cof-
fer of princi-
ples, &c.

A triumphall
arch diuerslie
garnished.

Cherisheth
hand,

Chafeth.

The man-
ners of his
interpretation
are.

hand, were drie and barren fields, the aire euerie
where lowing and clouie, and the trees and plants
withered: which thing was done by the three hel-
bonds, Discord, Violence, & Tyrannie, who fled a-
maie at the sight of his highnes, according to the sig-
nification of his other word, Chafeth. On an other
side stood the same poise againe, Cheritheth and Cha-
feth, by an other meane.

At the right hand ouer the word Cheritheth was
a great field well tilled, with a husbandmans house
upon it. The husbandman himselfe being apparelled
after the French fashion was sowing of corne, and
an other by him was spreading of mucke. At the
left hand was written the word Chafeth, on which
side also was painted a French captaine in armes
following his allies, confederats, and souldiers: to
down to vnderstand, that by the treaties, leagues,
and agreements made with the dukes highnesse, all
tyrannie, violence, and discord should be chased a-
waie; and that by the beames of that sun, the coun-
trie should receiue all peace, prosperitie, and abun-
dance. Upon the forefront were these verses painted:

Like as the rising of the sun
doth chase the night awaie,
And with his kindlie heat
the ground well cherish aie:
Euen so thy coming (noble prince)
doth chase all tempests quite,
And folke with cheerefull hope
offredome much delite.

The orna-
ments of the
arch aloft.

This arch was imposed aloft with scutcheons of
the armes of Aniou, compassed about with branches
of olive, all upon azure. Also there were diuers o-
ther scutcheons, whose field was gules bordered with
argent, and a great number of burning torches. And
the said arch was furnished with diuers instru-
ments of musike, and the musicians themselves
were clad in the colours of the citie. His highnesse
passing vnder this triumphall arch, came to a place
called the Dwire, that is to saie, the banke, where
were two companies imbatelled, armed like all the
residue. And so passing by the ward there, he went
to the place that is right ouer against the mint: be-
fore the which there was a huge and monstrous sea-
horse of twentie fot high, vpon whom sat a nymp
called Concord, bearing a shield wherein was pain-
ted a boke and a rod, which was named, the Rule of
truth. In hir hand she bare a flag, wherein was writ-
ten, Faithfull alliance. This monster of the sea was
named Tyrannie, and he had a bydle in his mouth
with double reines of iron chained called Law and
Reason. Whereby the dukes highnesse was done to
vnderstand, that he as a true Perseus was to deli-
uer that countrie from all tyrannie, and afterward
to gouerne it by iustice and reason.ouer against
the mint gate, where the street is narrowest, were
two obeliskes or round spires, and betwene them
a triumphall arch with his pillars of Corinthian
worke, gilded and enriched with his release vnder
him. Upon the forefront were his highnesse arms, 60
and likewise on the sides were other armes, with
banners, torches, and crests. Under the armes of
his highnesse were written these verses following:

Full mightie is that common weale,
and in a happie case,
And blest with all commodities
through Gods most heauenlie grace,
Where prince behaues himselfe as head,
and commons him obeie
As members, either carefullie
regarding others staie.

From this triumphall arch vnto the palace, that
is to wit, all along saint Michaels street, which is a
mile in length, stood on either side thre score and ten

pillers, with a space of two and twentie fot betwene
piller and pillar. Euerie pillar was twelue fot high,
and vpon the pillers was a continuall farras, & on
euerie ech other pillar was a crest: and on the pil-
lers betwene were the armes of Wabant, Aniou,
and Antwerpe, diuided according to the spaces be-
twene the said pillers. And the pillers were crested
about with garlands of iolie. On the side of the street
towards the palace was a pageant with banners,
torches, and pyramides; vpon the uppermost part of
one of the sides thereof was a crane, and vpon the o-
ther side a cocke: giuing knowledge as well to the
heads as to the members, that watchfulnesse is
needfull. A little spaniell betokening faithfulnessse,
& a little lambe betokening peace, were painted ac-
companyed with the sybils, which represented wif-
dome, loue, faithfulnessse, obedience, vertue and ho-
nor, without the which no true peace can continu-
And all these were guided by the light of the holie
ghost, which was resembled by a certeine brightnesse
that discovered the chiefe instruments of discord,
namelie Enuie and Slander, who peered out behind,
Enuie gnawing hir owne heart, and Slander ha-
ving double heart, double tong, and double face,
howbeit with small effect. For on the two sides of
this pageant were two counterfets, on the one side
Hercules, & on the other Dauid, as it were in copper,
having gotten the vpper hand of Goliath, betokening
strength and stoutnesse: and vnderneath was Con-
cord, who held Discord in a chaine with collars about
his necke: which Discord offering with his one hand
an apple of gold, and with his other hand threatening
men with his force and tyrannie, was yet neuer the-
lesse dymen into the dungeon of sorow, where he is
kept prisoner by Concord, who keepeth the dore fast
shut: betokening the same thing which the countrie
looketh for, at his highnesse hand according to his po-
se Cheritheth and Chafeth. Upon the forefront of the
compartment made of Hygyian worke were these
40 verses following painted out in most luelie forme:

O let the earth the killings sweet
of peace and iustice see,
And let hir powre hir riches forth
in all mens bosoms free:
Let godlines and faithfulness
go matched arme in arme,
And let the bond of endles loue
keepe all things knit from harme.

Before the duke came at saint Michaels, where
the palace was prepared for his highnesse, the daie
was so farre spent, that they were faine to light by
their crests & torches, which cast so great and cleere
a light through the whole towne, that the dukes high-
nesse, and the princes and lordes which accompanied
him, and likewise the souldiers with their glistering
armours, were seene more cleerlie than at anye time
of the daie. And as the multitude of people was ve-
rie great in the citie, so the nearer that his highnesse
drew to his palace, the greater still did the number
grow. So at length the duke of Wabant and An-
iou entred into his palace in the order afore mentio-
ned, having moreouer a two or thre hundred as well
of offenders as of banished folke which followed him
bareheaded and fettered, craving mercie. The he-
rals did cast peces of gold and silver abroad, as
they had done at the meetings of all the streets as
they passed through them. At the entrie of the pa-
lace was an arch of twentie fot high, resting vpon
thre pillars of Hygyian worke; and vpon the top
thereof was a compartement wherein were the thre
graces, that is to wit, Vertue, Glorie, and Honor,
who offered vnto his highnesse an olive branch, in to-
ken of peace, a laurell bough in token of victorie, and
a crowne which was sent him from heauen. And
p n n n n. 19. vnder

Thre score
and ten pil-
lers, with a
space of two
and twentie
fot betwene
each.Proper em-
blems and
their mean-
ings.Enuie and
Slander.Concord hold-
ing Discord
in a chaine, &c.Light with
torches and
crests as
cleere as the
moone daie.Thre graces
Vertue, Glo-
rie, and Honor
in a compa-
rtement.

under the compartement were written these verses:

O prince whose merits passe his praise,
whose vertues haue no peeres,
Whole mind surmounts his fortune far,
whose thews exceed his yeeres:
Take gentle heere this oliue branch,
this laurell bough and crowne,
Three presents giuen thee by three nymphs,
and sent from heauen downe.

The oth made by Francis duke of Brabant to the members of the right renowned citie of Antwerpe, and the oth made by them againe vnto his highnesse.

Twentie or thirtie thousand harquebuses shot off.

The night resembled the daie.

Solemnities used whiles the monieur was taking his peculiar oth to Antwerpe.

Two pageants, one of mount Parnassus, and the other a mossie rocke.

The duke of Brabant being come into his palace, caused a peale of a fientie or thirtie thousand harquebuses to be shot off, and then all the companies (saying those which were to watch that night) began to withdraw themselves apasse. Which thing was done in such order and with such silence, that in lesse than halfe an houre all the citie was disarmed; after which maner they had also armed themselves in lesse than an houre without anie noise in the morning. The princes also and the lords withdrew themselves to their lodgings, and then was all the great ordinance of the towne shot off twise, as it had bene at the dukes first comming to the citie, that all the towne seemed to be on fire. Crests were lighted and fires made for ioie through all the streets and meetings, waies, and vpon the steeles, in so great number and so continuallie, that all the night resembled the daie: in so much that when they that were without the towne looked vp into the skie, they thought the element was all on fire. These bonfires continued euerie night untill the next thursdaie; on which daie his highnesse took his peculiar oth to the towne of Antwerpe, in doing whereof these solemnities ensuing were obserued. The amptman, boroughmaisters, and skepons of Antwerpe came to the said palace of S. Michaell the next thursdaie being the two and twentieth daie of the same moneth: at which place they made humble sute vnto his highnesse, that as he had boundfasted to giue his oth to the states of Brabant and the marquesdome of the sacred empire, and likewise to receiue theirs; so it might please him to giue his oth that daie peculiarie to the citie of Antwerpe, and likewise to take theirs at the place of old time accustomed. Wherevnto when the duke had assented, they took their waie in the same order that had bene obserued at his entring into the towne; saying that the lord Edward de Clastro ambassador for Don Antonio king of Portugall, was that daie in the latter companie of the princes and lords. And so they marched along the said street of saint Michaell to the great market-sted, where the sumptuous common house of the citie is. And bicause that on the daie of his entrance in, it was not possible for him to take a perfect view of all the shewes, by reason that the night ouertooke them, they were presented vnto his highnesse againe, as well in the place before the mint, as in other places. Also there were two pageants more prepared, which were deuised both in one daie; the one was mount Parnassus wheron sat Apollo apparelled like the sun, and accompanied with the nine muses playing vpon diuerse kinds of instruments, and with sweet voice singing a certaine ditie together written in commendation of his highnesse. This pageant was in the street called the High street, ouer against the street named Keiner street. Right ouer against this pageant was an other on the side of the street called the Flar market, which was a mossie rocke ouergrown with drie and withered trees, wherin appeared a caue verie hideous, darke, and drie to be-

hold, & in the same laie lurking the three helhounds, Discord, Violence, and Tyrannie: who feeling Apollos beames, and hearing the sweetnesse and harmonie of the voices and instruments, shooke awaie and hid themselves in the deepest of the dungeon, and after ward peered out againe to harken whether that melodie and harmonie continued still or no, minding to haue come forth againe, and to haue troubled the common wealth, if the same had ceased.

His highnesse passed on, and with verie much adu came to the great market place, by reason of the infinite multitude of people, which could not be put asunder without great paine. As soon as he was alighted from his horse, he went vpon a scaffold which had bene set vp for the same purpose, in the midst of the market place hard by the towne house; before whome went the magistrate of the citie, and a great number of princes, lords, and gentlemen. This scaffold being great and large of the height of fortie foot, was hanged with scarlet. Upon it was a cloth of estate, the backe whereof was cloth of gold frized, vnder the which was a chaire of the same. The daie of his first comming thither, there had bene presented vnto him on the right side, Justice offering him a golden scepter: on his left side, Justice offering him the sword of iustice from about the chaire: and behind him Clemencie offering him the cap of the dukedome. Before the chaire as it were at the foot of it, were Obedience, Faithfulness, Love of God, & Reuerence. And by the chaire sides there were with them, Concord, Sagenesse, Valiantnes, Good will, Truth, Pittifulnesse, Perseuerance, and Reason, of whome two on either side held ech of them a torch of virgin wax, & they were all appareled like nymphes. But on this daie when his highnesse went vp to this stage, the nymphes were awaie; and in stead of them, the chaire was garnished on both sides with pillars. On the right side betwene the pillars was a lion holding a naked sword, to betoken the authoritie of the magistrate. Above the lion was an eagle feeding hir yong, and turning hir selfe towards the shining of the sunne, as taking hir force of the prince. On the left side was an ox with a poke on his necke, and above him a hen brooding hir chickens, and by hir a cocke. The ox with his poke signified obedience: and the cocke and the hen betokened the watchfulnesse, care, and defense of the superiour. The said scaffold was garnished with banners of azure beaten with the armes of Anjou, and with banners of geules beaten with the armes of Antwerpe, and with crests and torches. And about among the armes were written these verses in verie faire & legible letters:

At length thou art come,
and ioifull we bee,
Thy presence long lookt for
here present to see.

1 Of triumphs, though statelie,
kings boast but in vaine,
Vnlesse they by iustice
vprightlie doo raine.

2 Nought booteth law, authoritie,
or sage forecast of wit,
Vnlesse to lawfull gouernement
folke doo their force submit.

3 God, God is he the harts of kings
which holdeth in his hand,
He, He it is that highest things
dooth make too fall or stand.
When he with gracious looke beholds
a people: they inioy
A goodlie ruler, vnder whom
no troubles them annoy.

A scaffold high with scarlet and richly adorned.

A chaire of estate of cloth of gold frized.

Beautiful emblems about the chaire of estate, which they signified.

1 A little vnder, at the right hand vnder the armes of Brabant, were these verses.

2 On the left hand vnder the armes of Antwerpe was written thus.

3 This was written lower.

But

But if misliking make him frowne,
then makes he them a preie
To tyrants, vnder whom they tast
of sorrow euerie daie.

Banished and
condemned
men in fetters
craving mer-
cie pardoned.

From this scaffold he might behold before him
an infinite number of people, ready to be sworn vn-
to him : and also three companies of banished and
condemned men in fetters, and bareheaded, cra-
ving mercie at his hand, which was granted vnto
them. Whereupon all the houses about the market
stead had cressets burning on high before them. Now
then, after that some and silence was made, their
councelloz and recorder Vanderwerke propounded
the matter as followeth. Right gracious lord and
prince, the markegrave, the amptman, the borough
masters, the shepsons, the treasurers, the receiuers,
the old deputies, the chiefe burgesse, the quarterma-
sters, the wardens, the ancients of the handicrafts,
the cozounels, the wardens of the guilds, and the cap-
teines of the citie, your highnesses most humble and
obedient subiects, are exceeding glad to see that you,
whome they haue already receiued for duke of Bza-
bant, and for their souereigne lord and prince, are
ready to make your oth vnto this citie, and to re-
ceiue it at the hand of the magistrats, burgesse and
citizens thereof, in respect of the citie it selfe, and of
the marke of the sacred empire : assuring
themselves that your highness will be vnto them a
god, righteous, and lawfull prince, to gouerne them
according to their franchises, lawes, and customes :
and promising mutuallie on their behalfe to your
highness, to be god, loiall, and faithfull subiects vn-
to you, to spend all their goods, yea and their liues
in your seruice, and in the maintenance of your
dignities, rights and preheminences. And like as
God hath put into your highness mind, to take vpon
you, first the protection and defense, and secondlie the
whole soueraintie of the low countries and prouin-
ces, which haue entered into league with you, vpon
hope that the same God will of his gracious god-
nesse and mercie so blesse and prosper your dealings
and enterprises : as that they shall out of hand see the
effect of that communication in the best degree, to
the accomplishment of your roiall and heroicall de-
sires, both in the generall, and also in the particular
deliuerance of the countrey from the calamities and
miseres of war : whereby they shall haue the better
cause to acknowledge the great good turnes and be-
nefits receiued at your highness hand, and to hono-
r, loue, and serue you, as the verie protector of the land
and father of their countrey.

The mon-
seigneur is ready
to take his oth
of the magi-
strate & people
of Antwerpe.

God sacredly
sworn to the
catholick oth-
ers.

When Vanderwerke had made an end, and the
dukes highness had answered him conformable to
that which he had spoken without the towne, the said
Vanderwerke told the people aloud, that the duke
was ready to take and receiue his oth, at the hand
of the magistrate, and of all the people and inhabitants
of the citie of Antwerpe : and that God had vouchsa-
fed to send them a prince of so rare and heroicall ver-
tues, of so great puissance, and the onelie brother of
so great a king; that they might well hope, that the
same God would inable him to rid these countries
within a while from the great number of calamities
and miseries wherewith they were oppressed. And for
somuch as his highness had bene receiued with so
lemne deliberation of the states confederate, yea
and with solemne resolution of all the members of
that citie, and God had commanded men to loue, ho-
nour and obeye their princes : he exhorted the people
to yeld him all humble obedience according to
Gods commandement. To which intent, the oth as
well which his highness should make to the people,
as which the people should make to his highness,
should be read vnto them; passing God to giue such

grace vnto his highness, as he following the same,
might well rule and gouerne; and vnto the burgesse
and citizens of Antwerpe, as they might performe
their obedience, like god, loiall, and faithfull sub-
iects : that Gods name might be sanctified, to the be-
nefit, prosperitie, and safeguard of the citie, and to the
great increase of the dukes puissance, honour, and
glozie. When the same Vanderwerke read the oth
which was to be made by the duke, with the stile of
the duke of Bzabant, and all his other titles. Which
oth was read to his highness in French, and recei-
ued by sir Philip Schonhouen, lord of Maneroe,
boroughmaster without the citie.

Which being done, the said Vanderwerke read the
oth which the magistrate and people were to make,
which was repeated word for word by the magistrats
and a great number of people which were within the
hearing of it. And this oth was created of the ma-
gistrate and people of Antwerpe by the amptman
in the name and by the commandement of the duke.
Upon the finishing of these solemnities, the duke
himselfe did cast two or three handfuls of gold and sil-
uer among them, & then the heralds cried A larges,
and the trumpets and drums were sounded euerie
where, and manie instruments of musike were plaied
vpon, as had bene done afore at his first arriuall.
When he was come downe from the scaffold, he
went to the townehouse with all the princes, lords,
and gentlemen, which were verie manie : where he
was receiued by the worshipfull of the citie, and di-
ned openlie at a verie sumptuous and roiall feast pre-
pared for him : and so that daie passed in great ioy,
contentation and admiration, as well of his high-
ness & his companie, as of all the rest of the people.
Towards night were shot off two peales of great
ordnance againe, and the fires of ioy were conti-
nued much greater, and more in number than afore.

Thus ended the iollull and roiall interteinement
of the right noble prince Francis, sonne and brother
to the king of France, by the grace of God duke of
Bzabant. The rest of the weeke and the daies follow-
ing, the lords of the princie counsell, the officers of the
aides, of the exchequers, of the chambers of the ac-
counts, and of the other copozations, colleges, and
communalities came to visit his highness, and to offer
him their humble seruice, promising all faithfulness
and obedience : all whome he receiued verie grati-
oullie to their contentation, answering them so ad-
uisedlie, with so good grace & fitnessse, without omit-
ting anie point of that which he had purposed : that
all men not onelie wondered at him, but also were
inforced to honour and loue him, and to set forth his
praises among the people. Finally the deputies of
the reformed churches of both the languages, being
presented vnto him by the prince of Orange, were
gentlie heard, and they spake to him as followeth.

Sir, we be sent vnto your highness by the refo-
med churches of this citie, as well of the language
of low Dutchland, as of the French; to shew vnto
you with all humilitie, reuerence and subiection, that
we haue thanked and still do thanke God with all
our hart, for vouchsafing to bring your highness so
happilie hither. And this our ioy is matched with the
ioie of all other folks, as we hope your highness
hath vnderstood by the glad and iollull receiuing and
interteining of you. Also sir we hope, that as the
great honour and felicitie which these countries haue
attained vnto (wherein few countries are able to
match them) haue bene purchased vnder the soue-
reignie and gouernement of the right renowned
princes, the dukes of Burgognie, which issued out of
the most noble house of France : so vnder your gui-
ding and gouernement being of the same house, the
ancient renowne of the same dignitie shall be reco-
uered

The mon-
seigneur oth red
in French.

The mon-
seigneur casteth
largesse of
gold & siluer
among the
people.

Two peales
of great ordi-
nance with o-
ther signes of
ioy.

What was
done by the
duke of
corrections du-
tie when all
the triumphs
were ended.

Dukes of
Burgognie
issued out of
the house of
France.

Under whom
the state hath
bene auaun-
ced.

Philip duke
of Burgonie
surnamed the
hardie.

Duke John
the second,
and Philip
the second,
aduancers of
the state.

Philip the se-
cond a verie
rich prince,
surnamed
Philip the
good.

He directeth
his speech to
the monseieur.

A state moued
to y^e monseieur.

Francis the
monseieurs
grandfather
commended.

nered by your proffesse, and maintained by your
wisdome. It is little more than three hundred yeres
ago, that these countries being gouerned by sundrie
dukes, earles, and lords, had not attained the re-
notowne which other nations haue since that time so
much wondered at. The first that began to giue in-
crease to it was Philip duke of Burgonie, surna-
med the hardie, who was brother to king Charles
the first, the sonne of king John, and grand sonne of
king Philip of Valois: of which kings your highnes
is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne.
For the first duke of Orleans, of whome your high-
nesse is lineallie descended from the father to the
sonne, was the sonne of king Charles the first; and as
now there be no more helres males of the said duke
of Orleans, but onelie your highnes and the king
your brother. Whereby it falleth out, that the dukes
of Burgonie are great vnckles to your highnes by
the fathers side. And therefore we doubt not but you
will follow the footsteps of their vertues, in restoring
the state of the countrie to his ancient renotowne
and dignitie: and also mainteine and increase the ho-
nour whereunto it hath bene aduanced, by those no-
ble princes your vnckles.

The second duke under whom this state hath bene
greatlie aduanced, was John the second: neuerthe-
lesse it came not to full perfection, untill the time of
Philip the second. In which perfection it was main-
teined by Charles the last duke of Burgonie so long
as he liued. The said Philip the second, to whom the
honour of stablishing that state most peculiarie be-
longeth, was one of the most knightlie and valiant
princes of his time. He wan the victorie in nine
foughten felds, in most of the which he was put to
the triall and hazard of his person, by fighting with
his owne hands. He was a verie sage prince, and
such a one as had to deale with the greatest princes
in christendome: of whome some were his aduer-
saries, and yet he behaued himselfe so wisely, that he
achieued all things to his honour whatsoever he
tooke in hand. Also he was verie rich: inasmuch that
for all his warres which lasted aboue thirtie yeres,
he left behind him more substance and readie monie,
than anie other prince of his time, as the writers of
the histories of that age do witness vnto vs. And yet
notwithstanding, for all these great vertues & quali-
ties of his, he was not named Philip the sage, nor
Philip the valiant, nor Philip the rich, but Philip the
good. So well do all folke by generall consent un-
derstand, which is the vertue that best becometh and
becometh a great prince, is best liked of his peo-
ple: namely, that a prince be good and louing to his
subiects. Surely sir, all men hope that your highnes
will follow the example of that good prince, the first
binger of the state of this countrie to perfection, a
right noble and renotowned prince of the house of
France. And we praise God, for that as manie as
haue had the honour to come into your highnes pre-
sence, yeld record that you haue verie great like-
hoods of these vertues, which we praise God so to ac-
complish and make perfect in you, as all his people
may to your great honor receiue the perfect and ripe
fruits of the same. And this do all the rest of the people
desire as well as we.

Howbeit, we haue a most humble sute to make
peculiarlie to your highnes, which we most humbly
beseech you to grant. The thing that induceth vs to
do it, is that you beare the name of Francis. For as
oft as we heare that name named: the remem-
brance of that great king Francis your highnesse
grandfather cometh to our mind. He was a right
valiant, couragious, noble and goodlie prince: and yet
notwithstanding all the nations of the earth did by
one common consent surname him the father of

learning. For of a truth, since that emperor and
great king of France, called Charles the great, there
was neuer anie king of France that so highly fa-
uoured learning, as this great king Francis. And
as the said king Charles was the founder of the fa-
mous vniuersitie of Paris, so was king Francis
the restorer thereof againe: and both of them to their
great costs & charges called men of excellent know-
ledge thither out of strange countries, to teach the
languages & all kinds of arts & sciences. The house
of this great king Francis was as an vniuersitie,
and his table was a place of conference concerning
all maner of learning. And like as other great prin-
ces of his time following his example, enriched their
dominions and kingdomes with learned men and
learning: so we most humble beseech your highnes
to follow the example of this great king your grand-
father in doing the like, and to make singular ac-
count of learning, and to take the professors there-
of under your protection. True it is sir, that through
the malice of men, warre is commonlie the ouer-
thrower of learning. But if a great prince set him-
selfe against the mischief, he may easilie stop it. Our
desire is not that your highnesse should neglect the
exercise of chivalrie, for to giue your selfe to studie:
but to follow so the one, as the other be not left off
and forgotten. For as we haue saide manie com-
monweales flourish so long as they professed chivalrie
and learning together: and yet haue fallen into the
hands of their enemies, even in the chiefe flower of
their skill in sciences, by reason of their discontinu-
ing of their former trade of armes, after which man-
ner it fell to the Athenians to come into subiection
to the kings of Macedonie: so the people which haue
professed armes alone without learning, haue al-
waies become barbarous, cruell, and viterlie desti-
tute of all humanitie, as we see at this daie by the
Tartars and Moscovites. And therefore to our se-
ming, a man may well saie, that chivalrie is the sur-
dation and sinewes of a commonweale: and that
learning garnisheth and beautifieth the bodie there-
of with liuelie and fresh colours, serving it for in-
richments and ornaments. In respect whereof, as we
meant not to desire your highnesse to forget those
which make profession of chivalrie, whome you ought
to embrace as your strength: so we most humble
beseech y^e to vouchsafe to succour learning, and
to mainteine learned men with your gracious fa-
uour.

Sir, verie needfull causes moue vs to make this
humble petition to your highnesse: for that we be-
ing professors of learning, ought to haue learning
in singular estimation, and to procure (if it be possi-
ble for vs) that the fruite of the things which we haue
inuoied for a time, may be conueied to our posterity:
and secondlie for the othe sake which we haue ta-
ken at the time of our proceeding in our degrees,
which is, to mainteine and further the scholes and
learning of the vniuersitie, in what degree soeuer
we come vnto. And therefore we hope that your
highnesse will do vs the honour to take this most
humble request of ours in good part. As touching
our owne persons, we promise your highnesse all o-
bedience, faithfulness, and subiection: and that ac-
cording to our small abilitie, we will do our indenor-
towards such as we may haue access vnto, that they
also may yeld obedience to your highnesse, and to
the magistrates whome it shall please you to set
ouer the people. And here to make an end, we parti-
lie praise God to preferue your highnes a long time
in happie estate among this people, and to giue you
the grace to rule and generne them iustlie and up-
rightlie, to rid them out of the hands of their en-
emies, to mainteine them long in most happie peace,

A god sure to
the monseieur, &
the like of all
princes and
great men to
be preferred
and granted.

A learning and
chivalrie must
go together.

Causes that
moued the
making of
this sute.

He speaketh
in the behaue
of all the rest
of like profes-
sion and fa-
uour.

and to restore this state againe to the ancient dignitie, greatnesse, renowne, and felicitie: that after your decesse you maie leaue a most blessed and famous remembrance among all nations. And for the bringing hereof to passe, we yet againe beseech the king of kings and great prince of princes, to make you as valiant as Dauid, as wise as Salomon, and as zealous of his glorie as Ezechias.

Herevnto the duke answered, that he was verie glad to see such a consent of all the people in the receiving of him: and that he hoped so to rule and governe them, as they should not be disappointed of the hope which they had conceived of his gouvernement, which he would fashion out after the paterne of his predecessours and great uncles, who had governed these countries so happily. And he thanked them for their good will & love, praying them to continue the same, and promising to take them into his protection together with the rest of the people in generall: that as he had heretofore a singular regard of learned men, so would he be willing to continue the same hereafter.

After this maner began this great prince to governe that people with great authoritie and modestie; and the people to yeld unto him verie willing and honorable obedience: and all men hope both generallie and particularlie, that God will give him the grace so to hold on in that so holie and commendable gouvernement, as that by his example he shall shew to all princes and to all others that come after him, how greatly the iust and lawfull gouvernement anaileth: and that the people on their side shall shew what maner of obedience, love, and constancie is due to good princes: in which vertues there was neuer yet anie people that could skill to surmount them, neither shall anie hereafter, by the helpe of the great God, and everlasting father of our saviour Iesus Christ, to whom with the unitie of the holie spirit be all glorie for ever and ever, Amen.]

John Daine
recited at
Chelmsford.

A blasing
starre.

Execution of
Thomas Foyd, John
Shert, and
Robert Johnson
priests of
the popes
order.

To perseuerance
in wickednes
is no constan-
cie but obsti-
nacie.

John Daine priest being indicted of high treason for words by him spoken, was arreigned and condemned at Chelmsford on the last daie of March, and was there executed on the second daie of Aprill, according to the qualitie of his offense, and as law had awarded. In the moneth of Maie, namely, on the sixteenth daie at night, about ten of the clocke, a blasing starre appeared, descending in the north-west, the beards whereof streamed into the southeast.

On mondaie being the eight & twentieth of Maie, Thomas Foyd, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests, having bene before indicted, arreigned, and as well by their owne testimonie, as also sufficient witnesses produced to their faces, found guiltie, and condemned for high treason intended, practised, and appointed against his maiesties most roiall person, as also for the utter ruine, overthrow, and subuersion of his peaceable and well governed realme, themselves being sent as instruments, to deale for and in the behalfe of the pope, in this dissolall and traitorous cause; according as iustice had before determined, were drawne upon hurdles from the Tower of London to the place appointed for execution; having ben so long time spared, by his maiesties most roiall and princelie regard of mercie, to trie if either the feare of God would take place in them, consideration and respect of their owne duties moue them, or the mere love and accustomed clemencie of his maiestie might win them, to acknowledge him to be their lawfull soveraigne, and themselves his subiects bound to serve him, notwithstanding any pretense or authoritie to the contrary, & not for matter of their popish superstition. All this notwithstanding they remained giuen over to their owne wickednes, and

swallowed up in the gulfes of their vndutifull affection, which caused iustice to step before mercie, committing them to the reward of their lewd and vnnaturall dealing.

All the while as they were drawne, they were accompanied with diuers zealous and godlie men, who in mild & louing speeches made knowne unto them, how iustlie God repaieth the reprobate, how fatherlie againe he receiveth the obedient, how he overthroweth the bigodlie in their owne deuises, and protecteth his chosen in all stormes and afflictions. In remembrance of all these, to bethinke themselves of their wickednesse passed, and to shew such hartie and zealous repentance for the same, that albeit they had so greivouslie trespassed, yet in contrite and humble sorrowing they might be graciouly received into his heauenlie fauour, whome they had moued and stirred by their vnnaturall regard, to smite and chasten with the rod of his furie. Among which godlie persuasions, maister Shirriff himselfe, both learnebie and earnestlie labored unto them, mouing all good occasions he might deuise to change the obstinacie he perceived in them, into a chrestianlike humilitie and repentance; but these good inducements took no wished effect, their owne euill disposition so blinded them, that there was no waie for grace to enter.

When they were come beyond saint Giles in the field, there approached vnto the hurdle one of their owne sect, and a priest (as himselfe had confessed) who in this maner spake vnto the prisoners: O gentlemen be iofull in the blood of Iesus Christ, for this is the daie of your triumph and ioie. Being asked whie he vsed such words, he said vnto the prisoners againe; I pronounce vnto you; yea, I pronounce a full remission and pardon vnto your soules. Using these and other traitorous speeches, hold was laid on him. When as maister Shirriff demanded what he was, he answered; He was the voice of a crier in the wilderness, and that he was sent to prepare the Lords waie. And notwithstanding such meanes of resistance as himselfe vsed, he was deliuered vnto Thomas Foxris purseuant, who brought him vnto Newgate, where he confessed vnto him that he was a priest, and that he had so long dissembled, as he would now leaue off and do so no more.

Being come to the place of execution Thomas Foyd was first brought vp into the cart, when as he began in this maner. Whereas I am come hither to die, for matters laid vnto my charge of treason, which should be conspired against the queene, within these two yeares or somewhat more: I giue you to vnderstand, that of ante such matter I am innocent & free, for that I can proue my comming into England to be fve yeares since. Whereupon maister Shirriff spake vnto him and said; Foyd, haue mind on God, and aske him and his maiestie heartilie forgiveness, whome thou hast so highlie offended; thou dost but delude the people, for it is manifestlie known how thou art guiltie of the matters laid to thy charge, here be thine owne answers to shew, affirmed vnder thine owne hand, and other witnesses to reprove thee. Whereupon I my selfe was called forth, who iustified the causes to his face, that at his arreignment was laid to his charge, and he euidentlie and plainelie found guiltie thereof. Then were his answers whereto he had subscribed read vnto him, which is in the booke latelie set forth by authority. Whereupon he took occasion to tell a long circumstance of a certeine queene, named at Oxford, as concerning taking armes against his maiestie, which horrible treason he seemed to approve thereby. Then maister Shirriff willed him to aske his maiestie forgiveness, offering him to stand his friend in

Consolation
ministered to
them as they
went to their
death.

The Shirriff
himselfe trieth
what he can
do to conuert
them.

He was the
cryer of a false
and antichristi-
an voice.

Thomas
Foyd his
words touch-
ing his inno-
cencie.

* The writer
of this pam-
phlet, who se-
med to be ac-
quainted with
all their de-
villings.

Thamelesse
negative
voice to a ma-
nifest charge
of offense, and
evident con-
fession.

in asseining his graces mercie, if he would change his former traitorous mind, to become a true and faithfull subject, acknowledging him to be his lawfull soveraigne lorde, notwithstanding anie thing that a nie pope could saie or do to the contrarie. Where to he answered; I have not offended his maiestie, but if I have, I aske his forgiveness and all the world; and in no other trefon haue I offended than my religion, which is the catholike faith, wherein I will liue and die. And as for the queenes maiestie, I do acknowledge his supremacie in all things temporall, but as concerning ecclesiasticall causes, I denie him; that onelie belongeth to the bicar of Christ, the pope. In briefe, he granted to nothing, but shewed himselfe an impious and obstinat traitor, and so he remained to the death, refusing to praie in the English tongue, mumbling a few Latine prayers, desiring those that were *Ex domo Dei* to praie with him, & so he died. In the meane time that behanged, which was till he was dead, so great is the mercie of our grati-
ous princeesse, John Shert was brought from off the hurdle to the gallows, where seeing Ford hanging, he began with holding vp his hands, as the papists are wont to do before their images; O sweet Com,
O happy Com, O blessed Com. Then being staied, Ford was cut downe & caried to the place where his bodie should be quartered. In which time Shert was brought vp into the cart, where looking towards the dead bodie of Ford, he fell downe on his knees, and held vp his hands vnto it, saieing againe; O happy Com, O blessed Com, thy sweet soule praie for me; O deare Com, thy blessed soule praie for me. For which words being rebuked, the executioner lifted him vp on his feet, when as he prepared him to his confession, saieing; I am brought hither to this place, to die a death which is both shamefull & ignominious, for which I thanke thee my Lord God, who framing me to thine owne similitude and likenesse, hast blessed me to this good end. There being staied, because he seemed to prolong the time to small purpose, the shiriffe willed him to remember himselfe, for what cause he was come thither, how he had offended the queenes maiestie, and that he was now to aske his forgiveness. Besides, he might receiue his princelie mercie; whereto with an hypocriticall outward boldnesse, but an inward fainting feare (as afterward euerie one plainelie beheld) he gaue this answer: What (maister shiriffe) shall I saue this fraile and vile carcasse, and damne mine owne soule? No, no, I am a catholike, in that faith I was borne, in that faith will I die, and here shall my blood seale it.

John Shert
his vaine spee-
ches at the
sight of Com
Fords dead
bodie dissem-
bled.

Sherts opo-
tion to the
people with-
eng the forme
of a godlie
martyres
death.

Pote Sherts
obstinacie.

Then maister shiriffe spake vnto him, saieing; By the waie as we came you swore an oth, for which you willed me to beare witness that you were heartilie soie: now I praie you let me be a witnesse, that you are heartilie soie for offending the queenes maiestie. While he (quoth he) I haue not offended him, without it be in my religion; and if I haue offended him, then I aske his forgiveness. Maister shiriffe vpon this said vnto him; Is this the fruit of your religion, to kneele to the dead bodie of thy fellow, and to desire his soule to praie for thee? Alas, what can it either profit or hinder thee? Praie thou to God, and he will helpe thee. Maister shiriffe (quoth Shert) this is the true catholike religion, and whosoever is not of it is damned. I desire his soule to praie for me, the most glorious virgin Marie to praie for me, and all the holie companie of heauen to praie for me. At which words the people cried; Awaite with the traitor, hang him, hang him. O Shert (quoth maister shiriffe) for sake that whore of Rome, that wicked Antichrist, with all his abhominable blasphemies and treacheries, and put thy whole confidence in Iesus Christ. Whereto he answered; O maister shiriffe, you little

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Shert is pre-
emptorie in
his speech to
induce his re-
ligion.

remember the daie when as you & I shall stand both at one barre, and I come as witness against you, that you called that holie and blessed bicar of Christ the whore of Rome. At which words the people cried againe; Hang him, hang him, awaite with him. When he began his *Pater noster* in Latine, and before he had fullie ended two petitions of it he fell into the Creed, and then to the *Pater noster* againe, afterward he said the *Aue Maria*, which done, knocking him-
selfe on the breast, saieing, *Iesus es mihi Iesus*, the cart was drawn awaite, and he committed to the mercie of God. But then, to manifest that his former bold-
nesse was but mere dissembling and hypocrisie, he lifted vp his hands, and caught hold on the halter: so that euerie one perceived his faire outward shew, and his soule inward disfigured nature, also how loth he was and vnwilling to die. Whereby he shewed that he was not indued with the audacitie and stout resolution of the heathen, who for morall vertues sake cast themselves into dangers, manie times deadlie; holding opinion, that he beareth but a counterfeite shew of vertue that shinketh at anie to-
ment, at anie hazard, at anie death, & therefore said;

Sherting by
prayers man-
gled and per-
ced together
after the po-
pish manner.

Per scopulos durum fortis anhelat iter.

Robert Johnson being brought vp into the cart, maister shiriffe, according as he had before, both de-
clared vnto him his maiesties mercie if he would re-
pent; and also willed him to be soie for his offences against his: wherof he seemed to make small esti-
mation, denieng the treasons according as the o-
thers had done, and appealing likewise vpon his re-
ligion. When was the writer hereof called forth, who gaue him to vnderstand, how notable he was
approued guiltie at his arraignment, & euerie mat-
ter sufficientlie handled; how according as the rest
were, he was confounded to his face. Wherevnto he
would make no other answer, but said; Well well,
(quoth he) calling the partie by his name, God for-
giue thee. Then were his answers read vnto him,
as they had been before to the other two, he not yield-
ing deniall, but said he spake them & would do it a-
gaine. Then was Athanasius Creed moued to him,
which he granted to be the catholike faith, where-
of the pope was bicar, and that there was no o-
ther catholike faith, but onelie his. While (quoth the
preacher) the pope is not named in it. I know not
that (quoth he againe) I haue not read it. Then ma-
ster shiriffe desired him to saie his prayers in Eng-
lish, and he with all the companie would praie with
him: which he refusing to do, in his Latine prayers
the cart was drawn awaite, and he committed to
Gods mercie. And thus was iustice ministered, and
that execution to Gods glorie, & the ease of the com-
mon wealths grasse dispatched.

who seemed
acquainted
with all this
apparall.

On the Wednesday following, which was the thir-
tith daie of Maie, in the same maner as I haue be-
fore exprest, Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Tho-
mas Coteham, & Laurence Richardson, were com-
mitted from the tower of London, to the place of
execution; and as the other were on the Monday be-
fore associated and accompanied with diuerse lear-
ned and godlie preachers; euen so were these, as to
saie, maister Charke, maister Verne, and diuerse o-
thers, who all the waie applied such godlie and chasti-
an persuasions vnto them (as had not the child of
perdition so maruellouslie blinded them) were of
force to haue wone them into grace and mercie. The
speeches they bled to them by the waie were newe
lesse here to set downe, for that they did expectallie
concerne causes to root out that wicked opinion in
them, and to establish a sound and perfect faith in
place thereof; but euen as it was in the other, so it
was agree in them. But Luke Kirbie seemed to cha-
lenge

Execution of
Luke Kirbie,
William Fil-
bie, Thomas
Coteham, and
Laurence
Richardson
preachers of the
popes errors

who was an
adverser (as
he pretended)
of all their
sayings.

which main-
tained and vi-
sited to a res-
toration of the
popes his
that.

Thou shalt
not be
of the
ill
not
and

of the
not
in a
error
not
not
not

of the
not
in a
error
not
not
not

lunge the * witer hereof as sufficient to proue no-
thing against him, which he did because it was suppo-
sed he was not there present: but what passed be-
twene him & the said witer, you shall heare hereaf-
ter. They being come to the place of execution, Wil-
liam Kirbie was brought vp into the cart, where
conforming himselfe vnto the death, his wicked trea-
sons were moued vnto him, which obstinatelie and
impudentlie he denied. Then was he demanded if
he would acknowledge the queenes maiestie his so-
ueraigne princeesse, and supreme head vnder Christ of
the church of England: So (quoth he) I will acknow-
ledge no other head of the church than the pope onlie.
Whereupon his answers were read vnto him, and he
not denieng them in anie point, euen as they were
wicked and impious, euen so he remained in them,
still appealing that it was for his religion that he de-
ied, and not for anie treason. But the contrarie was
proued vnto his face, as well by sufficient proofes, as
also by the traitorous answers, whereto he had sub-
scribed with his owne hand. At last, as he was desi-
red, he praised for the queenes maiestie, that God
might blesse hir, and incline hir heart to mercie to-
ward the catholikes, of which societie he was one.
Then they opening his bosome, found there two
crosses, which being taken from him were held vp,
and shewed to all the people, beside his crowne was
shauen. So after a few silent Latine prayers to him-
selfe, the cart was drabone awaie.

The next was Luke Kirbie, who being brought vp
into the cart, offered long circumstance of speech, as
concerning that he was come thither to die, hoping
to be saued in the blood of Christ: and much matter,
which were needlesse here to rehearse. Afterward, he
began to saie, that there were none could approue
him to be a traitor: neither had he at anie time at-
tempted anie thing preiudiciall to hir maiestie,
and that his aduersaries, naming them by speciall
name, could not vpbraid him with anie thing. Where-
upon master Shiriffe told him that one of them was
there, and asked him if he would haue him called to
him. I see him (quoth he) ponder, and let him saie
what he can against me. Then was the * partie bi-
den come somewhat nere him, to whom he began in
vehement sort to saie, Consider with thy selfe how
vntrewe thou hast charged me, with that which I ne-
uer said nor thought. Besides, thou knowest that
when thou camest to the Tower to me, before master
lieutenant, & an other who was there present then,
thou wast demanded what thou thoughtest of me,
and what thou couldest saie against me: When as
thou madest answer, thou knewest no harme by
me, neither couldest thou at anie time saie otherwise
of me than well: whereupon thou wast asked, where-
fore thou reportedst otherwise at my arraignment?
Then the Shiriffe said vnto him: Who can beare thee
witnes of this? Quoth he againe: He spake it before
master lieutenant, and an other was by then. Then
was he demanded what other he was that was pre-
sent: Which (after long tridling) he said was a keeper,
& named him. Whereunto the said witer made answer
as followeth. After Kirbie, I wish and desire you,
in the feare of God, to remember your selfe: for this
is not a place to report an vntrewe, neither to flau-
der anie man otherwise than you are able to proue.
When as I came vnto the Tower, & made knowe
to master lieutenant for what cause I was sent to
speake with you, you were brought into a chamber
by your keeper: and what I then moued, your selfe
verie well knoweth, as concerning my allowance
being the popes scholar: where what answer you
made, I haue trulie, and according as you answer-
ed, already set downe in print. After lieutenant
neither moued anie such words to me, as here you

reported, and I call God to my witness, that not a
motion of anie such matter was once offered to me
by master lieutenant, or by your keeper. Your selfe
then uttered, that at sundrie times in the seminarie
there were diuerse lewd words spoken, which might
better haue bene spared; and denied that you were
not in my chamber, when as I lieng sicke in my
bed, the traitorous speeches were moued by them,
which were then present, whereof your selfe was one,
with diuerse other matters which you spake vnto
me, which master lieutenant himselfe heard, and
your keeper being present. But if this be true which
you saie, that it may be proued there were either such
words moued vnto me, or anie such answer made
by me, I offer to susteine what punishment the law
shall assigne me. Then falling to an other matter,
for that this redounded to his owne confusion (as
master lieutenant can well witnesse) he began to
talke of my being at Rome, that friendship he had
shewed vnto me, and had done the like vnto a num-
ber of Englishmen, whom he well knew not to be
of that religion, both by his owne purse, as also by
friending them to some of the popes chamber, he
made conuenance for them thence sometime going
fortie miles with them: when (quoth he) had my dea-
lings bin knowne, I should hardlie haue bin well
thought of: and I knew well enough that you were
neuer bent to that religion, albeit they thought the
contrarie. Peca I knew well enough when you de-
parted thence, that your disposition was contrarie to
ours, and concealed it to my selfe.

Q Kirbie (quoth master Shiriffe) this is verie vn-
like, that you could assigne such fauour to anie, who
were contrarie to that religion that you professed.
So, no, if you knew anie such there, you would ra-
ther helpe to persecute them than pitie them, as it is
the nature of you all. Q Kirbie (quoth this witer) it
is verie unlike that you had anie such secret know-
ledge of me, either of my religion, or how I was se-
cretlie bent as you seme here to profess: for had I
bene such a one as you would persuaade these here
you knew me to be, would you haue deliuered me
those silken pictures halloved by the pope which you
did: and moreover, make knowen vnto me sundrie
of your friends here in England, to whom I should
conueie them? Q Sir (quoth he) I confesse indeed I
deliuered to thee such pictures, but thou knowest I
gaue thee two Julies to go buy them with, I did it be-
cause I knew thee to be such a one, and therefore I did
misdoubt thee, for I would not credit thee with my
halloved pictures. Q Kirbie (quoth the other) to de-
nie your owne doings is maruellous impudentie:
did not you in your chamber deliuer me certein
silken pictures, which you told me at Stukelis being
there, were halloved by the pope, and what indul-
gences were allowed them? One of them, which was
a crucifix, you gaue me; the other you willed me de-
liuer to your friends at Rheimes and in England.
And because they were so few (as in deed I thinke
they were no more but five) you gaue me two Ju-
lies, to go into the citie to buy more, which I did: and
having brought them to you, three or foure of the sa-
rest you took from me, promising to get them hal-
loved at the next benediction: the other in deed you
gaue me, and I took them with me. How saie you
now Kirbie (quoth master Shiriffe) would you haue
credited him with such matters, had you not suppo-
sed him to be one of your owne sect? After Shiriffe
(quoth he) what I haue said, I know verie well. And
after he was gone from Rome I sent sikene Bil-
lings to Rheimes to be deliuered to him, but he was
departed thence towards England, before it came.
Then master Shiriffe said to him againe: You stand
vpon these points verie much, which there is none
that

Repetitio bene-
ficy est expro-
batio

After this
rites words
uttered by the
state of inter-
ception.

This was
great & verie
mercifull for
bearance to
let all this
talke passe to
and fro at the
place of ex-
ecution.

When indeed
use to repose
their trust in
such, whom
they suppose
to be like
themselves.

Mercie offered to Kirbie notwithstanding his conuiction of treason.

that are here, but will iudge to be untrue: thou hearest what he hath said vnto thee, and we haue heard that thou deniest euerie thing. What saiest thou to thy treasons, wherefore thou art come hither to die? Wilt thou be sozie for them? aske God and his maiestie forgiveness, for she is mercifull, and we will carrie thee backe againe if we shall perceiue in thee any such motion, that thou wilt forsake thy former wickednesse, and become a good and faithfull subiect. At these words the people among themselves almost generallie said: O exceeding mercie and fauour! what a gracious pzincesse haue we, who affordeth such mercie vnto those that haue so ill deserued? Can there be a pzincesse of greater pitie, of more clemencie or tendernesse to be found in all the world? *Principe nil ista mitius orbi habet.*

To such as are prodigiouslie minded it is a matter disputable: but to a good subiect a matter determinable.

2 Pou. 8. 15. 16.

Rom. 13. 1. 2. 3. 4.

This counsel of the apostle they had not the grace to follow.

John. 19. 10. 11.

This demand implieth a kind of suspicion of secret charge that his maiestie is such a one.

Then field the preacher in the booke read his answers to him, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand: Whether the pope might lawfully depose his maiestie, or had anye authoritie to take the title of his crowne and dignitie awaie from him? Wherto Kirbie answered: This is a matter disputable in scholes, and therefore I may not iudge of it. I thinke this with my selfe, that if anye pzinces fall by infidelitie into turcisme, athelisme, paganisme, or anye such like, that the pope hath authoritie to depose such a pzinces. And being asked, if his maiestie were in anye such: He said, he knew his owne conscience. Another preacher being by said vnto him, that the pzinces receiued his authoritie from God, and that he was to be suppressed by none, but onelie by God. Againe, that Salomon said: By me (meaning by God) kings reigne, and pzinces decrea iustice. By me pzinces rule, and the nobles and all the iudges of the earth. Againe, S. Paule saith: Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordeined of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, ethey that resist, shall reiectue to themselves iudgement. For pzinces are not to be feared for good works but for euill. Wilt thou then be without feare of the power? do well, so shalt thou purchase praise of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do euill, feare, for he beareth a sword not for naught, for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that doth euill. If then the pope be a soule, he is to be obedient to the higher powers. And being a subiect vnto God, as all other pzinces be, he must not take vpon him what belongeth to God. As for the authoritie that his maiestie hath, she hath receiued it from God; neither is the pope, or anye earthlie pzinces to depriue him thereof, but onelie God. Againe, when Iesus was brought before Pilat, Pilat said vnto him; knowest thou not that I haue power to crucifie thee, and haue power to loose thee? To the which Iesus answered: Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from aboue. Thus mate you see, that what pzinces soeuer ruleth vpon earth, hath his power and authoritie onelie from God: and not that anye mortall man can vse the authoritie of a pzinces at his pleasure. How saie you to this? Wherto he would make no answer, but seemed to demand of them, if they would denie, that if a pzinces were in paganisme, athelisme, or gouerned by infidelitie: that such a pzinces might not lawfully be deposed? Which the learned preachers answered in learned sort, approuing that as the power was of God, so pzinces were not to be deposed by anye, but onelie by God.

So (quoth Kirbie againe) hath it not bene disputed in scholes for these fine hundred yeares, and will you denie it? O maister Crowleie, maister Crowleie; and there paused: as if that maister Crow-

leie had agreed with him in such a monstrous error. But maister Crowleie himselfe gaue one to understand, that at such time as he conferred with the said Kirbie in the towre, about the same argument, that his answer was vnto him: If anye pzinces fell into anye such kind of error, that pzinces were corrigible, but of whome? Not of anye earthlie pzinces, but of that heauenlie pzinces, who gaue him his authoritie, and seeing him abuse it anye waie, correcteth him in his iustice. For by his attributing to the pope this authoritie, he witnessed him to be antichrist, in that he will depose pzinces at his pleasure, and exalt him selfe aboue all that is called God, and forgive men their finnes at his pleasure likewise. All this was not sufficient to mollifie the obstinate mind of Kirbie, but he would persist still in this diuichly imagination. Whither Kirbie and the preachers, seeing him wauering, and not able to yeeld anye reason for his arrogant opinion, laboured as much as in them lay to change it: when all would not serue, they desired him in hartie and humble maner to praeise vnto God, to aske his maiestie forgiveness, for the treasons wherein he had offended him. Whereto he answered, that he had not offended in anye treason, to his knowledge. Whereupon they shewed him his treasons, which were aduoged by the people with this of greater punishment, than he was at that time to suffer; yet would not he acknowledge them, but praeised to God for his maiestie, that the might long rule in his authoritie, to confound all his enemies: and that his hart was free from anye treason to his maiestie. Then preparing himselfe vnto his prayers, the preachers desired him to praeise in English with them, and to saie a prayer after them; where in, if he could find anye fault, he should be reclused thereof. O (quoth he againe) you and I were not one in faith, therefore I thinke I should offend God, if I should praeise with you: at which words, the people began to crie, Awate with him: so he saieing his *Pater noster* in Latine, ended his life.

Then was Laurence Richardson brought by into the cart, & to him Thomas Coteham to be executed together. But Coteham seemed to utter such words as though there had bene hope he would haue forsaken his wickednesse, so that the halter was untied, and he brought downe out of the cart againe. In which time Laurence Richardson prepared him to death, confessing himselfe a catholike, and that he would beleue in all things as the catholike church of Rome did; vnto the pope he allowed the onelie supremacie. In which traitorous opinion, after certaine Latine prayers, he was committed to God. When was Coteham brought by to the cart againe, & the good opinion had of him before changed into that obstinate nature that was in them all, saieing to maister Kirbie, that before he came into England, he was crimed for India, and thither if he might be suffered he would passe with as much conuenient speed as might be. When looking to the bodie of Laurence Richardson, whereon the executioner was using his office, he lifted by his hands and said: O blessed Laurence praeise for me, thy blessed soule Laurence praeise for me: for which words both the preachers and the people rebuked him, telling him that he ought to praeise to none, but to God onelie; all helpe of man was but in vaine. Wherto he answered, he was assured that he could praeise for him. In briefe, his treasons being moued to him, he denied all, albeit his owne handwriting was there to affirme it. He praeised for his maiestie, and said his *Pater noster* & Ave Maria: and as the cart was drayning away he said: *Domine commendo spiritum meum*, and then he died. Thus did the broune of iustice sweepe awaie these noisome cobwebs, noisome both to church and common

Not of the pope, but of the heauenlie pzinces, who gaue him his authoritie, and seeing him abuse it anye waie, correcteth him in his iustice.

For people did not seeme offe.

Laurence Richardson and Thomas Coteham were both executed at their deaths.

For he was not so forme as he should haue beene, he should haue beene a man.

commonwealth, as being of the diuels hatching, but nursed and fostered of poperie, to inflame and trap soeie soules, as the spider doth the flie: from whence the Lord God deliuer euerie member of his church.

Philip Perce
hanged in
Westgate
in killing of a
burgess.

On the second daie of June, Phillip Perce was hanged in Fleetstreet for killing one of the shiriffes sergeants that had arrested him. This man at his death, as inwardlie touched with sorrow for the offence which he had committed and died, gaue such apparant tokens and notes of a repentant mind; that partlie with his speeches which were patheticall, and partlie with his teares which were plentifull, as also with his becheimnt sighs and greuous grones, joined with diuerse other gestures (great signes of inward grace) he so moued the beholders, that manie which beheld him, pitied his wofull end, most peainly manner all (whereof some were such as a man would haue thought had neuer a teare to shed at such a sight, hauing viewed diuerse tis like and more lamentable spectacles) with wet eyes beheld him, and yet in heart reioiced that he died reconciled to God. On the eight and twentieth of June, Peregrine Bartie lord Willoughbie of Trowbie appointed ambassador to Frederike the second king of Denmarke with the garter, whereunto he had bene elected & chosen a long time before, toke his leaue of the queenes maiestie at Greenwich; with whom sir Gilbert Dethicke alias Carter principall king of armes was joined in commission, for the inueiking of the said king into the order; and Robert Clouer alias Summerfet herald was also present, and gaue his attendance in the same voyage, as likewise did a competent number of gentlemen and yeomen, in all to the number of six and fiftie persons, besides mariners, &c. The said lord ambassador prepared himselfe towards Kingstone vpon Hull, where he imbarcked with his whole traine on the fourteenth daie of Iulie, and prosperoulye arrived at Elsemore in Denmarke on the one and twentieth daie of the same moneth, where he was honorablie interteined.

The lord am-
bassadors op-
eration in Latine
was king of
Denmarke, &c.

The king of
Denmarke
was into
the night be-
come order
the garter.

On the thirtieth daie of August he presented himselfe before the king in his castell of Cronenborough, and made his first speech vnto him in Latine; which speech being ended, the lord Willoughbie deliuered vnto the king his maiesties letters, and withall the commission for the kings inueiking into that honorable order of the garter. Which letters the king opened, and deliuered them to Henrie Kamells his chancelor for Germanie to read, whom he commanded to answer my lord's former oration. From the king my lord was conueied to the queenes presence, vnto whom also he deliuered his maiesties letters with salutations. The next daie being thursdaie the fourteenth of August, the king roiallie prepared, receiued the robes of the order with his owne hands, and with great contentment accepted and wore the garter, the collar, and the George, when as my lord concluded the whole dedication with sundrie wel-wishings. In the end whereof he put the king in mind of the sh and thankfull acceptance of the order to be testified by a publike instrument, as was before promised, whereunto the king answered by his chancelor Nicholas Haas with manie effectfull words: and immediatlie in signe of ioie, a great boie was discharged of all the great shot in his castell, and the lord ambassador with all his traine was roiallie feasted & rewarded. On thursdaie the fiftenth daie of August, the king toke my lord ambassador forth on hunting two leagues from Elsemore, and there in the dinner time uttered manie louing speeches. And after, to wit, on the one and twentieth of September the lord ambassador with all his traine imbarcked at Cunden, and arrived at Broueholme in Pozzfolke

on thursdaie the seauen and twentieth daie of September.

On the nineteenth daie of Iulie certeine ferkins of gunpowder to the number of seauen, and as manie or more ferkins of surgeon laden in a car vpon Gallie heie nere vnto the Tower of London, some small portion of the same powder being shed on the ground, the horse in the said carre stroke fire with his foot, and fired all together, where-through the surgeon was blowen awaie, some into the Thames, some elswhere: one ferkin was dynen through a lome wall that was bowded ouer, but all was spoiled and lost, the crane on the wharffe with the house nere adjoining shattered, manie men and horses soze blasted; the three men and seauen horses died thereof. On the twelue daie of August there arose a great tempest of lightening, thunder, whirlewind, and raine, with hallesstones fashioned like to the rowels of spurs two or three inches about in the countie of Pozzfolke, betwene the market towres of north Walsham and Woxsted (the towne wherein the making of woxsteds commonlie called *Wox*, which woxsted was first practised and toke their beginning) which tempest beat the coigne flat vnto the ground, rent by manie great trees, and shiuered them in peces, or wound them like withies. At Henning more than a mile from Woxsted, the west doore of the church, weighing more than three hundred pound weight, was lifted off the hokes, and by one omeuer the font, within one yard of the chancell doore; the top of the church was riuin by, and the lead as it were blown awaie; five webs of lead were ruffled by together, like as they had bene clouts of linnen cloth, and blown into the field without the churchyard. Also at east Hussen were manie barnes blowen downe, and houses vncovered.

Woxstons
by gunpow-
der.

Strange
tempest in
Pozzfolke.

This yeare Michaelmasse terme was returned from the vtas thereof, untill the fourth returne of the same called *Mense Michaelis*, and from the said returne untill the returne commonlie called *Crasino animarum* next ensuing, & then returned from Westminister to the castell of Hertford in Hertfordshire, there to begin in the said Crasino animarum, and to be continued till the end of the same terme, which was done accordingly, where was plentie of good viands to be had for monie, but lodging hard and scant; besides the long and plachie waie that manie had vnto their hols, and then perabuenture slepe in the chymnie corner, or vpon the hard boyds with a pillow vnder their heads. Was not this a good amends?

Anno reg. 25.

Terme kept
at Hertford.

This yeare Peter Horis fire denison, hauing made an engine for that purpose, conueied Thames water in pipes of lead our the steeple of saint Agnus church, at the north end of London bridge, and so into diuerse mens houses in Thames street, new Fish street, and Gasse street, by vnto the north west corner of Leaden hall (the highest ground of the citie of London) where the waite of the first maine pipe ran first this yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and two on Chiswellasse euen: which maine pipe being since at the charges of the citie brought vp into a standerd there made for that purpose, and diuided into foure severall spouts ran foure waies, plentifullie seruing to the vse of the inhabitants nere adjoining that will fetch the same into their houses, and also cledent the channels of the streets, north towards Bishopsgate, east towards Aldgate, south towards the Bridge, and west towards the Stocks market. No doubt a great commoditie to that part of the citie, and would be farre greater, if the said water were maintained to run continuallie, or at the least, at euerie tide some reasonable quantitie, as at the first it did; but since is much assailed, thorough whole default I know not, fith the engine is sufficient

Thames wa-
ter conueied
ouer saint
Agnus
steeple.

Justice Ran-
dolph by a cha-
ritye.

sufficient to conueie water plentifully: which being well considered by Barnard Randolph esquier, common sergeant of the citie of London: he being a line, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the fishmongers in London a round sum to be imploied toward the conducting of Thames water for the good seruice of the commonwealth in convenient order. Other legacies verie liberallie and bountifullie he gaue by his testament to be laid out in works of charitye, as I haue noted more at large hereafter in due place, vpon occasion of recording the daie of his death. The publication of whose acts, as also of diuerse others, if they may moue the rich of this world to part with some small portion of their stoe to the like christian uses, I shall be glad, and thinke my paines worth the printing: otherwise I saie with one that perswading this age to walke worthe of their calling, and doubting his words should be but wind, concluded with this interrogatiue distichon:

Sed quid verba miser non proficientia perdo?

Quid iuuat in vacuos missa loquela notos?

Publicke lecture of surgerye founded in London, & presentlie red (as also in the life of the founder) by doctor Foster, to his high praise & credit.

This yeare 1582 was there instituted and first founded a publicke lecture or lesson in surgerye, to begin to be read in the college of physicians in London, in Anno 1584, the first daie of Maie, against that time newe reedified in a part of the house that doctor Linacre gaue by testament to them, by John Lumleie lord Lumleie, and Richard Caldwell doctor in physike, to the honour of God, the common profit of hir maiesties subiects, and good fame, with increase of estimation and credit of all the surgians of this realme. The reader whereof to be a doctor of physike, and of good practise and knowledge, and to haue an honest stipend, no lesse than those of the vniuersities erected by king Henrie the eight, namelye of law, diuinitie, and physike, and lands assured to the said college for the maintenance of the publicke lesson; wherevnto such statutes be annexed as be for the great commoditie of those which shall giue and incline themselves to be diligent hearers for the obtaining of knowledge in surgerye, as whether he be learned or vblearned that shall become an auditor or hearer of the lecture, he may find himselfe not to repent the time so imploied. First twice a weeke thorough out the yeare: to wit, on wednesdaies and fridaies, at ten of the clocke till eleuen, shall the reader read thre quarters of an houre in Latine, and the other quarter in English, wherein that shall be plainlie declared for those that vnderstand not Latine, what was said in Latine. And the first yeare to read Horatius Morus tables, an epitome or brieue handling of all the whole art of surgerye, that is, of swellings or apofsemes, wounds, blcers, boncsetting, and healing of bones broken, termed commonlie fractions, and to read Orbasius of knots and Galen of bands, such workes as haue bene long hid, and are scarce lie now a daies among the learned knowne, and yet are (as the anatomies) to the first enterers in surgerye and nouices in physike; but amongst the ancient writers and Grecians well knowne. At the end of the yeare in winter to disscelt openlie in the reading place all the bodie of man especiallie the inward parts for siue daies together, as well before as after dinner; if the bodie may so last without annoie.

What exercises are to be followed in the said college by the founder. The first yeares exercises.

The second yeares exercises.

The third yeares, and fourth yeares exercises.

The second yeare to read Tagaultius institutions of surgerye, and onelie of swellings or apofsemes, and in the winter to disscelt the trunke onelie of the bodie, namelye from the head to the lowest part where the members are, and to handle the muscles especiallie. The third yeare to read of wounds onelie of Tagaultius, and in winter to make publicke dissection of the head onelie. The fourth yeare to read of blcers onlie the same author, and to anatomize or

dissect a leg and an arme for the knowledge of muscles, sinewes, arteries, veines, gristles, ligaments, and tendons. The fifth yeare to read the first booke of Paulus Aegineta, and in winter to make anatomic of a skeleton, & therewithall to shew & declare the vse of certeine instruments; as Scamnum Hippocratis, and other instruments for setting in of bones. The sixth yeare to read Holerius of the matter of surgerye, as of medicines for surgians to vse. And the seventh yeare to begin againe, and continue still. A goodlie and charitable erection doubtlesse, such as was the more needfull, as hitherto hath bene the want and lacke so hurtfull: sith that onelie in eche vniuersities by the foundation of the ordinarie and publicke lessons, there is one of physike, but none of surgerye, and this onelie of surgerye and not of physike, I meane so as physike is now taken separatelie from surgerye, and that part which onelie vseth the hand as it is sorted from the apothecarie. So that now England may reioice for those happie benefactors & singular welwillers to their countrie, who furnish hit so in all respects, that now he may as compare for the knowledge of physike so by means to come to it, with France, Italie, and Spaine, and in no case behind them but for a lecture in simples, which God at his pleasure may procure, in mouing some hereafter in like motion and insinct to be as careful and beneficiall as these were to the helpe and furtherance of their countrie. ¶ At the publication of this foundation, which was celebrated with a goodlie assemblie of doctors collegiats and licentiats, as also some masters of surgerye, with other students, some whereof had bene academically, doctor Caldwell so aged that his number of yeeres with his white head adding double reuerence to his person (whereof I may well saie no lesse than is left written of a doctor of the same facultie verie famous while he liued,

Conspectu et a. sed & ar. prouocior annu,

Famaque Peonia non renuenda choro)

euert he, notwithstanding his age and impotencie, made an oration in Latine to the auditoze, the same by occasion of his manifold debilities finished at the direction speciallie of the president, who (after a few words, hostlie and sweetlie vttered) gaue occasion and opportunitie to D. Foster, then and yet the appointed lecturer, to deliuer his matter, which he discharged in such methodicall maner, that eche one present indued with iudgement, conceiued such hope of the doctor, touching the performance of all actions incident vnto him by that place, as some of them continued his auditoze in all weathers, and still hold out; whose diligence he requitteth with the imparting of further knowledge than the said publicke lecture doth afford. When the assemblie was dissolved, and the founder accompanied home, diligent care was taken for the due preferring of this established exercise: insomuch that D. Caldwell, and D. Foster, to furnish the auditoze with such bookes as he was to read, caused to be printed the epitome of Horatius Morus first in Latine: then in English, which was translated by the said doctor Caldwell. But before it was halfe perfected, the good old doctor fell sicke, and as a candle goeth out of it selfe, or a ripe apple falling from the tree, so departed he out of this world at the doctors commons, where his usuall lodging was; & was verie worshipfullie buried. But of his death hereafter, in the yeare 1584: where the daie of his decease being mentioned, matter worth the reading shall be remembered.]

Francis of Malois, the kings onlie brother, duke of Louthier, Brabant, Limbourg, Gelders, Artois, Alanson, &c: earle of Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, &c: marquess of the sacred empire, lord of Friseland, &c: hauing now indifferentlie well (with his

Francis of Malois at- tempteth di- uerse exploits, the issue whereof he sent out to his

The first and last yeares exercises, and to continue with Regem principis.

Ab. Fl. Spec. for a student.

Doctors Gild: Lord president of the college of physicians.

The manner of
the monieure
sickenesse.

onlie hearing of them, he greatlie delited to talke of the same, also to haue the same repeated vnto him. Thus did our Lord in conuenient time dispose his soule, which he purposed shortly to visit in his next sicknesse, and that was an ague that continued without equalitie vntill the thirteenth of March, and then he fell into so strange a iudgement, that all euen the physicians began to doubt of him. For a flux of blood issued so continuallie out of his nose and mouth, that they were still forced to hold him a basen, wherinto he voided the pure and cleere blood. When all men were as it were astoned thereat, himselfe began with a perfect mind and understanding to saie, My friends, helpe me, will you suffer a christian prince thus to die? Now is the time come that God will call me to account: cause monieure Berlon to come hither.

When I came, ha monieure Berlon (said this good prince) I am dead, I must acknowledge my God; my friend flatter me not, I will reconcile my selfe. Alas I am a great sinner, will not God haue mercie on me? Will not he forgive me? I answered, There is no doubt my lord but vpon humbling your selfe before his holie maiestie with contrition, you shall obtaine remission of your sinnes. My lord, you are verie sicke, I will not flatter with you, but your whole life and your selfe resteth in the hands of God. Sicknesse is naturall, or sent by God for a warning; if your disease be naturall there is hope: we will vse all means for remedie. On the one side the physicians are here ready, who shall imploie themselves. On the other side, all the world is in prayer & deuotion for your health. If it proceedeth from God, it is a warning to you for the rest of your life, to the end to draw you nearer to him, either else to aduertise you of your naturall condition: that is, that you are most tall & most once paie this debt, and restore your soule to God who lent it to you, at whatsoeuer time he shall call for it. Now my lord, sith we can not certainly discerne the one from the other, is it not best for you to conforme your will to Gods will. Also in case God granteth you to ouerlue this sicknesse, are you not resolved to better your life, and to liue more in his feare than before? Again, if he be determined to call you out of this world, are not you content to go into Abrahams bosome, and there to rest vnder the protection of his mercie? Resolue your selfe my lord, you haue a godlie soule.

The monieure
resolued to die.

¶ Pamela
Berlon.

I am (said this good prince) fullie resolved in the will of my God, let him doe with me whatsoeuer shall please him: onlie that he will touchsafe to haue mercie on me. I wold reconcile me but I shall hardlie speake: and in truth the blood still belched out into the basen which I held with one hand, whilst with a handkercher in the other I wiped from his face and breast a great cold sweat that euen smelt of death: as also I perceiued his nostrils to be closed vp, his eyes sanke, and heard the ratling and bloud that stopped him vp. Euerie bodie being gone forth I said vnto him, My lord straine not your selfe to speake much, onlie begin with the chiefeest matters, and those that most trouble your conscience, and for the rest I will instruct you. When joining his hands and lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, he began to sigh, mourne, and sob with extream contrition and griefe, which when I perceiued, I still indenoured to assure him in talking to him of God and of the merits of the blood of Iesus Christ, wherein the greater delight that he conceiued, the more did he detest himselfe as a most miserable sinner: then might you haue seene among much sweat which as pearles ran downe his haire and beard, the great feares trickeling downe his eyes, whilst with great paine he accused himselfe.

After this, diuerse speeches passed with certeine actions betwene the monieure and Berlon, which to omit is lesse offensive than to publish. To proceed then, the monieure lieng in his agonie, be thought him (amongest other things) of his familie, and said; Alas I none none but my poore seruants, & withall, that I shall die without celebration of mine Easter: will not the Lord grant me that grace? Then I promised him that God would heare so iust a petition, and therefore willed him a while to haue patience, it should not be the first miracle that euer our Lord had wrought. Having thus spoken, certeine ceremonies were solemnlie commenced and finished, not without manie speeches interchanged betwene the monieure and Berlon; insomuch that (saith he) I can not rehearse all that he said vnto me; but this I dare assure you, that if his health had continued, I was thereby in hope of most profitable effects to all christendome, and to the estate and quietnesse of our France. But we were not worthe, our sinnes crying for vengeance to God, who as he punisheth nations by giuing them wicked princes, so both he also chastise them by taking from them the good, euen at such time as they are ready to relapse, and afterward we haue cause to lament and moorne.

His health after this first fit continued a while, but by reason of a crum of bread that stucke in the vuula, and thereby procured a violent cough with spitting of blood, he fell into it againe, and from thenceforth kept his bed, sometimes well and sometimes ill, yet eating his meat reasonable well, howbeit gathering no force to the substance of his bodie. Finally, the same daie that the physicians (after the vieto of the operation of a medicine) had conceiued a better opinion of him than before; being saturday the ninth of June about eight of the clocke at night, he was taken with a marvellous shortnesse of wind, and a paine in one of his sides: and seeing himselfe so taken before any man spake to him, he sent for me, saying; Now is the time that I must die, you haue greatlie abused me; howbeit they vsed all diligence. But about midnight, when there was no further hope, they sent for me. When I was come I found the good prince laid in his estate, of whome trulie I had no other opinion but that death was at hand, and therefore was verie importunat to speake vnto him, fearing least he should haue died without the sacrament, which so greatlie he had longed for.

One commendable matter I noted in the noble little there present, which was; that there was not one but did importunatly vige to speake vnto him of God: for mine owne part I was verie impatient, & euerie one was in feare to speake first. One there was that willed me to change mine apparell, & to put on a blacke garment, least he should conceiue any mistrust. Now (said I) can I so doe? He hath sent for me, and knoweth my clothing: if by my speech he should know me, and then find my clothing changed, he will enter a greater apprehension of death than before: therefore consider of it, if any thing fall out amisse, it will be a perpetuall reproch to vs all. In the end monieure sought his steward a verie wise man so ordered the matter, and with such discretion, that he brake with him of it. At that time was he overcome with a drowsie sleepe, and still holden with a short wind, accompanied with continuall sweats, and sometime would aske; Doe men die thus? On the tenth daie of June which was saturday, after diuers ceremonie all actions dispatched, and speeches to and fro vttered, with pittifull sighs on all sides of inward settled sorow; the monieure desired that he might sleepe a while: but his sleepe was not long, for he awaked, when he twist him and Berlon (all the rest being gone) something was said and done, which

Berlon who
was then ba-
lie about cer-
taine cere-
monies incident
to the time
and his office.

Great hope
conceiued of
the monieure
if he had not
been preuent-
ed with
death.

The monieure
falling into an
extremite of
his malade,
and past hope
of recovery.

Doe men die
thus? saith
the monieure
drawing to
his ende.

Berfon
wrote to the
monieur in
the hearing of
the gentle
monieur pre-
sent.

which (belike) was not for enerie eare & ste to heare
or see. In the end, Berfon perceiuing by manifest
indications, that death preased vpon him, bled these
words to the monieur, some (of likelihood) being
then within the hearing. My lord, in the beginning
of your sicknesse, you & I made a ioint promise vnto
God, wherewith I am burdened: now therefore I do
unburden my selfe thereof, vnto you will helpe to
burden me againe. We are witnesses that you haue
loued God: now is the time that you must acknow-
ledge him, you are verie sicke, but your soule is
sound in your bodie. If it please our god God to
grant you life, he granteth it to the end you should
amend, so should your selfe be happie, and we content
that you should liue. If he vouchsafe to call you in-
to paradise, how blessed shall you be, or wher may
you be better? So that whatsoeuer happen, be it life,
be it death, still shall you be content and happie. Re-
solue your selfe therefore wholie in the will of God.
All we here are your faithfull seruants, and those who
euermore haue desired to be so fortunate as to be ho-
nored with your commandements; whose eyes and
eares haue alwaies bene open to heare and obeie
you, and to fulfill your will; neuer did you command
anie thing, but you were immediatlie obeyed. Now
know you, that your selfe are Gods seruant; him
you must obeie, and to his will must you wholie re-
solue your selfe: whether it be his will you should
liue, or is his pleasure you should die still saie: this
will be done.

His will
(meaning
Gods) be
done, saith
the monieur
with a forced
speech on his
knee.

Then with a forced speech this good prince said:
His will be done. Take no care my lord said I, for
anie worldlie matters. Greatnesse, riches, and re-
nowme do perish. Paradise is to be found and pos-
sessed. It is a great matter to be a kings sonne, but
it is much greater to be the child of God. You are
now as a child new borne, you want nothing but
the food of the children of God: you haue no more to
do, but to communicate in the precious bodie of our
Lord: it is here readie, would you not gladlie haue
it? I will cause you easilie to vse it. He answered
yes. Then taking the holie sacrament I began to
saie vnto him: My Lord Iesus the heauenlie word
and euertlasting sonne of God, in old time inuisible,
did in the end visible manifest himselfe to the world
in humane flesh, by taking vpon him our visible and
passible nature: but because he was not perpetuallie
to remaine in this humane bale, reuiuing and as-
cending into heauen, we had him no longer to touch
and handle carnallie and visible. And therefore to
the end not to faile of his promise, that he would be
still with vs vntill the consummation of the world;
he hath given vs inuisible his precious bodie & blood
vnder these holie signes and sacraments, that by the
communion in such and so precious a gift, we might
be strengthened in his loue, & through his grace be de-
fended against all temptations & stumbling blocks
of our saluation: like as Elias, who in the strength
of the food for him miraculouly ordeined, after his
longe travelled long Iournies, euen vntill he did see
God. Receiue therefore this signe and testimonie
of the remission of your sinnes, and when you shall
be presented before the maiestie of God, it shall be
vnto you a badge and token that you belong vnto
him.

The witness-
was and ble of
the sacrament
of the bodie
and blood of
Christ.

Then lifting vp his eyes and looking all about him,
this good prince opened his mouth, which presentlie
I moistened with his drinke, & so gaue him the holie
sacrament, and againe powdered in some of his drinke
to swallow it inshall, which he did both deuoutlie
and couragiously: inso much that afterward he did
eat & speake better than he had done all the night &
morning before, to the great contentation of all the
company: in whose presence I did againe exhort

him saing: Now my lord, behold you are armed
with the chiefe of all your desire, I beseech you com-
fort your selfe in the Lord. It is a great fauour
that he hath shewed you, in making you (as it appea-
reth) inheritor vnto the faith, pietie, and christiantie
of the kings of France, whose faith and descent you
do hold.

Let your soule now relesse, yea although you
should now die. Thinke what a contentation vn-
to you it shall be; to be discharged from so manie
worldlie affaires, what a pleasure to exchange this
mortall life for an immortal, glorious and per dura-
ble life; leave no lets: the waie is already beaten,
already are they passed the same, whose greatnesse
& faith you be like. The patriarchs do saie for you,
the prophets do call you: the apostles do stretch
forth their armes vnto you: the martyrs do inuite
you: the confessors do solicit you: the virgins do
giue you place: all the saints do looke for you. We
haue discharged all the duties of faithfull seruants,
and such as loue you hartlie. And hauing thus spo-
ken, with a demand or two made, and their answers
added: Berfon, being the month of the residue, said
of the monieur dialing on; that they (meaning
himselfe and the companie present) waited but for
the houre of his death: yet had he one houre and a
halfe to liue. So sone as we were gone, he desired
to haue his head laid low: his chamberleine im-
mediatlie called to vs for helpe, & suddentlie he gaue
vp the ghost: my selfe James Berfon, at the dissolu-
tion of his sweet soule from his louelic bodie, vnto
these words: Go and passe on christen soule, and re-
turne to him that hath created thee, &c.

He went awaie so sweetlie that it could hardlie
be perceiued, inso much that some who could not be
persuaded that he was dead (for his eyes were open
and cleere, and his countenance no whit changed)
held a looking glasse to his mouth, but there was no
signe of life: others feeling his pulses, imagined
they did beat, but that was because they were strai-
ned euen to the nailes ends. At this word, he is
gone, oh what pittie! oh God what tears! what sighes!
what sobbs! all was dissolved into howling and cries:
those that in armes were forwardest, were now re-
died in teares, sundrie summoned in the chamber, at
the sound hereof the towne quaked, the castell found
most lamentable voices: yea my selfe hauing
lost all courage was forced to open the pole of my
head, and to vnstop the gate of my hart, to the end
with teares and lamentations to discharge that af-
fection which I bare vnto him.

About foure of the clocke, when all were departed
I took the linnen wherein he was lapped from about
the bodie of this good prince, then did I laie and order
it honestlie and with reuerence handled it, some of
vs also had so good hap as to kisse his hands & head.
Oh my good lord and master, neuer curst I haue
bene so bold, had it not bene for the confidence you
reposed in me: alas whie was it so late before I did
know you, to serue you so small a time? Inanittie
am I forced to print you in my remembrance, in-
graine you in my soule, and to burie you in my hart,
for that you vouchsafed to make mine eares garb-
ans of that which rested in your conscience. Mourne,
mourne with me my masters, and all ye the officers
of his house: we haue lost the best master in the
world: for euer shall the tenth daie of June beare
witness of our mishap: hereafter shall we neuer
vpon that daie haue occasion to hold merie feast be-
tweene twelue and one of the clocke, the houre of the
decease of so desired a prince. The yeare 1584 is in-
ded a yeare of reuolution. France, France, quar-
ter thine armes: in lieu of lions low in teares: for
the Lord taketh from vs all our noble & honorable,

Berfon ex-
hortation
speeches to the
monieur,
preparing and
seeing him-
selfe to Gods
ward.

The mon-
ieur. Lepara-
ture out of
this world like
a lamp, whose
light lieth
for want of
oile.

Mourneous
signes of in-
ward loue &
reuerence
towards the
monieur be-
parted.

These be
the signes of
the monieur
mourneous
signes.

For he was
preacher, &c:
to the moun-
taine and lost
dimidium ani-
mae lux by his
death.

Ground re-
moued.

Eight per-
sons killed by
the fall of a
scaffold at the
beare garden,
a warning to
prophanes of
the sabbath
daie.

Eob. Hss. in
Psal. 50.

William Bui-
star and Ma-
rie Bream
smothered to
death.

and taketh the god to depyue vs. of them, for my
part I will beare the companie. Whereupon for his
trespasses I doe giue him sorrowes, and for his bodie
in ashes the lamentations of Flanders, at the least
I inherit in his right an example of vertue, accom-
ting my selfe infinitlie bounden vnto their mai-
esties, who gaue me to doe the seruice apperteyning to
my ministerie, vnto a pince that loued me so much,
and in whose house all men honored me, whose oza-
for I doe most deuoutlie rest, desiring them to haue
patience, though for recompense they haue no more
but my selfe. *Requiescat in pace.* This is all that we
purposed to saie touching the monseur, hauing o-
mitted much that is not communicable, & now will
we turne our pen vpon passage to England, noting
occurents of our owne.

The thirteenth daie of Januarie, in the parish of
Crimtage in a place called Blacke moze in Dorset-
shire, a peece of ground containing thre acres re-
moued from the place where it was first planted, 20
and was caried cleane ouer an other close, where al-
der and willow trees grew, the space of fortye goad
(euery goad containing fiftene fot) and hath stop-
ped up an high waie that directed towards the mar-
ket towne of Cerne; and yet notwithstanding the
hedges wherewith it was inclosed, inuiron it still,
and the trees stand thereon bolt vpright, sauing one
oke tree, that is well nigh twentie goads remoued:
the place whereas the ground had his being at the
first is left like vnto a great hollow pit. The same
thirteenth daie of Januarie, being sundae, about
four of the clocke in the afternone, the old and vn-
derpropped scaffolds round about the beare garden,
commonlie called Paris garden, on the southside
of the Thames, ouer against the citie of London, ouer-
charged with people fell suddenlie downe, whereby to
the number of eight persons men and women were
slaine, and manie other soze hurt and byused. A friend-
lie warning to all such as moze delight themselves
in the crueltie of beastes, to see them rent one an o-
ther; than in the works of mercie, which are the fruits
of a true professed faith, and ought to be the sabbath
daies exercise: and not onelie a warning to works
of mercie, but a watchword to put vs in mind how
we violate the sabbath daie, the Lords owne daie,
which he sanctified himselfe, that we by his example
might sanctifie the same, and not prophane it with
such gentillie as we do, as though God would not
call vs to a reckoning for abusing his holie ordina-
ces, and falsifying the glorious title of christians in
our obdious actions: for the which God will seuerlie
erpostulat with vs, and with indignation demand of
vs why we take his lawes in our mouths, & renounce
them in our minds; why we let them swim in our
lips, and slip from our liues, as the vaine Jewes did,
vnto whome God said in displeasure as followeth:

Quid de lege mea declamas ore profano?

Non hoc officij debuit esse tui:

Cum tamen & mores & leges oderis equas,

Et verbi officium negligis omne me.

On the third of Februarie being sundae, Wil-
liam Buisstar haberdasher (a man of moze than
thre score yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-
west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with
a woman named Marie Bream (whome the same
Buisstar had battled out of Brideswell) were both
found smothered to death, in maner following. On
the same sundae in the morning, a marriage being
solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt,
which was thought to haue bene the burning of old
shoes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber
there about, whereby to suppress the infection of the
plague. But in the afternone before euening pray-
er, the parishioners espyed a smoke to issue out of

Buisstars chamber, and thereupon made hast to the
doze, which they found fast locked, and were forced to
breake it open, but could not enter, till they had tripped
by the lead and rose of the chamber to let out the
smothering stench: which being done, they found
Buisstar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in
his apparell, and close trussed) his right thigh & right
arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire
of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but
not being cleane quenched with the dampe or lache
of aire. The woman also late dead ouer the pan, so
that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether
part of hir bodie before to hir breast, and behind to the
shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but
the bottome of the settle wheron Buisstar sat. Of this
lamentable accident people talked diuerlie, and
pamphlets were published to make the same moze
knowne: wherewith, to leaue the certeine meanes of
the euent to his knowledge that vnderstandeth and
saith all things, let it be a warning to all ages so to
liue, as that an honest report may attend their death,
& shame flie from them as a cloud before the wind:

Sic sapiens, sic non insipientes erunt.

On the sixteenth of Aprill about six of the clocke
in the morning, Thomas Wroth & Alice Sheppard,
were hanged on a gibbet at Sholane end in Fleet-
street, for killing of a pprentice in the same Sholane.
Also on the same daie about eight of the clocke in the
morning, a gunpowder house, called the signe of the
gun in Fetterlane nere vnto Fleetstreet, and di-
uerse other houses nere adiaining, were blowne
vp, with the spoire of fiftie hundred weight of pow-
der: two men and one woman were slaine, & diuerse
other persons, as well men as women and children
were soze hurt; some blasted with the flame, some
byused with the fall of timber vpon them, &c.

Albertus Alasco, frere baron of Alasco, Watode, or
palatine of Sicradia in Poland, arrived at Har-
wich in Essex, and on the last of Aprill came by wa-
ter to Winchester house in Southwoke, where he
remained for the most part of his abode here: of
whome moze hereafter at his returne into his owne
countrie. Elias Thacker tailor was hanged at saint
Edmunds burie in Suffolke on the fourth of June,
and John Coping thomaker on the first of the same
moneth, for spreading and mainteining certeine
booke seditionlie penned by one Robert Holme
against the receiued booke of English common
praiser, established by the lawes of this realme their
booke (so manie as could be found) were burned be-
fore them. This yeare on the ninth of June decea-
sed Thomas Katsliffe earle of Sufter, lord chamber-
leine to hir maiestie, and knight of the garter, at
Warmundscie in the bozough of Southwoke be-
sides London, and was on the eight of Julie next
following conueied through the same citie of Lon-
don toward Petuohall in Essex, there to be buried in
forme folowing. First went on foot before him fortye
and fife poze men in blacke gownes, then on horse-
backe one hundred and twentie seruicemen in
blacke coats, then ninetie and fife gentlemen in
blacke gownes or clokes, besides the heralbs at
armes and other, which bare his helme, creast, sword,
coat of armes, and banners of armes, &c. Then the
deceased earle, couered with a pall of blacke vel-
uet, in a chariot likewise couered with blacke veluet,
drawne with foure goodlie geldings; next after was
led the earles freed couered with blacke veluet, then
sir Henrie Katsliffe the succeding erle chiefe mon-
ner, and eight other lords all in blacke, then the lord
maior and his brethren the aldermen of London ri-
ding in murreate gownes, then on foot the gentle-
men of Greis in, and last of all the worshipfull com-
panie of the merchant tailors of London in their li-
beries,

1583
A man and a
woman hanged
at Sholane end,
The gun-
powder house
in Fetterlane
blowne vp.

Palatine of
Sicradia in
Poland came
into England.

Elias Thacker
tailor, and John
Coping hanged
at Sufter.

Thomas
Katsliffe earle
of Sufter, be-
cause.

11. Scow.

ueries, for that the said earle was a brother of their companie, as manie noble men, and famous princes, kings of this realme before him had bene; as more at large is declared in * the summarie of the chronicles of England, in the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh. He maior and aldermen, the gentlemen of Greis in, and the merchant tailors accompanied the corps to the barres without Aldgate, and returned. This was the end of that noble man, who (whiles he liued) aduentured lim and life against the enemies of the English commonwelth, and therefore in respect of his excellent seruices, deserued no lesse remembrance than is already extant of him in print, whereof this following is a parcell:

*—sarpas praeclarus, fortis & audax,
Elisabetha cui speciosus corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet iniuncto Morsis pectore campo:
Cui virtus persaepe herbam porrexit Hibernus,
Quem pugnis fulgens ornat victoria parva
Sanguineis, sed laus hinc maxima iudicis aequi.*

Edmund
Grindall
archbishop
of Cantur-
burie decessed.

Edmund Grindall doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie decessed at Croisdon in Surrie on the first date of Iulie, & was there buried. This good man in his life time was so studious, that his booke was his bide, and his studie his bidechamber, where upon he spent both his eyesight, his strength, and his health, and therefore might verie well not actiuelie but passiuelie be named as (he was) Grindall: for, he ground himselfe euen to his graue by mortification. Of whome much might be spoken for others imitation (for the vse of the historie, is to instruct succeding ages) but this shall suffice, that as his learning & vertue were inseparable companions; so the reward of both is the good name which he hath left behind him as a monument perpetuall, because vertue was the founder of the same: according to the true saing of the late poet importing no lesse:

Abt. Haria
R.L.

*Virtutis merces eadem & labor, illa tropaeum est,
Solaeque dat nigra vincere mortis iter:
Nam nisi virtutis queratur gloria factis,
Omnis in extremos est abiitura rogos.*

Justice Rans-
dell his cha-
racter of one
that was mite
hundred
pounds.

Barnard Ransdell esquier, common sargeant to the citie of London, decessed on the seauenth of August. This man in his life time, somewhat before his death, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the Fishmongers in London the summe of nine hundred pounds, of good and lawfull monie of England to be imploied towards the conducting of Thames water, cesserling the same in lead, and castelling with stone in the parishes of saint Marie Magdalene, and saint Nicholas cold abbeye, nere vnto old Fishstreet, seauen hundred pounds. The other two hundred pounds, to paie for euer yearelie the summe of ten pounds, that is, towards the maintenance of a poore scholar in the vniuersitie of Orenford yearelie foure pounds. Towards the mending of the high waies in the parish of Ilsehurst, in the countie of Suffex, where the said Barnard was borne, euerie yeare foure pounds. And to the poore people of the parishes of saint Nicholas Olue in Fishedstreet and saint Marie Magdalene nere to old Fishstreet for tie shillings, to wit, twentie shillings to either parish for euer. More he willed and bequeathed by his last will and testament to be bestowed in land or annuities, to the reliefe of the poore inhabiting in the wards of Quenehithe, and castell Baimard in the citie of London, and in the aforesaid parish of Ilsehurst in the countie of Suffex, the summe of one thousand pounds.

Heretics
apprehended
and executed.

This yeare in the moneth of Iune, were sent to the seas, a ship called the barke Talbot, and a small barke, both manned with a hundred men, vnder the charge of William Brough esquier, clerke of his

maiesties nauie, for the apprehending of certelie outrageous searouers, who for that they were manie in number, and well appointed (contemning the small strength that was set out against them) so boldly behaued themselves, as that hostlie after it was confidentlie hunted, that they had vanquished in fight the said ship and barke. But within few daies after, beyond all expectation, they were by the said William Brough and his companie discomfited and taken, to the number of ten saile (whereof three were pises) & some of the chiefe pirats, namelie Thomas Walton *alias* Purser, Clinton Atkinson, William Ellis, William Valentine *alias* Bagb, Thomas Weuen and foure more, on the thirtieth of August were hanged at Wapping in the eye besides London. Walton as he went to the gallows rent his venetian breeches of crimsin taffata, and distributed the same paccemeale, to such his old acquaintance as stood nere about him: but Atkinson had before giuen his murrie beluet dublet with great gold buttons, and the like coloured beluet venetians laid with great gold lace (apparell so sumptuous for searouers) which he had woone at the seas, & therein he was brought by prisoner from Corse castell in the Ile of Forbeke to London, vnto such his friends as pleased him, before he went to Wapping.

This Clinton Atkinson (a personable fellow, tall of stature and well proportioned, of acceptable behaviour when he kept shop for himselfe, being a free man of London, and like enough to doe well if he had taken good waies) had his name of the late earle of Lincoln now decessed, who christened him being an infant, & by whose speciall meanes (being growne a proper man) he was not long before saued from the like death, and yet thorough want of grace making relapse, fell within danger of law. He descended of honest parents, his father speciallie being a man of verie honest name, one that loued the truth, for the testimonie whereof he forsoke his owne native countrie, leading a hard life with his familie beyond the seas in queene Maries daies: & returning to England at the inthronization of our gracious queene Elisabeth in the seat rosall, was made minister, in which vocation he died in Gods fauour, and the god opinion of his neighbors, leuing behind him (among other sonnes) this his eldest, sorted (as you see) to the same, which malefactors of that qualitie, and so conuined, can not auoid. This auoweth he that knowe the man as well as the right hand from the left. Where (to conclude) we are to marke that it is not alwaies true, that god parents haue good children: for here is an example of degeneration, procured not by euill education (for this Clinton wanted no god bzinging bp) but by bad companie and libertie, the verie spoile of many a one that otherwile might liue & thriue. Wherein by the way we are to wonder at the counsels of God, who suffereth children so much to varie from their parents in qualitie, as if they had not receiued their birthright, but were bastards & changelings: but to end with the prophet Dauid saing:

Intima consilij non penetranda Dei.

On the eighteenth date of September, John In heretike Aelwes, who named himselfe Abdoit, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Mattheu Hamont) was burned at Fowitch. On the two and twentieth of September Alber- tus de Laco, palatine of Siradia in Poland, before spoken of, now when he had well viewed the order of our English court and nobilitie, with other places of this realme, especiallie the vniuersitie of Orenford, &c: taking leaue of his maiestie, and of the nobilitie, he departed towards Poland. But before we make entrance into further occurrences, it shall not be amisse

A briefe description of Clinton Atkinson and his parents.

Companie & libertie bring manie to miserie.

Palatine of Siradia in Poland returned.

A description
of Albertus
his person, ap-
parell, &c.

amisse to touch some necessarie circumstances of re-
membrance.

This Albertus in the eyes of the most, whereof
some knew him, that might hardlie commend him,
effemmed him a man for making well proportioned,
of an indifferent tall stature, of countenance amia-
ble, and complexion English like, having a white
beard of such length and blyth, as that lieng in his
bed, and parting it with his hands, the same over-
spread all his brest and shoulders, himselfe greatlie
delighting therein, and reputing it an ornament: as
for his qualities (apparent unto the world) they
were generous, his utterance sweet, his wit plausi-
ble, in the knowledge of songs well sene: his ordi-
nary attyre scarlet, but when he presented himselfe
to his maiestie, a robe of golwe of purple belnet,
with other habiliments and furniture agréable; his
shoes of a strange fashion, supposed of some not all
together unlike Chaucers. Finally, a gallant fol-
low he was, & (as might be gathered by some wordes
spoken by him in open audience) more partiall
than Mercutall; verie active in respect of his age,
and also studious in diuerse faculties, &c.

* At Dren-
ford, where
he termed
the Latine
that he spake
Military Lat-
in, that is,
soldiers Lat-
ine.
The lord
Poyris his
daughter mar-
ried to Sir A.
Poulet his
eldest sonne.

Touching the intertainment which he had at
Drenford, and how the vniuersitie did congratulate
his comming, it is somewhat worth the noting. In
the moneth of June, the said Albertus de Lasco,
comming from the marriage of the lord Poyris his
daughter, with Sir A. Poulets eldest sonne at Ricot,
he put himselfe on the waie to Drenford, whereof the
vniuersitie (doctor Houenden then vicechancellor, &
maister Lelion with maister Cdes proctors) hauing
intelligence, prouided for his conuenient receiuing:
insomuch that in the waie to Drenford, there met
him doctor Wessfalling, who greeted him with a
pithie salutation. In like sort did the maior and his
brethren, in whose behalfe for the whole citie, the
tolome clerke a worshipfull maister of art, pronoun-
ced his short and sententious speech in Latine, not
without some gratulatorie gift from that corporati-
on. On the east gate wherat he entered, stood a con-
sort of musitians, who for a long space made verie
sweet harmonie, which could not but moue & delight:

*Inscia plebs popularisque arrectis auribus astat,
Dulciferumque rudi suscipit aure melos.*

All by the high street vnto saint sparies church, on
either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled
scholars in their golwens & caps, batchelors and mai-
sters in their habits and hoods. At saint sparies the
orator of the vniuersitie (notable in his facultie) pre-
sented him a booke, in which were closelie couched ve-
rie rich and gorgeous gloues. From thence he mar-
ched to Christs church, where he was whilst he abode
in the vniuersitie most honourable interteined. And
the first night being vacant, as in which he sought ra-
ther rest in his lodging than recreation in anye aca-
demicall pastimes, strange fire works were shew-
wed, in the great quadrangle, besides rockets and a
number such maner of deuises. On the second daie,
his first dinner was made him at Alsoules college,
where (besides dutifull receiuing of him) he was so-
lemnlie satished with scholerlie exercises and court-
lie fare. This night & the night ensuing, after sumptu-
ous suppers in his lodging, he personally was pre-
sent with his traine in the hall, first at the plaing of
a pleasant comedie intituled *Riuales*; then at the set-
ting out of a verie statelie tragedie named *Dido*,
wherein the quenes banquet (with Cneas narration
of the destruction of Troie) was liuelie described in
a marchpaine patterne, there was also a goodlie fight
of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds,
Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from
and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed
small confets, rained roselwater, and shew an arti-

Some of rose-
water, and
haile of sugar
confets, &c.

ficiall kind of shew, all strange, maruellous, & amu-
sant.

Spott of the actors were of the same house, six or
seauen of them were of saint Johns, & thre or foure
of other colleges & hals. His second dinner the third
daie was at Magdalen college, with oratorie wel-
comming & bountifull feasting. His third dinner the
fourth daie at Belo college. The eloquent speech in
Graeke Latine and Dutch with his owne vnstudied
answer therunto, & all other before rehearsed, are not
to be omitted; nor the publike philosophie, physike,
and diuinitie disputations, in all which those learned
opponents, respondents, & moderators, quitted them-
selues like themselves, sharple and soundlie, besides
all other solempne sermons & lectures. At afternone
the fourth & last daie, he went towards Wadstocke
manour, and without the north gate by the waie he
was inuited vnto a banquet at saint Johns college,
where the gates & outward wals ouercovered with
thousands of verses, & other emblematicall poetries
then offered him, argued their hartie goodwills: but
his hastening to his iournies end caused him not to ta-
rie the delicat banquet; yet onelie sateng the delinea-
rie of a sweet oration and his owne quickie witte re-
plye therevnto, he departed immediatlie, accompa-
nied for a mile or two with the most of those reue-
rend doctors and heads of houses all on horsebacke,
where the orator againe gaue him an orators fare-
well. And this is the summe of his intertainment,
not deliuered in such sort as the dignitie of the same
requireth; howbeit sufficient for a sudden remem-
brance.

On the thre & twentieth daie of September, John
Whitgift doctor of diuinitie, sometimes maister of
Trinitie colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards
bishop of Worcester, was at Lambeth translated
to the archbishopricke of Canturburie, where he at
his comming to Lambeth (as also elswhere he al-
waies did) gaue euident testimonies both of mind
40 fullnesse and thankfulness for his aduancements:
as by the thre tables hanging at the upper end of his
great chamber appeareth: their position in this sort.
In the midst his maiesties armes rotall artificiallie
wrought, with as much cunning as the painter by
his pencill could describe them: and vnder them
this distichon of thanksgitiuing, and wellwishing:

*Nefloreus felix regat Elisabetha per annos,
Qua mihi munificè Candida dona dedit.*

Alusio, ad D.
archiep. nonm.

On the right side, the armes of the see of Cantur-
burie of azure, a pall silver garnished with crosses
50 forme siche sable ouer a crosse portatile gold: to the
lower end whereof this distichon is fairelie fixed:

*En leue multiplici premeretur cuspide corpus,
Ni baculus Christi grande leuaret onus.*

Ab. Hart. quo-
dam Cant. &
Trinitariis.

On the left side are placed the ancient armes of
the see of Worcester, from the which he was transla-
ted, which are of silver, ten tozteaur, foure, thre,
two, one: with this distichon therevnto annexed:

*Qui crucis arumnas patitur, post fata triumphat,
Lili sic spendent fuluis coniuncta talentis.*

60 Duer & aboute the arms of both the said sees is his
graces posie, *Vincit qui patitur*: a deserved posie, and
iustified by his actions. The tenth of October at Can-
ter, a towne in Dorsetholke nere the sea coast, about
two miles from Parmouth, there was a fish of
wonderfull length, by force of the wind (being then
easterlie) driuen a shore, the length whereof was
from the necke vnto the taile seuentene yards
and one foote, hauing a big head; for the chap of the
faw was thre yards and a quarter in length, with
teeth of thre quarters of a pard compass, great eyes,
and two great holes ouer them to spout out water,
his taile was fourtene foot broad, &c: the laie in the
sands, and was soken therein a yarb and a halfe
dēpe,

3 moneths
fith taken in
Dorsetholke.

Slade and
Bodie execu-
ted.An Reg. 26.
hanged, ten
at once in
Smithfield.Desmonds
head set on
London
bridge.Pantwich
in Cheshire
burnt.Somerville,
Arden, and o-
thers arraign-
ed.Arden execu-
ted.

depe, and yet was she above the sands so high, that a father of fourtene staves would but reach to the top of hir backe; so that in thickenesse from the backe to the bellie, she was foure pards and a halfe. John Slade, sometime a scholemaster, and John Bodie a master of art of Wroth, being both indicted and condemned of high treason, were drawne, hanged, and quartered: Slade at Winchester on the thirtieth date of October, and Bodie at Andouar on the second date of November.

About this time, one named Ditch a notable horsestealer, was apprehended at the sessions holden for the goale delivrie at Newgate, on the fourth of December, nineteen times indicted, whereof he confessed eightheene: who also betwene the time of his apprehension and the said sessions, appeached manie for stealing of horses, whereof (diverse being apprehended) ten of them were condemned, and hanged in Smithfield on the first date of December, being fridate, and horse market there. He also holpe diverse more to their horses againe which had bene stolne from them, taking of euerie one of them ten shillings the pece or more that so reconered their horses: wherby he made fiftene pounds of currant monie towards his charges. James earle of Desmond in Ireland, secretly wandering without anie succour as a miserable begger, being taken in his cabbin by one of the Irishie, his head was cut off, and sent into England, where the same (as the head of an archbell) was set upon London bridge on the thirtieth date of December. Loke for the manner of his rebellion and his death more at large set downe in the historie of Ireland.

The tenth date of December, through negligence of vnderiect persons, brewring in the towne of Pantwich, in a place called Waterlode; the fire being careleslie left, took hold (as should seme) upon some straw, or such light matter, & so burst forth to the rofes of the house, and in short time so increased, that from the west end of the towne (the wind at south-west) the flame was dispersed so furiously into the towne on the southside, that in short space a great part of the said southside and some of the eastside was burned downe to the ground. Which fire beginning at six of the clocke in the evening, and continuing till six of the clocke in the morning following, neuer ceased burning, till it had consumed above the number of two hundred houses, besides brew houses, barnes, stables, &c: in all about six hundred houses, so that by estimation of manie, the losse of houses and goods amounted to above thirtie thousand pounds, as more at large appeared by a particular booke printed of that matter. About this time, John Somerville a furious young man of Cheshire in Warwickshire, of late discovered and taken in his waite committing with full intent to kill the queenes maiestie (whom God long prosper to reigne over us) confessed the treason, and that he was moved thereunto in his wicked spirit, by certeine traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading of certeine seditious bookes lately published, for the which the said Somerville, Edward Arden a squire of Parkehall in Warwickshire, Marie Arden his wife (father and mother in law to the said Somerville) and Hugh Hall priest, being with other before indicted at Warwick, were on the sixteenth of December arraigned in the Guildhall of London, where they were found gaitie and condemned of high treason. On the nineteenth of December, John Somerville, and Edward Arden, being brought from the tower of London to Newgate of the same citie, and there shut up in severall places: within two hours after, Somerville was found (desperatlie) to have strangled himselfe. And

on the morrow being the twentieth of December, Edward Arden was drawne from Newgate into Smithfield, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered: whose head with Somervilles was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie; but the bodie of Somerville was buried in the Fforgesfields, nere unto the windmills without Newgate. A dreadfull example of Gods heauie iudgement upon those two offenders; but speciallie against the last, whome God delivred to a reprobate mind, in somuch that his owne hands became his hangman, preventing the office of the common executioner, who should have performed that last action upon him: whereof the iustice of God in vengeance made himselfe the finisher and fulfiller. Thus much by the waie of terroz, that the remembrance hereof, by the reading & reporting of the same, maie make men euill minded, amazed at the rigorous reuengement which God taketh (when he seeth his due time) upon the wicked: after his long sufferance and patience most wickedlie abused; wherof the poet saith:

*Plinio procedit (fateor) diuina gradatim,
Nec quoties peccant fulmina vibrat eis:
Supplicij vero iusta gravitate rependit
Turpia, quae longo tempore facta tulit.*

In this yeare 1583 (which should have bene noted in the fore part of the yeare) by the meanes of a certeine astrologicall discourse, upon the great and notable conjunction of the two superiour planets, Saturne and Jupiter, prognosticated to be the eight and twentieth of April; the common sort of people, yea and no small multitude of such as thinke scoone to be called foles, or counted beggers, whilst they were in expectation of this conjunction, were in no small imaginations, supposing that no lesse would haue bene effected, than by the said discourse was prophesied. Into these fancies not void of feare and mistrust they were drawne with the more facilitie, for that they had read, and heard, & pondered, and suspected, and in part beleued the predictions of such events as should insue by influence of that conjunction. For it was termed the great and notable conjunction, which should be manifested to the ignorant sort, by manie fierce and boisterous winds then suddenly breaking out. It was called the greatest and most soueraigne conjunction among the seven planets: why so? Because lawes, and empires, and religions are ruled by the same: which foretellethe the coming of a prophet, & the destruction of certeine climates and parts of the earth, and new found heuies, and a new founded kingdome, and damages through the pestilence, and abundant showers: which doth prognosticat the destinie of a great and mightie king, much sorrow & heauinesse to men, losses to rich and noble men, yea and those too which are accounted and reputed like to prophets, and a multitude of locusts: which doth foreshew, that weightie and wonderfull things shall come into the world: which doth threaten continuall ouerflowes of waters, and particular deluges in some countries: finally, which menaceth much mischief. The publication, off reading, and talking of this conjunction, with the remembrance of the instant wherin it should be, made manie (when the date foretold was come) to loke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and wofull, put them in mind of an old and common prophesse, touching the yeare 1588, which is now so rise in euerie mans mouth. That yeare was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and much spoken of among astrologers, who haue as it were, *Unanimi consensu*, prognosticated, that either a marvellous fearful & horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, seignories and estates, together likewise with other most wonderfull, and verie extraordinarie accidents,

This booke
for the time
that it was
in request, set
people wrongs
on worke,
and filled
their minds
with strange
concepts.

why it was
called the
great conjunction.

Touching
the yeare of
wonders,
gathered to
be 1588.

dents, as extreme hunger and pestilence, desperate treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an bitter and final ouerthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall ensue: which prophesie is contained in these verses following:

Leonitus Re-
gionmontanus.

*post mille expletos à partu Virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos:
Ostendimus octauum mirabili annus
Ingruet, is secum tristitia fataferet.
Si non hoc anno totus malus occidet orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra, fretumque ruet:
Cuncta tamen mundi sussum ibunt atque retrorsum,
Imperia, & luctus undique grandis erit.*

The great
peare of
1588 is
more talked of
than feared.

So that by this prophesie, either a final dissoluti-
on, or a wonderfull horrible alteration of the world
is then to be expected. All these considerations laid
together, as well the prediction of the confusion in
expectation, as also the dreadfull events, which were
to ensue thereupon: and upon the necke of these, the
great peare of 1588 in euery mans mouth, the
more frequent and common by occasion of a booke
certaine under the title of the end of the world, and the
second coming of Christ, made diuerse diuersitie
affected; insomuch that some conuincing and conser-
ring, looked for no lesse than was prophesied; and
talking verie religiouslie, seemed as though they
would become sanctified people: howbeit, the day of
the confusion being past, with a certaine counter-
checke against the said astrologicall discourse in
some points defectiue, and no such euents palpable
perceiued as were prognosticated; people fell to their
former securitie, and condemned the discourser of
extreme madnesse and follie: whereof no more but
this, *Scientia nullum habet sibi inimicum prater ignoran-*
tem.

when people
saw nothing
in the arre(as
they looked
for) they fell
to derision.

1584
Cartar execu-
ted for prin-
ting a trai-
torious booke.

A declaration
of the fauour-
able dealing of
hir maiesties
commissioners,
for the
examining of
traitors.

On the tenth of Januarie in the peare 1584 at a
sessions holden in the iustice hall in the old baillie
of London for goale deliuerie of Newgate, William
Cartar of the citie of London was there indicted, ar-
reigned, and condemned of high treason, for printing
a seditious and traitorous booke in English, intituled
A treatise of schisme: and was for the same (ac-
cording to sentence pronounced against him) on the
next morrow, which was the eleuenth of Januarie,
drawne from Newgate to Tyborne, and there han-
ged, bowelled, and quartered. And forthwith against
slanderous reports, spread abroad in seditious books,
letters and libels, thereby to inflame the hearts of
our countrymen, and hir maiesties subjects: a booke
was published, intituled, A declaration of the fauour-
able dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, &c.
Which booke I haue thought good in this place to set
downe (for the better instruction of the reader) even
as the same was printed and published, and thus it
followeth.

A declaration of the fauourable deal-
ing of hir maiesties commissioners appointed for
the examination of certaine traitors, and of tor-
tures vniu'sitie reported to be done vpon them
for matters of religion.

To the rea-
der.

God reader, although hir maiesties most
mild and gracious gouernement be suf-
ficient to defend it selfe against those
most slanderous reports of heathenish
and vnnaturall tyrannie and cruell tortures, preten-
ded to haue bene executed vpon certaine traitors,
who lately suffered for their treason, and others, al-
well spread abroad by rungates, Iesuits, and semi-
narie men in their seditious bookes, letters, and li-
bels, in forren countries and princes courts, as al-
so insinuated into the hearts of some of our owne

countrymen and hir maiesties subjects: yet for thy
better satisfaction I haue conferred with a vertic ho-
nest gentleman, whom I knew to haue good and suf-
ficient meanes to deliuer the truth against such for-
gers of lies and shamelesse slanders in that behalfe,
which he and other that do know and haue affirmed
the same will at all times iustifie. And for thy fur-
ther assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set
downe to the view of all men these necessarie notes
following.

Touching the racke and tortments vsed to such
traitors as pretended themselves to be catholikes,
vpon whom the same haue bene exercised, it is affir-
med for truth, and is offered vpon due examination
so to be proued, to be as followeth. First, that the
formes of torture in their seueritie or rigour of exe-
cution, haue not bene such and in such maner perfo-
med, as the slanderers and seditious libellers haue
slanderouslie & maliciouslie published. And that euen
the principall offender, Campion himselfe, who was
sent & came from Rome, and continued here in sun-
dry corners of the realme, hauing secretlie wander-
ed in the greatest part of the shires of England in
a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall prepa-
ration of treasons; and to that end and for further-
ance of those his labours, sent ouer for more helpe
and assistance, and cunninglie and traitorouslie at
Rome before he came from thence, procured tolera-
tion for such prepared rebels to keepe themselves co-
uert vnder pretense of temporarie and permissiue o-
bedience to hir maiestie the state standing as it doth;
but so soon as there were sufficient force whereby
the bull of hir maiesties deprivation might be pub-
likelie executed, they should then ioine all together
with that force vpon paine of curse and damnation:
that verie Campion, I saie, before the conference
had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherein
he was charitable vsed, was neuer so racked, but
that he was presentlie able to walke, and to write,
and did presentlie write and subscribe all his confes-
sions, as by the originals thereof may euidentlie
appeare.

The slander-
ous report
concerning
the extreme
vie of racks
commenced.

Campion and
Bryant surre-
ndered: and
far vnder the
proportion of
their treasons
able offenders.

A horrible matter is also made of the starving of
one Alexander Bryant, how he should eat claie out of
the walls, gathered water to drinke from the drop-
pings of houses, with such other false ostentations of
immanitie: where the truth is this, that what sooner
Bryant suffered in want of food, he suffered the same
willfullie & of extreme impudent obstinacie, against
the mind and liking of those that dealt with him.
For certaine traitorous writings being found a-
bout him, it was thought convenient by conference
of hands to vnderstand whose writings they were, and
therupon he being in hir maiesties name comma-
ded to write, which he could verie well do, and being
permitted to him to write what he would himselfe,
in these termes, that if he liked not to write one
thing, he might write another, or what he liked (which
to do being charged in hir maiesties name was his
dutie, and to refuse was disobedient and vndutifull) yet
the man would by no meanes be induced to write a-
nie thing at all. Then was it commanded to his kee-
per to giue vnto him such meat, drinke, and other
conuenient necessities as he would write for, and
to forbear to giue him anie thing for which he would
not write.

But Bryant being thereof aduertised and off-
moued to write, persisting so in his curst heart by
almost two daies and two nights, made choise ra-
ther to lacke food, than to write for the sustenance
which he might readilie haue had for writing, which
he had indeed readilie and plentifulle so soon as he
wrote. And as it is said of these two, so is it to be
said of other; with this, that there was a perpetuall
care

The curst &
stubborne
heart of B.

cace had, & the queenes seruants the warders, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were euer by those that attended the examinations speciallie charged, to vse it in as charitable maner as such a thing might be.

Secondlie it is said, and likewise offered to be sufficed, that neuer anie of these seminaries, or such other pretended catholikes, which at anie time in hir maiesties reigne haue bene put to the racke, were vpon the racke or in other torture demanded anie question of their supposed conscience; as what they beleued in anie point of doctrine or faith, as the masse, transubstantiation, or such like: but onelie with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plats, practises and conferences they had dealt about attempts against hir maiesties estate or person, or to alter the lawes of the realme for matters of religion, by treason or by force, and how they were perswaded the miselues, and did perswade other touching the popes bull and pretense of authoritie, to depose kings and princes; and namely, for depriuation of hir maiestie, and to discharge subiects from their allegiance, expressing herein alwaie the kingle powers and estates, and the subiects allegiance ciuile, without mentioning or meaning therein anie right that the queene as in right of the crowne hath ouer persons ecclesiasticall being hir subiects. In all which cases, Campion and the rest neuer answered plainlie, but sophisticalle, deceitfullie and traitorously, restraining their confession of allegiance onelie to the permissiue forme of the popes toleration. As for example, if they were asked, whether they did acknowledge the miselues the queenes subiects and would obeie hir, they would saie, Yea: for so they had leane for a time to doe. But adding more to the question, and they being asked, if they would so acknowledge & obeie hir anie longer than the pope would so permit them; or notwithstanding such commandement as the pope would or might giue to the contrarie: then they either refused so to obeie, or denied to answer; or said, that they could not answer to those questions without danger. Which verie answer without more saying, was a plaine answer to all reasonable vnderstanding, that they would no longer be subiects, nor perswade other to be subiects, than the pope gaue licence. And at their verie arraignment, when they labored to leaue in the minds of the people and standers by, an opinion that they were to die, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the seruice of God, without anie attempt or purpose against hir maiestie, they cried out that they were true subiects, and did and would obeie and serue hir maiestie. Immediately, to proue whether that hypocriticall and sophisticall speech extended to a perpetuallie of their obedience, or to so long time as the pope so permitted, or no; they were openlie in place of iudgement asked by the queenes learned counsell, whether they would so obeie and be true subiects, if the pope commanded the contrarie? They plainlie disclosed themselves in answer, saying by the mouth of Campion: This place (meaning the court of hir maiesties Bench) hath no power to inquire or iudge of the holie fathers authoritie: and other answer they would not make.

Thirdlie, that none of them haue bene put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason or such like, but where it was first known and euidentlie probable by former declarations, confessions, and other wise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was guiltie, and did know, and could deliuer truth of the things wherewith he was charged: so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at anie time tormented, and the racke was ne-

uer vsed to wrying out confessions at aduantage vpon vncertainties, in which doing it might be possible that an innocent in that case might haue bin racked.

Fourthlie, that none of them hath bene racked or tortured, vntill he had first said crizellie, or amounting to asmuch, that he will not tell the truth, though the queene command him. And if anie of them being examined did saie he could not tell, or did not remember, if he would so affirme in such maner as christians among christians are beleued; such his answer was accepted, if there were not apparant euidence to proue that he wilfullie said vntillie. But if he said that his answer in deliuering truth, should hurt a catholike, & so be an offense against the charitie, which they said to be sinne, & that the queene could not command them to sin, & therefore how soeuer the queene commanded, they would not tell the truth, which they were knownen to know, or to such effect: they were then put to the torture, or else not.

Fifthlie, that the proceeding to torture was alwaie so slowlie, so vntwilliglie, & with so manie preparati- ons of persuations to spare the miselues, and so manie means to let them know that the truth was by them to be vttered, both in dutie to hir maiestie, and in conscience for the miselues, as whosoever was present at those actions, must needs acknowledge in hir maiesties ministers, a full purpose to follow the example of hir owne most gracious disposition: whome God long preserve.

Thus it appeareth, that albeit by the more general lawes of nations, torture hath bene, and is lawfullie iudged to be vsed in lesser cases, and in sharper maner for inquisition of truth in crimes not so nere extending to publike danger, as these vngenerous persons haue committed, whose conspiracies and the particularities thereof it did so much import and behooue to haue disclosed: yet euen in that necessarie vse of such proceeding, enforced by the offenders notorious obstinacie, is neuertheless to be acknowledged the swat temperance of hir maiesties mild and gracious clemencie, and their standers lewdnesse to be the more condemned, that haue in fauour of heinous malefactors, and subbozne traitors, spread vntire rumors and standers, to make hir mercifull gouernement disliked, vnder false pretense and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whom nothing can be cruell, and yet vpon whom nothing hath bene done but gentle and mercifull.

50 The execution of iustice in England for maintenance of publike and christian peace, against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traitors and enemies of the realme, without anie persecution of them for questions of religion, as is fallie reported and published by the fauours and fosterers of their treasons.

It hath bene in all ages and in all countries a common vsage of all offenders, for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and vnlawfull facts by vntire, and by colouring and couering their deeds (were they neuer so vile) with pretenses of some other causes of contrarie operations or effects: to the intent not onelie to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, uphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bene the vse of all offenders, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitors to their lawfull princes, kings, and countries. Of which sort of late yeares are speciallie to be noted certeine persons naturallie bozne subiects in the realme of England and Ireland, who hauing for some god time profes-

As namely Campion, of whom an infamous libeller reporteth (in commendation for swith of his constancie) Non secreta mea scripsi licet ore fasces.

All offenders couer their faults with contrarie causes.

Rebels do most dangerouslie couer their faults.

Bigo it is said that the infamous libeller hath said abroad, that Campion was mala vita.

This comment to the report for Campion before the vntire of Campion, page 1355.

What alleged since the times meant by the miselues may appeare by this Bench of Campion, being the mouth of the rack.

Rebellion in
England and
Ireland.

The rebels
vanquished
by the queens
power.

Some of the
rebels fled in-
to forreine
countries.

Rebels pre-
tend religion
for their de-
fence.

Ringleaders
of rebels,
Charles Pe-
rrell earle of
Westmerland,
and Thomas
Stukeley.

The effect of
the popes bull
against the
queene of
England.

professed outwardly their obedience to their sove-
reigne lady queene Elisabeth, haue neuertheless as-
terward bene stirred up and seduced by wicked spi-
rits, first in England sundrie yeares past, and so
condie and of later time in Ireland, to enter into
open rebellion, taking armes and coming into the
field against hir maiestie and hir lieutenants, with
their forces vnder banners displayed, inducing by
notable vntruths manie simple people to follow and
assist them in their traitorous actions.

And though it is verie well knowen, that both
their intentions and manifest actions were bent to
haue disposed the queenes maiestie from hir crowne,
and to haue traitorously set in hir place some other
whome they liked, whereby if they had not bene spee-
dilie resisted, they would haue committed great
bloudsheds and slaughters of hir maiesties faith-
full subjects, and ruined their native countrie:
yet by Gods power giuen vnto hir maiestie, they
were so speedilie vanquished, as some few of them
suffered by order of law according to their desert,
manie & the greatest part vpon confession of their
faults were pardoned, the rest but they not manie of
the principall, escaped into forreine countries, & there,
because in none of setle places rebels and traitors to
their naturall princes and countries dare for their
treasons challenge at their first muster open comfort
or succour, these notable traitors and rebels haue
falselie informed manie kings, princes and states,
and speciallie the bishop of Rome, commonlie called
the pope (from whom they all had secretlie their first
comfort to rebel) that the cause of their fleeing from
their countries was for the religion of Rome, and
for maintenance of the said popes authoritie:
whereas diuerse of them before their rebellion li-
ued so notoriouslie, the most part of their liues, out of
all god rule, either for honest maners, or for anie
sense in religion, as they might haue bene rather fa-
miliar with Castile, or fauourers to Sardanapa-
lus, than accounted good subjects vnder anie christi-
an princes. As for some examples of the heads of
these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Pe-
rrell earle of Westmerland, a person bitterlie wastied
by losse of life, and by Gods punishment euen
in the time of his rebellion bereaued of his children
that should haue succeeded him in the earldome, and
his bodie now eaten with vicers of lewd causes (as
his companions do saie) that no enemie he hath can
with him a viler punishment: a pitifull losse to the
realme of so noble a house, neuer before in anie
age atteinted for disloyaltie. And out of Ireland ran
abroa one Thomas Stukeley, a defamed person al-
most thorough all christendome, and a faithlesse beast
rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for
notable piraies, and out of Ireland for trecheries
not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders
of the rest of the rebels, the one for England, the o-
ther for Ireland.

But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wic-
ked liues of these & others their confederats, bold of
all christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as
in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offen-
ses, as themselves openlie pretend to do, for aua-
ding of common shame of the world: but flatlie to
animate them to continue their former wicked pur-
poses, that is, to take armes against their lawfull
queene, to invade hir realme with forren forces, to
pursue all hir good subjects & their native countries
with fire and sword: for maintenance whereof there
had some yeares before, at sundrie times, proceeded
in a thundering sort, bulls, excommunications, and
other publick writings, denouncing hir maiestie be-
ing the lawfull queene, and Gods anointed seruant
not to be the queene of the realme, charging and by-

an paines of excommunication commanding all his
subjects to depart from their naturall allegiances,
whereby by birth and by oth they were bound: prohi-
bing also and authorising all persons of all degrees
within both the realmes to rebel. And vpon this au-
thoritarian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes
of God and man, & nothing agreeable to a pastoral
officer, not onelie all the rabble of the forsaide tra-
itors that were before fled; but also all other persons
that had forsaken their native countries, being of di-
uerse conditions and qualities, some not able to liue
at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke
of preferments, which they gaped for vnworthilie in
vniuersities and other places, some bankrupt mer-
chants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being
not contented to learne to obeye the lawes of the land,
haue manie yeares running vp and downe, from
countrie to countrie, practised some in one corner,
some in an other, some with seeking to gather forces
and monie for forces, some with instigation of prin-
ces by vntruths, to make warre vpon their naturall
countrie, some with inward practises to murder the
greatest, some with seeditious twistings, and verie
manie of late with publick infamous libels, full of
despitefull vile termes and poisoned lies, altogether
to vphold the forsaide antiquarian and tyrannous
warrant of the popes bull.

And yet also by some other meanes, to further
these inuentions, because they could not readilie pre-
uaile by waie of force, finding forren princes wher-
ter consideration & not readilie inclined to their wic-
ked purposes, it was deuised to erect by certeine
scholes which they called seminaries, to nourish and
bring vp persons disposed naturallie to sedition, to
continue their race & trade, and to become sedimen
in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretlie
into these the queenes maiesties realmes of Eng-
land & Ireland vnder secret masks, some of priuie
had, some of other inferior orders, with titles of se-
minaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Iesuits
for the sragers and ranker sort and such like, but yet
so warlike they crept into the land, as none brought
the markes of their priestshood with them. But in di-
uers corners of hir maiesties dominions these semi-
naries or sedimen and Iesuits, byzing with them
certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed war,
their *Agnus Dei*, their graines, and manie kind of
beads, and such like, haue as tillagemen laboured
secretlie to periuade the people to allow of the popes
forsaide bulls and warrants, & of his absolute autho-
ritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking
manie with prickes of conscience to obeye the same;
whereby in proesse of small time, if this wicked and
dangerous, traitorous, & craftie course had not bene
by Gods goodnesse espied and staied, there had fol-
lowed imminent danger of horrible bypazes in the
realmes, and a manifest bloudie destruction of great
multitudes of christians.

For it can not be denied but that so manie as
should haue bene induced & thoroughlie perswaded
to haue obied that wicked warrant of the popes,
and the contents thereof, should haue bene forth-
with in their herts and consciences secret traitors,
and for to be in deed errant and open traitors: there
should haue wanted nothing but opportunitie to
seale their strength & to adsemble themselves in such
numbers with armour and weapons, as they might
haue presumed to haue bene the greater part, and so
by open ciuill warre to haue come to their wicked
purposes. But Gods goodnesse, by whome kings do
rule, and by whose blasphe traitors are commonlie wa-
shed and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to hir ma-
iestie as to his handmaid and deare seruant, ruling
vnder him, the spirit of wisdom and power, wher-
by

The practises
of the traitors
rebels, and fa-
uourers to re-
store the bull.

Seminaries
erected to
nurture the se-
ditionary fugi-
tues.

The semina-
ries ingenu-
ously come secretlie
into the realme
to inuade the
people to obedi-
ence the popes
bull.

gowers of
her religion
and counten-
ance, & censured
her religion.

by the hath caused some of these seditious sermons and sowers of rebellion, to be discovered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former points of high treason, not being dealt withall upon questions of religion, but iustlie by order of lawes, openly condemned as traitors.

The seditious
sermons con-
demned by the
ancient lawes
of the realme,
made two
hundred yeres
past.

At which times, not withstanding all manner gentle waies of persuasions used, to moue them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions with offer of mercie; yet was the canker of their rebellious humors so deepelie entered and graven into the hearts of manie of them, as they would not be removed from their traitorous determinations. And therefore as manifest traitors in mainteining and adhering to the capitall enemie of hir maiestie & hir crowne (who hath not onlie bene the cause of two rebellions already passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestlie wage and mainteine his owne people, capteins, and soldiers vnder the banner of Rome, against hir maiestie, so as no enemie could doe more) these 3 saie haue iustlie suffered death not by force or forme of any new lawes established, either for religion or against the popes supermasie, as the slanderous libellers would haue it seeme to be; but by the ancient temporall lawes of the realme, and namelie by the lawes of parlement made in king Edward the third his time, about the yere of our Lord 1330, which is aboue two hundred yeres and more past, when the bishops of Rome and popes were suffered to haue their authoritie ecclesiasticall in this realme, as they had in manie other countries. But yet of this kind of offenses, as manie of them, as after their condemnations were contented to renounce their former traitorous assertions; so manie were spared from execution, & do liue still at this daie: such was the unwillingnes in hir maiestie to haue any blood spilt, without this verie urgent, iust, and necessarie cause proceeding from themselves.

Persons con-
demned, spared
from execution,
vpon
refusal of
their ecclesi-
asticall opini-
ons.

The fore-
men
tious con-
demned
persons to
maintain
the realme.

And yet neuertheless, such of the rest of the traitors as remaine in forren parts, continuing still their rebellious minds, and craftilie keeping themselves aloofe off from dangers, cease not to prouoke fundrie other inferiour seditious persons, newlie to scale secretlie into the realme, to reuise the former seditious practices, to the execution of the popes former said bull against hir maiestie and the realme, pretending when they are apprehended, that they came onlie into the realme by the commandement of their superiors, the heads of the Iesuits, to whom they are bound (as they saie) by oth against either king or countrie, and here to informe or reforme mens consciences from errors in some points of religion, as they thinke meet. But yet in verie truth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestlie proued, to be secretlie to win all people, with whom they dare deale; so to allow of the popes said bulls, and of his authoritie without exception, as in obteyning thereof, they take themselves fullie discharged of their allegiance and obedience to their lawfull prince and countrie: yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against hir maiestie, when they shall be thereunto called; and to be readie secretlie to ioin with any forren force that can be procured to invade the realme, whereof also they haue a long time giuen, and yet do for their auantage, no small comfort of successe. And so consequentie the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onlie into a dangerous warre against the forces of strangers (from which it hath bene free aboue three and twentie or foure and twentie yeres, a case verie memorable and hard to be matched with any example of the like) but into a warre domesticall and ciuill, wherein no blood is vsualie spared, nor mer-

The seditious
labours la-
bouring
therein
into a warre
domesticall
and
ciuill.

cie pardoned, and wherein neither the vanquished nor the vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

And forsomuch as these are the most euident perils that necessarilie should followe, if these kind of vermine were suffered to creepe by stealth into the realme, and to spread their poison within the same, howsoeuer then they are taken, like hypocrites, they colour and counterfeit the same with profession of deuotion in religion: it is of all persons to be persuaded in reason, that hir maiestie and all hir gournours and magistrats of iustice, hauing care to mainteine the pece of the realme (which God hath giuen in hir time, to continue longer than euer in any time of hir progenitors) ought of dutie to almighty God the author of peace, and according to the naturall loue and charge due to their countrie, and for auoiding of the clouds of blood, which in ciuill warres are seene to run and flow, by all lawfull meanes possible, as well by the sword as by law, in their severall seasons to impeach and repell these so manifest and dangerous colourable practices, and works of sedition and rebellion.

And though there are manie subiects knowne in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England and that do also not forbear to professe the same: yet in that they do also professe loialtie and obedience to hir maiestie, and offer readilie to hir maiesties defense, to impugne & resist any forreine force, though it should come or be procured from the pope himselfe: none of these sort are for their contrarie opinions in religion persecuted or charged with any crimes or paines of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that saue not of treason. And of these sorts, there haue bene and are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as those which of late haue bene executed, as in particular, some by name are well knowne, and not unfit to be remembred. The first and chiefe by office was doctor Heth, that was archbishop of Dorke, and lord chancellor of England in queene Maries time; who at the first comming of hir maiestie to the crowne, shewing himselfe a faithfull and quiet subiect, continued in both the said offices, though in religion then manifestlie differing; and yet was he not restrained of his libertie, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but leauing willingly both his offices, liued in his owne house verie discretlie, and inioied all his purchased lands during all his naturall life, untill by verie age he departed this world, and then left his house and liuing to his friends. An example of gentlenesse neuer matched in queene Maries time.

The like did one doctor Boile that had bene bishop of Peterborough, an ancient graue person, and a verie quiet subiect. There were also others that had bene bishops and in great estimation, as doctor Tunstall bishop of Duresme, a person of great reputation, and also whilst he liued of verie quiet behaviour. There were also other, as doctor White & doctor Oglethorpe, the one of Winchester, the other of Carlill, bishops, persons of courteous natures, and he of Carlill so inclined to dutifullnes to the queenes maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of hir maiestie in the church of Westminister: and doctor Shurleiffe, & doctor Watson yet liuing, one of Elie, the other of Lincolne, bishops: the one of nature affable, the other altogether sowre, and yet liuing. Thereto may be added the bishop then of Excester, Turberuile, an honest gentleman, but a simple bishop, who liued at his owne libertie to the end of his life: and none of all these pressed with any capitall paine, though they maintained the popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme. And some abbats, as maister Feckenham yet liuing,

The dutie of
the queene and
all hir gourn-
ours to God
and their
countrie, is
to repell pra-
ctices of rebelli-
on.

None char-
ged with capi-
tall crimes,
being of a con-
trarie reli-
gion, and pro-
fessing to
withstand
forreine force.

Names of di-
uerse ecclesi-
asticall persons
professing
contrarie re-
ligion, neuer
charged with
capitall
crimes.

a person also of quiet and courteous behaviour, for a great time. Some also were deanes, as doctor Morall deane of Wilsloze, a person of great modestie, learning and knowledge: doctor Cole deane of Paules, a person more earnest than discret: doctor Keinolds deane of Exeter, not vnllearned, and manie such others, hauing borne office & dignities in the church, & that had made profession against the pope, which they onelie began in queene Maries time to change: yet were these neuer to this daie burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet depriued of anie their goods or proper liueloods; but onelie removed from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, & manie other of their sort for a great time were detained in bishops houses in verie ciuill and courteous maner, without charge to themselves or their friends, vntill the time that the pope began by his bulls & messages, to offer trouble to the realme by stirring of rebellion. About which time onlie, some of these aforesaid, being found busier in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was meete for the common quiet of the realme, were removed to other more priuat places, where such other wanderers as were men knowne to moue sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt: and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by anie inquisition to bring them into danger of anie capitall law: so as no one was called to anie capitall or bloudie question vpon matters of religion, but haue all inioied their life as the course of nature would: and such of them as yet remaine, may (if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition) inioie the time that God and nature shall yeld them without danger of life or member.

The late fauourers of the popes authoritie were the chiefe aduersaries of the same, by their doctrines and writings.

And yet it is worthie to be well marked, that the chiefe of all these and the most of them, had in time of king Henrie the eighth, and king Edward the first, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea to abhorre the authoritie of the pope: for which purpose they had many times giuen their othes publiclie, against the popes authoritie, and had also yielded to both the said kings the title of supreme head of the church of England next vnder Christ, which title the aduersaries do most falselie write and affirme, that the queenes maiestie now vseth: a manifest lie & vnt ruth, to be sene by the verie acts of parlement, and at the beginning of hir reigne omitted in hir stile. And for proue that these foresaid bishops and learned men had so long time disauowed the popes authoritie, manie of their books and sermons against the popes authoritie remaine printed both in English and Latin to be sene in these times, to their great shame and reproofe to change so often, but speciallie in persecuting such as themselves had taught and stablished to hold the contrarie. A sin, were the sin against the holie ghost.

A great number of laie persons of liuelood being of a contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crime.

There were also and yet be a great number of others, being laie men of good possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, manifestlie of late time seduced to hold contrarie opinions in religion for the popes authoritie: and yet none of them haue bene sought hitherto to be impeached in anie point or quarrell of treason, or of losse of life, member or inheritance. So as it may plainelie appeare, that it is not, nor hath bene for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries do boldlie and falslie publish, that anie persons haue suffered death since hir maiesties reigne. And yet some of these sort are well knowne to hold opinion, that the pope ought by authoritie of Gods word to be supreme and onelie head of the

catholike church through the whole world, and onelie to rule in all causes ecclesiasticall, and that the queenes maiestie ought not to be gouernour over anie hir subiects in hir realme being persons ecclesiasticall: which opinions are neuertheless in some part by the lawes of the realme punishable in their degrees. And yet for none of these points haue anie persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life.

And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is trulie to be answered as afoze is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinatlie mainteine the contents of the popes bull afoze mentioned; which do import, that hir maiestie is not the lawfull queene of England, the first and highest point of treason: and that all hir subiects are discharged of their oth and obedience: a second high point of treason: and all warranted to disobey hir and hir lawes: a third and a verie large point of treason. And thereto is to be added a fourth point most manifest, in that they would not disallow the popes hostile proceedings in open warres against hir maiestie in hir realme of Ireland, where one of their compaignie doctor Sanders, a lewd scholer and subiect of England, a fugitiue and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was by the popes speciall commission a commander, as in forme of a legat, and sometime a baron or paymaster for those wars. Which doctor Sanders in his booke of his church monarchie, did afoze his passing into Ireland openlie by writing, gloriously auow the foresaid bull of *Pius Quintus* against hir maiestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth that by vertue thereof one doctor Horton, an old English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, which was true, to stirre by the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Penill the late earle of Wiltmerland was a head capteine.

And thereby it may manifestlie appere to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenance thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were iustlie condemned of treason, and lawfullie executed by the ancient lawes temporal of the realme, without charging them for anie other matter than for their practices and conspiracies both abroad and at home against the queene and the realme; and for the mainteining of the popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depriue hir maiestie of hir crowne, and for withstanding and reconciling of hir subiects from their naturall allegiance due to hir maiestie and to their countrie, and for mouing them to sedition: and for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged & conuined of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still in their answers colourable pretend their actions to haue bene for religion: but in deed and truth they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against hir maiestie and hir realme.

And herein is now the manifest discrepantie to be sene and well considered betwixt the truth of hir maiesties actions, & the falshood of the blasphemous aduersaries: that where the factious partie of the pope the principall author of the innovations of hir maiesties dominions, do falslie allege that a number of persons, whom they terme as martyrs, haue died for defense of the catholike religion; the same in verie truth may manifestlie appere to haue died (if they so will haue it) as martyrs for the pope, but yet as traitors

No person charged with capitall crime for the worse maintenance of the popes supremacy.

Four points of treason. Such crimes and onelie for treason, as mainteine the effects of the popes bull against hir maiestie and the realme.

Doctor Sanders mainteinance of the popes bull.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason & not for religion.

The discrepantie betwixt truth and falshood.

3 full protest
that the main
contents of the
bull are direc-
tly against the
guilt of
a rebellion.

toys against their sovereign and quene in adhe-
ring to him, being the notable and onelie open ho-
stile crime in all actions of warre against hir ma-
iestie, hir kingdome and people: and that this is
the meaning of all these that have so obstinatie
maintained the authoritie and contents of this bull,
the verie words of the bull doe declare in this sort, as
does; Sanders reporteth them.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus, de apostolica potestate plenitudine, declaravit Elisabetham preteris regni iure, necnon omne & quocunque dominis, dignitate, privilegioque privatum: itemque preces, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque iuraverunt, a iuramentis huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito perpetuo absolutos: That is to say, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, of the fullnesse of the apostolike power, declared Elisabeth to be bereaved of deprived of hir pretended right of hir kingdome, and also of all and whatsoever dominion, dignitie and privilege: and also the nobles, subjects and people of the said kingdome, and all others which had sworn to hir anie manner of oaths, to be absolved for ever from such oth, and from all debt or dutie of fealtie, &c: with manie threatenings cursings, to all that durst obeie hir or hir lawes. As for execution hereof, to psume, that the effect of the popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same doctor Sanders the popes firebrand in Ireland also writeth in his visible church monarchie, which is thus.

Doctor Sanders
thus saith
ambassage
came to the
rebellion
in the north.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus Anno Domini 1569 reuerendissimum Nicolaum Mortonium Anglum in Angliam missum, ut certis illiusmodi viri auctoritate apostolica denuntiaret, Elisabetham qua tunc rerum potiebatur, hereticam esse: ob eamque causam, omni dominis & potestate excoisuisse, impuneque ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec cuiuslibet legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi: That is to say, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, in the yeare of our Lord 1569, sent the reverend priest Nicholas Morton an Englishman into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolike authoritie to certaine noblemen, Elisabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretike: & for that cause to have fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnicke, and that they are not to be compelled to obeie hir lawes or commandments, &c. Thus you see an ambassage of rebellion from the popes holiness, the ambassage; an old docting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator, sent as he saith to some noble men, and these were the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion. And after this, he followeth to declare the successe thereof, which I dare say he was forie it was so evil, with these words.

Qui demonstratione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, ut de fractione liberandis cogitare euderent ac sperabant illi quidem catholicos omnes summi viribus affuturos esse: verum est aliter quam illi expectabant res euenit, quia catholici omnes nondum probi cognoverant, Elisabetham hereticam esse declaratum, tamen laudanda illorum nobilitatem consilia erant: That is: By which denuntiation, manie noblemen were induced or led, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certaintie that all the catholikes would have assisted them with all their strength: but although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholikes knew not that Elisabeth was declared to be an heretike, yet the counsels and intents of those noblemen were to be praised. A rebellion and a banquishing of rebels verie smatchlike described.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north: the noblemen were the earles of North-

umberland and Westmerland: the lacke of the content of successe was, that the traitors were banquished, and the quenes maiestie and hir subjects had by Gods ordinance the victorie: and the cause why the rebels perswaded not, was because all the catholikes had not bene duly informed that the quenes maiestie was declared to be as they terme it an heretike: which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligentlie and cunninglie supplied by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the seminarie and Jesuits, whose speciall charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestlie appeared. A supplement to amend the former error.

And though doctor Sanders hath thus writtten, yet it may be said by such as favoured the two notable Jesuits, one named Robert Persons (who yett he beth himselfe in corners to continue his traitorous practise) the other named Edmund Campion (who was found out being disguised like a roister and suffered for his treasons, that doctor Sanders treason is his proper treason in allobbing of the said bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore to make it plaine that these two by speciall authoritie had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these acts in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fained or imagined, but are the verie writings taken about one of their companies, even immediatlie after Campions death: although Campion before his death would not be knownen of anie such matter. Whereby may appeere that trust is to be given to the words of such piew domartyes.

Persons and
Campion are
offenders as
doctor Sanders
is, for al-
lowance of the
bull.

Facultates concessæ pp. Roberto Personio &
Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia,
die 14 Aprilis, 1580.

Platum à summo domino nostro explicatio bullæ declarationis per Pium Quintum contra Elisabetham & eius adherentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo: ut obliget semper illam & hereticos, catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus substantibus, sed sum demum quando publica eiusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit. Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their farther authorities, which are not needfull for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence as an answer of the popes. His prædictas gratias concessit summus pontifex patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturum die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Præfente patre Oliverio Manarce assistente. The English of which Latin sentences is as followeth.

Faculties granted to the two fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the fourteenth daie of April, 1580.

Let it be asked or required of our most holie lord, the replication or meaning of the bull declaration made by Pius the first against Elisabeth, & such as do adhere or obeie hir, which bull the catholikes desire to be understood in this maner: that the same bull shall alwaies bind hir and the heretikes; but the catholikes it shall by no means bind, as matters or things do now stand or be: but hereafter, when the publike execution of that bull may be had or made. Then in the end the conclusion was thus added. The highest pontife or bishop granted these foresaid graces to father Robert Persons & Edmund Campion, who are now to take their journey into England, the 14 daie of April, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eighty. Being present the father Oliverius Manarke assistant. Pppppp. Hereby

Faculties
granted to
Persons and
Campion by
pope Grego-
rie the thir-
teenth Anno
1580.

By what as-
theptic Camp-
pion came in-
to England.

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queens maiestie, howsoever he himselfe denied the same: for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, not onelie required to haue the popes mind declared for the bull; but also in their owne petitions shewed how they and other catholikes did desire to haue the said bull to be understood against the queene of England: yet to make the matter more plaine how all other Jesuits and seminaries; yea how all papists naming themselves catholikes, doe or are warranted to interpret the said bull against hir maiestie and hir god subiects, howsoever they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellows, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liueth, did amongst manie other things declare his knowledge thereof the last daie of December in the same yeare one thousand five hundred and eightie, in these words following. The bull of *Pius Quintus* (for so much as it is against the queene) is holden amongst the English catholikes for a lawfull sentence, and a sufficient discharge of hir subiects fidelitie, and so remaineth in force: but in some points touching the subiects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull all hir subiects are commanded not to obeie hir, and she being excommunicate and depose, all that doe obeie hir are likewise innodate and accursed, which point is perillous to the catholikes: for if they obeie hir, they be in the popes curse, and if they disobeie hir, they are in the queenes danger: therefore the present pope to releue them hath altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them to obeie and serue hir, without perill of excommunication: which dispensation is to endure but till it please the pope other wise to determine.

Harts confession of the interpretation of the bull of *Pius Quintus*.

A conclusion that all the infamous books against the queene and the realme, are false.

Difference of the small numbers that haue bene executed in the space of five and twentie yeares, from the great numbers in five yeares of queene Maries reigne.

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before mentioned, all persons both within the realme and abroad, maie plainelie perceiue that all the infamous libels lately published abroad in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes courts of a multitude of persons, to haue bene of late put to torments and death onelie for profession of the catholike religion, and not for matters of state against the queenes maiestie, are false and shamelesse, and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels. And to make the matter some more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which by their owne catalog exceed not for these five and twentie yeares space, above the number of three score, forgetting or rather with their stonie and senselesse hearts not regarding, in what cruell sort in the time of queene Marie, which little exceeded the space of five yeares, the queenes maiesties reigne being five times as manie, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of foure hundred, besides such as were secretly murdered in prisons: and of that number, above twentie that had bene archbishops, bishops, and principall prelates or officers in the church lamentably destroyed; and of women about three score, and of children above foure, and amongst the women, some great with child, and one, out of whose bodie the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burned: examples beyond all beatherecrueltie.

And most of the youth that then suffered cruell death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had neuer by the sacrament of baptism, or by confirmation, professed, or was ener taught or instructed, or ener had heard of anie

other kind of religion, but onelie of that which by their blood and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of an other sort to be lamented in a christian charitie with simplicitie of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a verie few traitors; who also in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeares of age, had in their baptism professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterlie oppugned. And besides that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of queene Maries time: for though they which suffered in queene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetuallie taught; yet they neuer at their death denied their lawfull queene, nor maintained anie of hir open and forren enemies, nor anie procured rebellion or ciuill warre, nor did sow anie sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew anie subiects from their obedience, as these sworne seruants of the pope haue continuallie done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt, but all god subiects within the realme doe manifestlie see, and all waivering persons (not being led cleane out of the waie by the seditions) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue bene abused to go astray. And all strangers, but speciallie all christian potentats, as emperours, kings, princes, and such like, hauing their sovereign estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the verie truth of these hir maiesties late lust and necessarie actions, onelie for defense of hir selfe, hir crowne, and people, against open inuadours, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred up by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a truth and rule (as it is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not vnto a bishop of Roms as successour of saint Peter, and therein a pastour spirituall, or if he were the bishop of all christendome, as by the name of pope he claimeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will in fauour of traitors and rebels, to depose anie sovereigne princes, being lawfullie invested in their crownes by succession in blood, or by lawfull election; and then to arme subiects against their naturall lords, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their oaths in so doing, or to excommunicat faithfull subiects for obaying of their naturall princes, & lastlie himselfe to make open warre; with his owne souldiers, against princes mouing no force against him.

For if these high tragicall powers should be permitted to him to exercise, then should no empire, no kingdome, no countrie, no citie or towne be possessed by anie lawfull title, longer than one such onelie an earthlie man, sitting (as he saith) in saint Peters chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) thinke meet and determine: an authoritie neuer challenged by the Lord of lords the sonne of God, Jesus Christ our onelie Lord and saviour, and the onelie head of his church, whilst he was in his humanity upon the earth; nor yet deliuered by anie writing or certaine tradition from saint Peter, from whome the pope pretendeth to deriue all his authoritie; nor yet from saint Paule the apostle of the gentils: but contrariwise by all preachings, precepts and writings, contained in the gospel and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expressly commanded vnto all earthlie princes; yea, enen vnto kings by especiall name, and that so generallie, as no person is excepted from such

An advertisement vnto all princes of countries abroad.

The authoritie proclaimed by the pope not warranted by Christ, or by the two apostles Peter and Paule.

dutie of obedience, as by the sentence of saint Paule
euen to the Romans, appeareth, *Omnis anima subimis-
ribus potestatibus sit subdita*, that is, Let euery soule be
subiect to the higher powers: within the compasse of
which law or precept, saint Chrysostome being bishop
of Constantinople, writeth, that Euen apostles, pro-
phets, euangelists, and monks are comprehended.

And for proue of saint Peters mind herein, from
thome these popes claime their authoritie, it can
not be plainelie expressed, that when he writeth
thus, *Proinde subiecti estote cuiuslibet auctoritati, pro-
pter Dominum, sive regi, ut qui superthronus, sive prae-
sibus ab eo misit*, that is, Therefore be you subiect to eue-
ry humane ordinance or creature for the Lord, whe-
ther it be to the king, as to him that is supereminent,
or about the rest, or to his president by
him, By which two principall apostles of Christ, the
popes the pretended successors, but chiefe by that
which Christ the sonne of God the onelie maister of
truth said to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Regnum
dominantur, vos autem non sic*, that is, The kings
of the gentils haue rule ouer them, but you not so,
maie learne to forsake their arrogant and tyran-
nous authorities in carnall and temporall causes o-
uer kings and princes, and exercise their pastoral of-
fice: as saint Peter was charged thise at one time
by his Lord and maister, *Pasci oues meas*, Feed my
sheepe, and peremptorie forbidden to vse a sword,
in sauing to him, *Conuerte gladium tuum in uaginum*,
or *Mitte gladium tuum in uaginum*, that is, Turne thy
sword into his place: or, Put thy sword into the
scabbard.

All which precepts of Christ and his apostles were
dutie followed and obserued manie hundred yeares
after their death, by the faithfull and godlie bishops
of Rome, that duly followed the doctrine and humi-
litie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and
were holie martyrs, and thereby dilated the limits
of Christs church and the faith more in the compasse
of an hundred yeares, than the latter popes haue
done with their swords and curses these five hun-
dred yeares, and so continued until the time of one
pope Hildebrand, otherwile called Gregorie the
seuenth, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand
three score and fourtene; who first began to vsurpe
that kind of tyrannie, which of late the late pope cal-
led *Pius Quintus*, and since that time Gregorie now
the thirteenth hath followed, for some example as it
seemeth: that is, where Gregorie the seuenth, in
the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and
fourtene, or thereabout, presumed to depose Hen-
rie the fourth, a noble emperor then being; Grego-
rie the thirteenth now at this time, would attempt
the like against king Henrie the eighth daughter
and bette queene Elisabeth, a soueraigne, and a mai-
den queene, holding hir crowne immediatlie of
God.

And to the end it may appeare to princes, or to
their good counsellors in one example, what was the
fortunate successe that God gaue to this good christian
emperor Henrie, against the proud pope Hilde-
brand, it is to be noted, that when the pope Grego-
rie attempted to depose this noble emperor Henrie,
there was one Rodolph a noble man, by some named
the count of Henfield, that by the popes procure-
ment blurred the name of the emperor, who was
overcome by the said Henrie the lawfull emperor,
and in fight hauing lost his right hand, he, the said
Rodolph, lamented his case to certeine bishops, who
in the popes name had erected him up, and to them
he said, that the selfe same right hand which he had
lost, was the same hand wherewith he had before
sworne obedience to his lord and maister the empe-
ror Henrie; and that in following these vngodlie

counsell, he had brought vpon him Gods heauie and
iust iudgements. And so Henrie the emperor pre-
nailing by Gods power, caused Gregorie the pope by
a synod in Italie to be depose, as in like times be-
foze him his predecessor who the emperor had de-
posed one pope John for manie heinous crimes:
so were also within a short time three other popes,
namelie, Spluxter, Benet, and Gregorie the first,
vse by the emperor Henrie the third, about the yeare
of our Lord, one thousand fourtie and seuen, for their
like presumptuous attempts in temporall actions
against the said emperor.

Manie other examples might be shewed to the
emperors maiestie, and the prince of the holie em-
pire now being, after the tyme of Henrie the fourth:
as of Henrie the first, and Frederike the first, and
Frederike the second, and then of Kewes of Bavar,
all emperors, cruellie and tyrannouslie persecuted
by the popes, and by their bulls, censures, and by open
wars, and likewise to manie other the great kings
and monarchs of christendome, of their noble pro-
genitors, kings of their severall dominions. Where-
by they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie
in popes to make warres vpon emperors & kings,
and to command them to be deposed, toke hold at
the first by pope Hildebrand, though the same neuer
had anie lawfull example or warrant from the lawes
of God of the old or new testament: but yet the suc-
cesses of their tyrannies were by Gods goodnesse for
the most part made frustrat, as by Gods goodnesse
there is no doubt, but the like will followe to their
confusions at all times to come.

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like vi-
olent tyrannous proceedings by anie pope in main-
tenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood
by euery soueraigne prince in christendome in de-
fence of their persons and crownes, and mainte-
nance of their subiects in peace: so is there at this
present a like iust cause that the emperors maiestie,
with the princes of the holie empire, and all other
soueraigne kings & princes in christendome, should
iudge the same to be lawfull for hir maiestie being a
queene, and holding the vertie place of a king and a
prince soueraigne ouer diuers kingdoms and nati-
ons; the being also most lawfullie trusted in hir
crowne: and as for good governing of hir people,
with such applause and generall allowance, loued,
and obeyed of them; sauing a few ragged traitors,
or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other
realme is free, as continuallie for these five & thwen-
tie yeares past hath bene notable scene, and so pub-
likelie marked, even by strangers repairing in-
to this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to a
nie monarch and king in christendome, to haue
hir maiesties felicitie compared with anie of theirs
whatsoever: and it maie be, there are manie kings
and princes could be well contented with the fru-
tion of some proportion of hir felicitie.

And though the popes be now suffered by the em-
peror, in the lands of his owne peculiar patrimonie,
and by the two great monarchs, the French king
and the king of Spaine, in their dominions and ter-
ritories (although by manie other kings not so al-
lowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases,
and his glorious title to be the vniuersall bishop of
the world, which title Gregorie the great about nine
hundred yeares past, called a prophane title, full of
sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist: yet in all
their dominions & kingdoms, as also in the realme
of England, most notable by manie ancient lawes
it is well knowne, how manie waies the tyrannous
power of this his excessive authoritie hath bene, and
still is restrained, checked and limited by lawes and
pragmatikes, both ancient and new, both in France

Pope Grego-
rie the seuenth
deposed by
Henrie the
fourth.

Henrie the
first.
Frederike the
first.
Frederike the
second.
Kewes of
Bavar, em-
peror.

Pope Hilde-
brand the first
that made
warre against
the emperor.

Whatsoever
is lawfull for
other princes
soveraignes,
is lawfull for
the queene
and crowne of
England.

An. Do. 1574.
The iudge-
ment of God
against the
pope false
emperor.

The title of
vniuersall bi-
shop is a pre-
amble of an-
tichrist.

and Spaine and other dominions : a verie large field for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse.

And howsoever the popes canonists, being as his bombardiers, doe make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people: yet all great emperors and kings as sometime, in their owne cases, of their rights and not all preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poze towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some unworthie person to a bishopricke or to an abbete, neuer restrained to despise all popes curses or forces; but attempted alwaies, either by their swordes to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without any feare of themselves, in bodie, soule, or conscience, stoutlie to withstand their curses, and that sometime by force, sometime by ordinances and lawes: the ancient histories whereof are too manie to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectfull than of the kings of France. And in the records of England dooth appeare, how stoutlie the kings & the baronage of England from age to age, by extreme penall lawes haue so repelled the popes usurpations, as with the verie name of preeminence his proctors haue bene terrified, and his cleargie haue quaked, as of late cardinall Wolseye did psonne.

But leaving those that are ancient, we may remember how in this our owne present or late age, it hath bene manifestlie seene, how the armie of the late noble emperor Charles the sixt, father to king Philip that now reigneth, was not afraid of his curses, when in the yeare of our Lord 1527, Rome it selfe was besieged and sacked, and the pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirtie and thre, in his mount Adrian or castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and detained seauen moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Vgo di Moncada a Spaniard, and the marquesse of Guasto, at about foure hundred thousand duckets, besides the ransomes of the cardinals which was much greater; hauing not long before time bene also (notwithstanding his curses) besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonnes and their fautors his next neighbours being then imperiallists, and forced to yeld to all their demands. Neither did king Henrie the second of France, father to Henrie now king of France, about the yeare 1550, feare or regard the pope or his court of Rome, when he made several strict edicts against manie parts of the popes claimies in pretence of the crowne and charge of France, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome greatlie to the hinderance of the popes former profits. Neither was the armie of king Philip now of Spaine, whereof the duke of Alua was generall, stricken with any feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the pope, in the yeare of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said armie, and all the delicat buildings, gardens, and orchards, next to Rome walles overthrowne, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified than he was able to remoue with any his curses. Neither was queene Marie the queenes maiesties noble late sister, a person not a little deuoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the popes cursings; but that both she and her whole counsell, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the ancient lawes, in fauour of cardinall Pole her kinsman, did most straitlie forbid the encrease of his bulles, and of a cardinals hat at Calis, that was sent from the pope for one frer Peito, an obseruant pleasant frer, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinall in disgrace of cardinall Pole: neither did cardinall Pole himselfe at the same time o-

bete the popes commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, being assisted by the queene, when the pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunications; but did still oppose himselfe against the popes commandement, for the said pretensed cardinall Peito, who notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go by and dole in the streets of London like a begging frer, without his red hat: a stout resistance in a queene for a pope cardinals hat, wherein he followed the example of his grandfather king Henrie the seventh, for a matter of Alium, wherein the king bled verie great feveritie against the pope.

So as howsoever the christian kings for some respects in pollicie can induce the pope to command where otherwise no disadvantage groweth to themselves, yet for this end, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall giue aid to their enemies, or to any other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences and most solemn anathematiks, no nor their croasse keies, or double edged sword, will serue their turnes to compass their intentions. And now, where the pope hath manifestlie by his bulles and excommunications attempted as much as he could, to depriue his maiestie of his kingdome, to withhold from him the obedience of his subjects, to procure rebellions in his realme, to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne capteines, souldiers, banners, ensignes, and all other things belonging to warre: shall this pope Gregorie or any other pope after him, thinke that a soueraigne queene, possessor of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so manie yeares in his kingdome as thre or foure popes haue sit in their chaire at Rome, fortified with so much dutie, loue and strength of his subjects, acknowledging no superiour over his realme, but the mightie hand of God: shall he feare, or feare to withstand and make frustrate his unlawful attempts, either by his sword or by his lawes; or to put his souldiers inuadours of his realme to the sword martialle, or to execute his lawes upon his owne rebellious subjects ciuillie, that are proued to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, & for his open war? This is sure, that howsoever either he sitting in his chaire with a triple crowne at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of christendome, shall renew these unlawfull attempts: almightie God the king of kings whom his maiestie onlie honoureth and acknowledgeth to be his onlie soueraigne Lord and protector, & whose lawes and gospel of his son Iesus Christ he seeketh to defend, will no doubt but deliuer sufficient power into his maiesties hand his seruant queene Elisabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpetors of infamies & lies haue sounded forth and intituled certaine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion: so may they also at this time (if they list) ad to their forged catalog the headlesse bodie of the late miserable earle of Desmond, the head of the Irish rebellion: who of late, secretlie wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irish in his caben, and in an Irish sort, after his owne accustomed savage manner, his head cut off from his bodie: an end due to such an archrebell. And herewith to remember the end of his chiefe confederats, may be noted for example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders the popes Irish legat, who also wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succour, died raving in a frensie. And before him, one James Fitzmorris the

1527
Rome sacked,
and the pope
Clement take
prisoner by
the emperor
armie.

1550
King Henrie
the second of
France his
edicts against
the pope and
his courts of
Rome.
The besie-
ging of Rome
and the pope
by the duke
of Alua and
king Philips
armie.

Queene Ma-
rie and card-
inall Pole re-
sisted the pope.

The kings of
christendome
neuer suffer
popes to as-
surge their
titles or
rights,
though they
suffer them to
haue rule over
their people.

The queene
of England
may not suffer
the pope by
any means to
make rebell-
ions in his
realme.

Whom
the pope
martrized.

The strange
end of
James earle
of Desmond,
D. Sanders,
James Fitz-
morris.

the first traitour of Ireland next to Skukeleie the rakehell, a man not unknownen in the popes palace for a wicked craftie traitor, was slaine at one blow by an Irish noble young gentleman, in defense of his fathers countrie which the traitor sought to burne. A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmond, brother to the earle, a verie bloudie faithlesse traitor, & a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandring to seeke some preie like a wolfe in the woods, was taken & beheaded after his owne usage, being (as he thought) sufficientlie armed with the popes bulls and certeine *Agnus Dei*, & one notable ring with a pteious stone about his necke sent from the popes finger (as it was said) but these he saw saued not his life. And such were the fatal ends of all these, being the principall heads of the Irish warre and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this daie in Ireland a knowen traitor: a worke of God and not of man.

John Somerville.

To this number they may (if they seeke number) also ad a furious young man of Warwicke shire, by name Somerville, to increase their kalender of the popes martyrs, who of late was discovered and taken in his waie, comming with a full intent to haue killed hir maiestie, whose life God alwaies haue in his custodie. The attempt not denied by the traitor himselfe, but confessed, and that he was moued thereto in his wicked spirit, by intilements of certeine seditious and traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, & also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile bookes latelie published against hir maiestie, and his end was in desperatton to strangle himselfe to death: an example of Gods seueritie against such as presume to offer violence to his anointed. But as God of his goodnesse hath of long time hitherto preferred hir maiestie from these and the like treacheries: so hath he no cause to feare, being vnder his pzotecti- on, the saying with king David in the psalme: *My God is my helper and I will trust in him, he is my pzotecti- on, and the strength of the power of my sal- uation.* And for the more comfort of all good subiects against the shadowes of the popes bulles, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of hir maiesties reigne, by Gods singular goodnesse, hir king- dome hath intioed more vniuersall peace, hir people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, & with lesse sicknesse, the earth of hir kingdome hath yelded more fruits, and ge- nerallie all kind of worldlie felicitie hath more a- bounded since and during the time of the popes thun- ders, bulles, curses and maledictions, than in anie o- ther long times before, when the popes pardons and blessings came pearelie into the realme: so as his curses and maledictions haue turned backe to him- selfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed quene Elisabeth of England and of hir people, as was said in Deuteronomie of Balaam: *The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turne his maledictions or curses into benedictions or bless- ings: the reason is, for because thy God loved thee.*

The popes time of Eng- land, during the popes curles,

Although these former reasons are sufficient to persuaue all kind of reasonable persons to allow of hir maiesties actions, to be good, reasonable, lawfull and necessarie: yet bicause it may be, that such as haue by frequent reading of false artificiall libels; and by giuing credit to them, vpon a pzetence of foresightement afore grounded, by their rated opi- nions in fauour of the pope, will rest unsatisfied: therefore as much as may be, to satisfie all persons as farre forth as common reason may warrant, that hir maiesties late action in executing certeine sedi- tious traitors, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the popes supremaie, or against hir maiesties regalitie; but for the verie crimes of

sedition and treason: it shall suffice briefly, in man- ner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remem- ber these things following.

First, it cannot be denied, but that hir maiestie did for manie yeares suffer quietlie the popes bulles and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accounting of them but as of words or wind, or of writings in parchment watered downe with lead, or as of water bubbles, commonlie called in Latine *Bulle*, & such like: But yet after some pzofe that courage was taken therof by some bold and bad subiects, she could not but then esteeme them to be verie pzreambles, or as forerunners of greater dan- ger; and therefore, with what reason could anie mis- like, that hir maiestie did for a bare defense against them, without other action or force, vse the helpe of reuoluing of former lawes, to prohibit the publica- tion or execution of such kind of bulles within hir realme?

Secondlie, when notwithstanding the prohibition by hir lawes, the same bulles were plentifulle (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantlie set vpon the gates of the bishop of Lon- dons palace nere to the cathedrall church of Pauls the principall citie of the realme, by a lewd person, vsing the same like a herald sent from the pope: who can in anie common reason mislike, that hir maie- stie finding this kind of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in hir principall citie by one of hir subiects, anoting and obstinatie maintaining the same, should according to iustice cause the offen- do; to haue the reuward due to such a fact: And this was the first action of anie capitall punishment in- flicted for matter sent from Rome to moue rebelli- on, which was after hir maiestie had reigned about the space of twelue yeares or more: a time sufficient to pzoue hir maiesties patience.

Thirdlie, when the pope had risen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to ac- tions, and had contrarie to the aduise given by saint Bernard to one of his pzedeceßors, that is, when by his messages he left *Peribum*, and took *Feirum*, that is, left to fied by the word, which was his office, and be- gan to strike with the sword which was forbidden him, and stirred hir noblemen and people directlie to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the of- fice of Dathan and Abiram, and that hir lewd sub- jects by his commandement had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring in- to the field: who with common reason can disallow that hir maiestie vsed hir rofall lawfull authoritie, and by hir forces lawfull subdued rebels forces un- lawfull, and punished the authors thereof no other- wise than the pope himselfe vseth to doe with his owne rebellious subiects, in the patrimonie of his church, as not manie moneths passed he had bene forced to intend: And if anie prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebels to haue their toils; none ought to pittie him, if for want of resistance and courage he lost both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdome.

Fourthlie, when hir maiestie beheld a further in- crease of the popes malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in hir north parts banquished, in that he interteined abroad out of this realme, the traitors and rebels that fled for the rebellion, and all the rabble of other the fugitiues of the realme, & that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretlie allured hir people to new rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to send also out of Italie by sea, certeine ships with capitaines of his owne, with their bands of souldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, vittels, ensignes, banners, and

Reasons to persuaue by reason the fa- uourers of the pope, that none hath bene execu- ted for rebelli- on but for treason. The first reason.

The second reason.

The bull of Pius Quin- tus set vp at Pauls.

The first pz- nishment for the bull.

The third reason.

Rebellion in the north.

The fourth reason.

The translation of Ireland by the pope.

and all other things requisite to the waere, into his realme of Ireland, where the same forces with other auxilliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselves verie strongly on the sea side, and proclaimed open waere, erecting the popes banner against his maiestie: may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue bene done by his maiestie otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitives so fallen into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habits to sow sedition, as some priests in their secret profession, but all in their apparell as rusticks or rustians, some scholars, like to the basest common people, and them to commit to prisons; and vpon their examinations of their trades and habits, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimonie of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realme? What may be reasonable thought was met to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to trie, condemne and execute them? And speciallie hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the popes forces were in the realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to follow as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance thereof his maiestie and his realme was forced to be at greater charges, than euer she had bene since she was quene thereof. And so by Gods power, which he gaue to him on the one part, she did by his lawes suppress the seditious stirrers of rebellion in his realme of England, and by his sword vanquished all the popes forces in his realme of Ireland, excepting certeine capitaines of marke that were saued from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrell, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voyage.

The popes
forces vanquished
in Ire-
land.

The politike
aduersaries
satisfied.

Objection of
the papists,
that the per-
sons executed,
are but schol-
lers and dis-
armed.

But though these reasons, grounded vpon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great number of the aduersaries (who will yeeld that by god order of ciuill and christian policie and gouernement, his maiestie could not can doe no lesse than she hath done, first to subdue with his forces his rebels and traitors, and next by order of his lawes to correct the aiders & abettors, & lastlie to put also to the sword such forces as the pope sent into his dominions) yet there are certeine other persons, more nicelie addicted to the pope, that will yet seeme to be vnsatisfied: for that, as they will tearme the matter, a number of stille more wretches were put to death as traitors, being but in profession scholars or priests, by the names of seminaries, Jesuits, or simple scholemasters, that came not into the realme with any armour or weapon, by force to aid the rebels and traitors, either in England or in Ireland in their rebellions or wars; of which sort of wretches the commiseration is made, as though for their contrarie opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the lawes of the realme, they might haue bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall paine. These kinds of defenses tend onelie to find fault rather with the severity of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subjects.

But for answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous fauourers of traitors, it must be with reason demanded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king being established in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretly practised, and afterward openly raised in his realme by his owne seditious subjects; and when by a foreign potentate or enimie the same rebellion is maintained, and the rebels by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince allowed; and consequentially when the same potentate and eni-

mie, being author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces invade the realme and subiects of the prince that is so lawfull and peaceable possessed: in these cases, shall no subject fauouring these rebels, and yeelding obedience to the enimie the invador, be committed or punished as a traitor; but onelie such of them, as shall be found openlie to carrie armour and weapon: Shall no subject, that is a spyall and an explozer for the rebell or enimie against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, because he is not found with armour or weapon; but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scerolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spy for traitors, after he hath wandered secretly in his souereignes campe, region, court, or citie? Shall no subject be counted a traitor, that will secretly giue earnest and profit monie to persons to be rebels or enimies, or that will attempt to poison the bottles, or the founteins; or secretly set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretly search and sound the hauens and creeks for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarks and walles, because these offenders are not found with armour or weapon? The answer I thinke must needs be yeilded (if reason and experience shall haue rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitors: and the principall reason is, because it can not be denied, but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and aduerents proper to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they will denie, that none are traitors that are not armed, they will make Iudas no traitor, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Now therefore let us apply the facts of these late malefactors that are pretended to haue offended but as scholars, or bookemen; or at the most but as persons that onelie in words and doctrine, and not with armour did fauour and helpe the rebels and their enimies. For which purpose let these persons be termed as they list, scholars, scholemasters, bookemen, seminaries, priests, Jesuits, friers, beadmen, Romanists, pardoners, or what else you will; neither their titles, nor their apparell hath made them traitors, but their traitorous secret motions & practises: their persons haue not made the waere, but their directions and counsels haue set by the rebellions. It is true to be pondered, that the verie causes small of these rebellions and warres, haue bene to depose his maiestie from his crowne: the popes bull hath roared it so to be. The causes instrumentall are these kind of seminaries and sedmen of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it. The fruits and effects thereof are by rebellion to shed the blood of all his faithful subjects: the rewards of the invadors (if they could procure) should be the dismembering of all the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole communaltie, that would (as they are bound by the lawes of God, by their birth, and othes) defend their naturall grations quene, their native countrie, their wiues, their children, their familie, and their houses.

And now examine these which you call unarmed scholars and priests, wherefore they first fled out of the realme, why they liued and were conuersant in companie of the principall rebels and traitors at Rome, and in their places, where it is proued that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it be answered why they came thus by stealth into the realme? Why they haue wandered by & downe in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and manner of apparell? Why they haue infused and sought to persuaade by their secret false reasons, the people to allow and believe all the actions

Some are
traitors
though they
haue no ar-
mour nor
weapon.

The applica-
tion of the
scholasticall
creeds, to
others, that
are traitors
without ar-
mour.

for profits
and to the
purses from
labours.

and attempts that neuer the pope hath done, or shall
be, to be lawfull? Why they haue reconciled and
withdrawne so manie people in corners from the
labours of the realme to the obedience of the pope, a
fortunate potentate and open enimie, whome they
knew to haue already declared the queene to be no
lawfull queene, to haue maintained the knowne re-
bels and traitors, to haue invaded hir maiesties do-
minions with open warre: Cramme further, how
these bagarant disguised vnarmed spies haue answer-
red, when they were taken and demanded what they
thought of the bull of pope *Pius Quintus*, which was
published to depriue the queenes maiestie, and to
warrant hir subjects to disobey hir: whether they
thought that all subjects ought to obey the same bull,
and so to rebell: Secondly, whether they thought
hir maiestie to be lawfull queene of the realme, not-
withstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the
pope: Thirdly, whether the pope might giue such li-
cence as he did to the earls of Northumberland and
Westmerland, and other hir maiesties subjects to
rebell as they did: Or giue power to doctor Sanders
a naturall borne subject, but an vnaturall become
priest, to take armes and moue warres as he did in
Ireland: Fourthly, whether the pope may discharge
the subjects of hir maiestie, or of any other princes
disobeyed, of their othe of obedience: Fifthly, whe-
ther the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders or one
Whiston a rebellious fugitiue, did in their books
write trulie or falslie, in approuing the said bull of
Pius Quintus, and the contents thereof: Lastly, what
were to be done, if the pope or any other assigned by
him, should invade the realme of England, and what
part they would take, or what part any faithfull sub-
ject of hir maiesties ought to take: To these few
questions berie apt to trie the truth or falshood of any
such seditious persons, being iustlie before condem-
ned for their disloyaltie, these few vnarmed traitors
I say would in no wise answer direalis hereto, as all
other faithfull subjects to any christian prince ought
to do.

The office
was executed
in person,
and in
person.

And as they by refusal to answer direalis to these
questions onelie, might haue bene iustlie continued
as guilty of treason: so yet were they not thereupon
condemned, but upon all their other former actions
committed both abroad: in the realme, which were no
lesse traitorous than the actions of all other the spies
and traitors, and of Judas himselfe afore remem-
bered, which had no armour nor weapon, and yet at all
times ought to be aduerged traitors. For these dis-
guised persons (called scholars or priests) hauing
bene first conversant of long time with the traitors
beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither
by stealth in time of war and rebellion by comman-
dement of the capitall enimie the pope or his legats,
to be secret spies and explorers in the realme for the
pope, to deliuer by secret Romish tokens, as it were
an earnest or prest, to them that should be in readi-
nes to ioin with rebels or open enimies, and in like
sort with their halloved baggages from Rome to
poison the senses of the subjects, poisoning into their
hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against hir
maiestie and the labours of the realme: and also to
kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented sub-
jects into the flames of rebellion, to search & sound
the depths and secrets of all mens inward inten-
tions, either against hir maiestie, or for hir: and fi-
nally, to bring into a head, or as it were into a
muster roll, the names and powers with the dwell-
lings of all them that should be ready to rebell, and
to aid the foretime mutation.

These kinds of seditious actions for the service of
the pope and the traitors and rebels abroad, haue
made them traitors: not their backs, nor their heads,

nor their eares of waxe which they call *Agnes Dei*,
nor other their reliques, nor nor yet their opinions
for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome:
and therefore it is to be certeinly concluded, that
these did iustlie deserue their capitall punishments
as traitors, though they were not apprehended with
open armour or weapon. Now if this latter repe-
tion, as it were of all the former causes and reasons
afore recited, may not serue to stop the boisterous
mouthes, and the pestiferous tongues, and venomous
breaths of those that are infected with so grosse er-
rors, as to defend seditious fabricks, stirrers of re-
bellion against their naturall prince and countrie;
then are they to be left without any further argu-
ment of the almighty God, as persons that haue cou-
nered their eyes against the sunnes light, stopped
their eares against the sound of iustice, and op-
pressed their hearts against the force of reason, and
as the psalmist saith: They speake lies, they are as
venomous as the poison of a serpent, euen like the
deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.

Unreasonable
and obstinate
persons are
left to Gods
iudgement,

Therefore with christian charitie to conclude, if
these rebels and traitors, and their fautors would yet
take some remorse and compassion of their naturall
countrie, and would consider how vaine their at-
tempts haue bene so manie yeares; and how ma-
nie of their confederats are wasted by miseries and
calamities, and how none of all their attempts or
plots haue prospered, and therefore would desist
from their vnaturall practices abroad: and if these
seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorers in the
darke, would imploy their travels in the books
of light and doctrine according to the vse of their
scholes, and content themselves with their profes-
sion and deuotion: and that the remnant of the wic-
ked stocke of the sedimen of sedition would cease
from their rebellious, false and infamous railings
and libellings, altogether contrarie to christian cha-
ritie: there is no doubt by Gods grace (hir maiestie
being so much giuen to merrie and deuoted to peace)
but all colour and occasion of shedding the blood of
any more of hir naturall subjects of this land, yea
all further bodilie punishment should utterly cease.
Against whose malices, if they shall not desist, al-
mighty God continue hir maiestie with his spirit
and power long to reigne and liue in his seare, and
to be able to vanquish them all, being Gods eni-
mies, and especiallie hir rebels and traitors both at
home & abroad, & to mainteine & preserve all hir na-
turall god louing subjects, to the true seruice of the
same almighty God, according to his holie word &
will. Many other things might be remembered for
defense of other hir maiesties princelie, honorable,
and godlie actions in sundrie other things, wherein
also these and the like seditious railors haue of late
time without all shame, by fained and false libels
sought to discredit hir maiestie & hir gouernement:
but at this time, these former causes and reasons al-
leaged by waie of aduertisements, onelie for main-
tenance of truth, are sufficient to iustifie hir mai-
esties actions to the whole world in the cases remem-
bered. *Magnæ veritas, & præclaræ: Scit is truth,* 2. Ed. 4.
and the ouercometh.

On the two and twentieth of Januarie, John
Watson bishop of Winchester deceased at Win-
chester, and was buried at Winchester on the first day
of februarie; a man he was well taught by the
art which he professed and practised, to esteeme this
life as it is, euen transitorie & verie vaine; wherein
as men are the further steep in age, so should they
be the lesse desirous to liue, and take death comming
timelie which is, when as naturall heate and the mo-
ture radicall are decayed) in such good part, as no-
thing

Bishop of
Winchester
deceased.

thing more acceptable. But who thinks his death to come timelie; but the godlie wise, who haue learned, that as men haue daies of life decreed, so they haue daies of death determined; according to the tradition, which that famous man Iochimus Camerarius (an excellent man and of singular note) made a little before his departing out of this world:

*Morte nihil tempestiua esse optatus auit,
sed tempestiuam quis putat esse suam?
Qui putat ille sapit; quoniam ut solatia vita,
sic et quisque sua tempora mortis habet.*

Five executed
for treason.

A. F. ex add.
G. C.

Master Walter
Kaleigh
his biage for
the discouerie
of that land
which lieth
betwene Flo-
rembega and
Florida.

Philip Ama-
dis, and Ar-
thur Barlow.

Two savage
men and other
things
brought from
the said land
discovered.

Master Walter
Kaleigh
prepareth for
a second vi-
age to the said
land late dis-
covered.

Gentlemen
that associated
for Humfric
Gilbert in his
biage to Flo-
rembega
1578.

The biage
hath not suc-
ceeded.

Master Walter
Kaleigh
sailed as far
as Cape de
Verde, &c.
and arriveth
in safety at
Plymouth.
Sir Humfric
Gilbert sen-
ted from his

On the tenth of Februarie were arreigned at Westminster, James Fenne, George Haddockes, John Hunden, John Putter, and Thomas Honceford: all five were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, and were executed at Tyborne on the twelfedate of Februarie. ¶ In this yeare, 1584, even at the prime of the yeare, namelie in Aprill, master Walter Kaleigh equier, a gentleman from his infancie brought up and trained in martiall discipline, both by land and sea, and well inclined to all vertuous and honorable adventures, having built a ship and a pinelle, set them to the sea, furnished with all provisions necessarie for a long biage, and committed the charge of them to two gentlemen (his owne seruants) the one called Philip Amadis, the other Arthur Barlow, with direction to discouer that land which lieth betwene Florembega and Florida in the west Indies; who according to their commission, made as sufficient a discouerie thereof as so short a time would permit: for they returned in August next following, and brought with them two savage men of that countrie, with sundrie other things, that did assure their master of the goodnesse of the soile, and of great commodities that would arise to the realme of England, by traffique, if that the English had any habitation, and were planted to liue there. Whereupon, he immediatly prepared for a second biage, which with all expedition (nothing at all regarding the charges that it would amount unto) did presentlie set in hand.

This countrie of Florembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfric Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Kaleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discouer, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: having in his companie his two brethren, Walter and Arthur Kaleighs, Henric Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henric Polwell, Miles Spogan, Francis Knolles, Henric Poth, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterpryse, weighed anchor in the west countrie, & set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the iourneie took no good successe: for all his ships enforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe; that onelie excepted, where in his brother Walter Kaleigh was capitaine, who being desirous to do somewhat worthy honor, took his course for the west Indies, but for want of victuels and other necessaries, needfull in so long a biage) when he had sailed as far as the Islands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Africa, was enforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his biage he passed manie dangerous adventures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arriveth safelie at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following. Sir Humfric Gilbert notwithstanding this unfortunate successe of his first attempt, enterprised the said biage the second time, and set to the sea with three ships and pinelles, in the yeare 1584, in the which iourneie he lost his life;

but in what sort no man can tell. For being by force of soules breather separated from his companie, he was neuer heard of after wards.]

¶ In this yeare, and the twentieth daie of Maie departed out of this life that famous father of physike and surgerie, the English Hippocrates and Galen, I meane doctor Caldwell, and was buried on the first of June immediatly following at S. Benets church by Paules wharfe, at the upper end of the chancell: his bodie was verie solemnly accompanied to the church with a traine of learned and grane doctors, besides others of that facultie, the heralds of armes doing him such honour at his funerall as to him of dutie appertained. Of this mans rare loue to his countrie hath bene spoken before, where mention is made of the institution of a surgerie lecture perpetuallie to be continued for the common benefit of London, and consequentlie of all England: the like whereof is not established nor bes in anye vniuersitie of christendome (Bononie and Padua excepted) and therefore the more to be esteemed. Indeede the like institution was in towwardnesse, whiles Francis the French of that name the first liued: but when he died, as the court that he kept in his time was counted a vniuersitie, but after his death made an exchange thereof with another name: so likewise discontinued or rather utterly brake off that purposed institution of a surgerie lecture at Paris: so that in this point London hath a prerogative exceeding the vniuersities.

This D. Caldwell in his last will and testament gaue manie great legacies to a great number of his poore kinfolkes, as also unto others nothing aliied unto him. He gaue in his life time two hundred pounds to be lent gratis for ever to the Clothiers in Burton, whereby clothing might be maintained, the poore artificers set on worke, and the poore citizens in Lichfield also benefited: the corporation of the said towne being bound for the receiuing and deliuering thereof euery five yeares to the yongest and poore occupiers. He gaue great summes of monie to the poore townships in Staffordshire where he was borne, both towards the relieving of their priuat estate, as also to the repairing of their bridges and amending of their high waies, for the commoditie of all the countrie. He left large summs of monie to be employed by his executors at their discretion, where charitie moued; as also to the publishing of such learned bookes of physike and surgerie (with sumptuous chargeable formes granen in copper and finished in his life) as he meant (if he had liued) to see erant.

Diuerse good works in his daies he had done, and hath left order to be done after his death: which was verie mild and still, not unlike the decaile of a babe in the cradle; hauing bene assailed with no extremitie of sicknesse (his ordinarie infirmite excepted which was intermitting) that either might wring him or wearte him to make him impatient. So that he died as sleeping, hauing left behind him both credit of learning, cunning, & other good ornaments, the very beautie of his age, which was eradie found by true computation to be threescore and foure yeare, in which yeare he died; as may be gathered by his counterfet so naturalie conueied into colours, with his white beard, the hollownesse of his cheekes, the wrinkles of his browes, the liuelie sight of his eyes, and other accessaries; and all within a module, the circumference whereof exceedeth not six inches, if it amount to so much in exact measure, as a man beholding the said representation, would sweare that it were not possible for art to draw more nere in imitation to nature. So that this doctor being in so ripe an age, was committed to holie ground, where he rested in peace, his coat armour bearing witness

companion,
dead, and ne-
uer heard of.

Ab. H. de
consequenti
consequenti
consequenti

The decaile
of D. Cald-
well, physican
of wch there
is former me-
tion, pag. 1345.

The court of
Francis the
first a vniuersi-
tie, 7c. pag.
1343.

The discou-
eries of D.
Caldwell in
his life time
and his be-
quests after
his death.

This comment-
aries upon
some part of
Paulus Ac-
gineta, and
other bookes.

This ordi-
nary infirmite
was the co-
licke, which
tormented
him ere he
died.

This age and
counterfet
which seemed
to be made
1571, and in
the yeare of
his age 14

The armes
of Caldwel
historich

The crosse
some sicke
was the cote
of Caldwel
the last
king of Scot-
land in An.
Dom. 660.

These figures
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,
have relation
to certaine
things, name-
ly the mallet,
the anquie-
tude, the floure
alice, the haw,
the cresant or
moone, and the
sunne, graven
in the copper
plate, which
papers are
referred to
hereafter, in
and about the
armes above
said.

Francis
Throckmorton
was arraigned
and condemned
of high trea-
son.

of his ancestrie: for he beareth azure, a crosse forme
sich 02, within an vyle of stars 02: the second argent,
a fesse indented sable charged with foure leues
heads riant raised 02: the third as the second, and
fourth as the first quarterlie. Also he beareth to his
crest on a tosse 02 and azure, a cocks head argent,
couped, membered geules supporting a crosse forme
sich 02, betwene two wings sable, and mantled
geules doubled argent.

In further memorie of whome (so long as the
church wherein he lieth buried doth stand, and the mo-
numents therein blessed from sacrilegious hands)
there remaineth fixed in the wall ouer his graue, a
copper plate wherein his said cote armour is worke-
manlike grauen, with the armes of the physicians col-
lege so vnder it, as they are knit vnto it. On either
side of this latter scutcheon are set certeine binding
bands and other instruments of surgerie in their
right formes, with their proper vse also to be practi-
sed vpon ech member; be the same head, leg, arme,
hand, or foot: all worke manlike wrought, & vnder the
same a memorieall grauen for wished perpetuities:

Caldrallus iacet hic patrie studiosus alumnus,

Chirurgus Chiron, Hippocrates Medicus:

Heracles laqueis dum fascia membra revincit,

Galenus prisca laudis et artis amans:

Chirurgus subolem lecturam condidit, illi

Præfuit Medicos, quos ea turba colat:

Plinius hinc astat laqueus, Carchesium inde

Fascia: quæ studi sunt monumenta sui:

Felix Chirurgus patronum qui tibi talem

Natus es, et felix qui dolet æger erit.

Laquei { *Plinius 1*

Fascia { *Charchesium 2*

Machinamenta { *Totum caput cingens 3*

Glossocomium 6

Scammum Hippocrati 5

Glossocomium 6

Lyem tibi vinxisti charum dum vita manebat,

Te cum Melpomene post tuâ fata canet.

Ric. Forsterus.

In this yeare of our Lord 1584, on the one and
twentieth daie of Maie, Francis Throckmorton
sqwier, was arraigned in the Guildhall of the citie
of London, where being found guiltie of high trea-
son, he was condemned and had iudgement accor-
dingly, to be beheaded, hanged, boweled, and quarter-
ed. A discouerie of whose treasons, practised and at-
tempted against the quæens maiestie and the realme,
were afterward, to wit, in the moneth of June, pub-
lished as followeth.

A true and perfect declaration of the
treasons practised and attempted by Francis
Throckmorton, late of London, against
the quæens maiestie and the realme.



Whereas there haue bene verie lewd and
slandrous brutes and reports given out,
of the due and orderlie proceedings hold
with Francis Throckmorton latelie ar-
raigned & condemned of high treason at the Gild-
hall in London, the one and twentieth daie of Maie
last, whereby such as are euill affected toward hir
maiestie, and the present gouernment, haue inde-
uoured falselie and inuicelouslie to charge hir maie-
stie and hir faithfull ministers with crueltie and in-
justice vsed against the said Throckmorton, by ex-
torting from him by torture, such confessions as he
hath made against himselfe, & by informing the same
to make them lawfull euidence to conuict him of
the treasons therein specified: albeit hir maiesties
subiects in generall, calling to mind the mild and

temperate course the hath held all the time of hir
most happie reigne, might rather impute hir clemen-
cie and lenitie vsed towards all sorts of offenders to
a kind of fault, than far hir with the contrarie: yet
such as allow of practises and treasons against hir
maiestie, do alwaies interpret both of the one and
of the other, according to the particular affections
that do possesse them, that is, to the worst. And for-
somuch as the case of Throckmorton at this time
hath bene subiect to their sinister constructions; and
considering that lies and false brutes cast abroad are
most commonlie belæued, vntill they be controlled
by the truth: it hath bene thought expedient in this
short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consi-
deration, a true and perfect declaration of the trea-
sons practised and attempted by the said Throck-
morton against hir maiestie and the realme, by him
confessed before his arreinment, whereby hir maie-
stie was iustlie and in reason persuaded to put him
to his triall.

You shall likewise perceiue what course hath
bene held with him by hir commissioners to bring
him to confesse the truth: with what impudencie and
how falselie he hath denied his sayings and confessi-
ons: and lastlic, how by a new submission and con-
fession of his said treasons since his condemna-
tion, he endeuoreth to satisfie hir maiestie, and to
shew the reasons that moued him to denie the first,
which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which
may in reason satisfie, though not all; yet such as are
not foze stalled, or rather foze poisoned and infected
with the lies and vntruths alreadie spred and deliue-
red in fauour of the traitor & his treasons. You shall
therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehen-
sion grew first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the
quænes maiestie, that he was a pson conueier and
recepter of letters to and from the Scotish quæne:
vpon which information neuertheless diuerse mo-
neths were suffered to passe on, before he was called
to answer the matter, to the end there might some
prose more apparant be had to charge him therewith
directlie: which shortly after fell out, and therevpon
there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at
Leatham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, cer-
teine gentlemen of no meane credit and reputation:
of whome, two were sent to his house by Pauls
churche, where he was apprehended, & so by one of them
conueied presentlie abwaie; the other remaining in
the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c:
which might giue prose of his suspected practises.

In that search, there were found the two papers
containing the names of certeine catholike noble-
men and gentlemen, expelling the haueus for lan-
ding of forren forces, with other particularities in
the said papers mentioned, the one written in the se-
cretarie hand (which he at the barre confessed to be
his owne handwritting) and the other in the Roman
hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew
how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his
examinations he hath confessed them both to be his
owne handwritting: and so they are in truth. There
were also found among other of his papers, twelue
petitiegrees of the descent of the crowns of Eng-
land, printed and published by the bishop of Ross, in
the defense of the pretended title of the Scotish
quæne his mistresse: with certeine infamous libels
against hir maiestie printed and published beyond
the seas: which being found in the hands of a man so
euill affected, comparing the same with his doings
and practises against hir maiestie, you will iudge the
purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehension, he was examinad
by some of hir maiesties priue councill, how he
came by the said two papers of the haueus: and he

But how can
their interpre-
tations be
sound, whose
iudgements
are corrupt?

The premi-
ses being all
insufficient can-
not but an-
swer anie cir-
cumstance
touching this
traitor.

The bishop of
Ross an en-
emie to the
English state;

colour of
truth to coun-
tenance a ma-
nifest lie.

most impudentlie denied with manie protestations that he neuer saw them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house. Notwithstanding being more earnestlie pressed to confesse the truth, he said they had bene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, alias Puttebie, by whome they were written. And to make this deuise to carie some colour of truth, after his committing unto the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backside of which cards he wrote to his brother George Throckmorton to this effect. I haue bene examined by whome the two papers, containing the names of certaine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c. were written; & I haue alleged them to haue bene written by Edward Puttebie my man, of whose handwritting you know them to be: meaning by this deuise to haue had his brother confirme his falshood.

These cards were intercepted, and thereby the suspicion before conceived of his practises increased. Whereupon, as vpon other lust cause and matter against him, hanning bene sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of hir maiesties most honourable priuie counsell; and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in verie mild and charitable maner, to confesse the truth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would betwixte the depth of his practises: but no perswasion preuailing, hir maiestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of hir roiall person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of hir learned counsell and others hir faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assaie by torture to draw from him the truth of the matters appearing so weightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerlie done by waie of persuation, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsuallie appointed in the Tower to handle the racke, by whome he was lated vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of thre daies following, he had recovered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking: which if it had then or anie other time bene ministered unto him with that violence that he and his fauourers haue indenoured flanderouslie to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his lims for manie yeares.

At this first time of torture he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the truth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before he was strained vp to anie purpose, he yielded to confesse anie thing he knew, in the matters objected against him: whereupon he was loosed. And then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had bene deliuered unto them: which for the more breuitie shall here be omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onelie to discouer vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckmorton as well before as since his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by hir maiesties commissioners appointed vnto that seruice. And here you are to note, that when he was first pressed to discouer by whome the plots of the hauens were set downe, and to what purpose, he began (without anie further interrogation ministered) by waie of an historicall narration, to declare that at

his being at Spaine in the countrie of Liege certaine yeares past, he entered into conference with one Jennie a notorious knowne traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by foren inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with sir Francis Englefield in the low countries, who daile solicited the Spanissh king in Spaine, and his gouernors in the said countries, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against hir maiestie & the state, by letters betwixen sir Francis Englefield & himselfe, till within these two yeares last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint sir John Throckmorton his late father with his traitorous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probability of successe in them, dissuaded him from anie further meddling with those practises.

He hath further confessed, that he vied his fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the catholike noblemen & gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceived and put in writing enclie by view of the map, & not by particular sight or surmise of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betwixen sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckmorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan by letters (two of the principall confederats and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottissh quene and hir confederats in France and in other foren parts, and also in England, for the inuading of the realme.

That the duke of Guise should be the principall leader and executor of that inuasion.

That the pretention (which should be publickly notified) should be to deliuer the Scottissh quene to libertie, & to procure euen by force from the quenes maiestie a tolerance in religion for the pretended catholikes. But the intention (the bottom whereof should not at the first be made knowne to all men) should be vpon the quenes maiesties resistance, to remoue hir maiestie from hir crowne and state.

That the duke of Guise had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, monie, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioine with the foren forces; and a third thing, how to set the Scottissh quene at libertie without perill of hir person.

For the first thing wanting, that is, monie: messengers were sent from foren parts both to Rome and Spaine, & their returns daile expected to their liking. And the Spanissh ambassadour to incourage the English to ioine both in purse & person, did giue out, that the king his master would not onlie make some notable attempt against England, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the second thing, that is, the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioine with the foren forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfeited name from the confederats in France, to signifie the plat and preparation there, and to solicit the same here.

That Thomas Throckmorton his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England; and that thereupon Francis Throckmorton took vpon him to be a follower and means for the effectuating thereof among the confederats in England, with the helpe of the Spanissh ambassadour, whome he instructed how and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie here

Jennie a no-
torious
knowne tra-
itor, & confer-
red with
South & Black-
moreton.

Sir Francis
Englefield,
Thomas
Throckmorton,
and Thomas
Morgan.

A pretention
of an inuasion
into Eng-
land.

The speciall
meanes want-
ing.

The Spanissh
ambassadours
words tend-
ing to this
inuation.

The intent of
this declarati-
on what it is.

The manner of
proceeding
against
Throckmorton
by com-
mission.

within the realme, for that himselfe would not be
sane to be a founder of men, least he might be disco-
uered, and so indanger himselfe and the enterprise,
knowing that the ambassadour being a publike per-
son, might safely deale therein without perill.

Landing pla-
ces for forren
forces about
Arundell in
Sussex.

That the duke of Guise and other heads of the en-
terprise had refused some landing places, and made
speciall chosse of Sussex, and about Arundell in Sus-
sex, both for the neere cut from the parts of France,
where the duke did or best could assemble his force,
and for the oportunitie of assured persons to giue
assistance, &c.

That he, taking vpon him the pursute of this course,
shewed the whole plot and deuise of the hauncs for
landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did incou-
rage him therein; he promising, that if he might haue
respite untill the next spring, the same should be done
more easily.

That at the time of Thomas Throckmorton be-
ing here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by
some casualtie, might faile in the onelie hand of one
man Thomas Throckmorton, there was also from
the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Pa-
get, vnder the name of Pope alias Spring, and ther-
of an advertisement couertlie sent vnto Thomas
Throckmorton, both that Thomas might under-
stand it, and not be offended that an other was in-
ued with him in his labour.

Charles Pa-
get vnder the
name of
Pope alias
Spring a
confederat in
this action.

That the Spanish ambassadour, by advertisements
from the confederats, was made priuie to this con-
uening of Charles Paget vnder the name of Pope,
and yet knowne to him to be Charles Paget.

That the said ambassadour did, according to his said
advertisements, know & affirme that Charles Pa-
get was come ouer to view the hauens and countrie
for landing of such forren forces about Arundell, and
speciallie to sound and conferre with certeine princi-
pall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knew and affirmed,
that Charles Paget had accordingly done his mes-
sage, and had spoken with some principall persons
here according vnto his commission, and was re-
turned.

This should
be feared
and therefore
always by
politic pre-
vented.

He moreover confessed that there was a deuise
betwene the Spanish ambassadour and him, how
such principall recusants here within the realme, as
were in the commission of the peace in sundrie coun-
ties, might vpon the first bruite of the landing of for-
ren forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authori-
tie and the defense of hir maiestie, leuie men, whome
they might after come to the forren forces, and con-
uert them against hir maiestie.

In these few articles is byrdesie comprised the
whole effect of his confession made at large, without
anie interrogatorie particularlie ministred, other
than vpon the two papers before mentioned, contai-
ning the names of men and hauens. And here you
are to note, that at the time of his apprehension,
there was no knowledge or doubt had of these trea-
sons, or of his priuie vnto them; but onelie an in-
formation and suspition deliuered and conceiued of
some practise betwene him and the Scotish quene,
as is before mentioned. For the discovering where-
of, after he had bene sundrie times vpon his allegi-
ance commanded to declare his doings in courtel-
eng and receiuing of letters to and from hir; he did
voluntarie confesse that he had written diuerse let-
ters vnto hir, and had conueied manie to and fro, be-
twene hir and Thomas Worgan in France, by
whose meanes he was first made knowne to hir, and
that he had receiued as manie letters from hir. He
also declared the effect of his letters to hir, & of hers
to him: which letters betwene them were alwaies
written in cipher, and the cipher with the nullities

Throckmor-
ton wrote
diuerse letters
to Spaine
the Scotish
quene.

and marks for names of princes and counsellors
he sent vnto the quenes maiestie written with his
owne hand. He also deliuered the names of some,
by whome he conueied his letters vnto the Scotish
quene, as by one Godfrie Fulgeam, who fled the
realme immediatlie vpon Throckmorton's appre-
hension; and one other person, whome he described
by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man since
apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same:
the mans name is William Ardington.

Godfrie Ful-
geam was
glad to see
him.

The summe and effect of the most part of these
confessions, although they were at the time of his
arrestment opened and dilated by hir maiesties
sergeant, attorneie, and solicitor; generall at the bar,
and therefore seeme not needfull to be repeated here;
yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew
sufficient proofe, that the matters contained in his
said confessions, are neither false nor feigned (as
Francis Throckmorton most impudentlie affirmed
at his triall, alledging that they were more inuolun-
taries of himselfe by policie to auoid the torture) they
haue bene here inserted, to the end you may the bet-
ter iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circum-
stances following, by comparing the matters with
their accidents, and consequentlie see the fallshood
of the traitor, the iust and honorable proceedings of
hir maiestie, and the honest and loiall inducers of hir
ministers imployed in the discovering of the trea-
sons.

The cause
why Throck-
morton's con-
fessions are
here mentio-
ned.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that
he was at Spaw about the time by him mentioned,
and had conference with Jennete in that place, and
with sir Francis Englefield in Flanders, and that
he hath written letters to sir Francis, and receiued
letters from him: for if he should denie the same,
he were to be conuinced by good proofe: for it hath
bene noted in him by manie of his countrymen,
English subiects, that both in those parts and in
France, he did continuallie associat himselfe with
English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider
with whome he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and
compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of
his conuersation accordingly. And it is to be suppo-
sed, that those men, knowne to be continuall practi-
sers against the quenes maiestie and this realme,
from whence for their treasons and vnnaturall de-
meanours they are twofolde banished, will not in
their conuenticles and meetings forget to berisken
them of their banishment, and how they might be
restored to their countrie, whereunto no desert in hir
maiesties life time (which God long continue) can
well (without hir maiesties great mercie) restore
them.

Throckmor-
ton was at
Spaw, and
elsewhere, &c.

Then I praise you, that conferences might masser
Throckmorton haue with sir Francis Englefield,
with Jennete, with Liggons, with Owen, and with
such like, who were his dailie companions in France
and in the low countries: He hath written letters
to sir Francis Englefield. To what purposes? He
haunted continuallie two ambassadours in London,
by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and
from beyond the seas dailie. To whome, and from
whome? Cuen to and from Thomas Worgan, and
Thomas Throckmorton at Paris, men knowne
to hir maiestie and hir counsell to be noxious practi-
sers, verie inward with the duke of Guise, and con-
struers of the treasons and deuises for the inuasion
intended. And for verie certeine knowledge thereof,
we need not be beholding to Francis Throckmor-
ton onelie (although he hath said much of them) but
to others of better credit than himselfe.

This is a
principall
marke whereto
at they shew,
and therefore
they cannot
but meditate
vpon the
meanes.

That the duke of Guise did undertake the enter-
prise to invade the realme with a forren power, to be
defeated by the pope and king of Spaine (a part of
M q q q q. s.

The duke of
Guise his en-
terprise to in-
uade the
realme,
may

maister Throckemortons confession) and he in truth the first discoverer thereof to hir maiestie: if he will say that it was but inuention, it will approue false. For since he discovered the same, there haue bene diuerse auertisements thereof sent to hir maiestie from forren princes hir highnesse louing neighbors and alies; as also by other good meanes and intelligences from hir ambassadoys and seruants residing in other countries. If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of anie such matter when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of truth: for Throckemorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things *Defuturo*.

The Spanissh ambassadoy and Throckemorton did often times conuerse and confesse.

He resorted often to the Spanissh ambassadoy, at the least twice a weeke when he was in London: this often repaire could not be to conferre with the ambassadoy for the exchange of monie for his brother, as he pretended at his arresignment: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with greene velvet, verie cunninglie conned out of his chamber by a maidservant of the house, taken by under a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, & unknowing thereof) which casket not long after his apprehension, was by one John Peredith a follower of Throckemorton, conueied to the hands of the Spanissh ambassadoy. And why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why should not the casket haue bene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanissh ambassadoy? It is to be conceiued, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Francis Throckemorton, though caried by Peredith, who did well know of what moment the matters were that were within the casket, & of what danger to Throckemorton if they had bene disclosed; & therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readily be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Peredith fled: for in truth he was partake to the treasons, and a fellow practiser in them. To whome Francis Throckemorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to run by a staire to deface a letter, which he was then in writing to the Scottish quene in cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart auate presentlie out of his house, deliuered partlie into the hands of Peredith, either the cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scottish quene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto hir: therefore he trusted Peredith as a man partake to his doings.

Throckemorton surprised and put to a narrow shift.

Feare is an ordinarie torment of a guiltie conscience.

You are also to vnderstand, that Throckemorton was in verie great feare of the discovering of this casket after his apprehension. For remaining two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Towler, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his law causes, who brought him certaine booke dales, or other like papers written, which he made shew to peruse. But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor: for in perusing the booke, he conueied into them a little peece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole; I would faine know whether my casket be safe: or to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckemortons house, not far distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shoke out this peece of paper, which he took by and deliuered to one of Francis Throckemortons men; but the casket was already conueied to the Spanissh ambassadoy. Whereby you will

perceiue what care he had of the casket, & how much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first that euer he had anie such casket; but finding afterwards that the casket was discovered, he confessed the casket, and said there were certaine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scottish quene from Thomas Spogan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed. That Charles Paget came ouer into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckemorton doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented: for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came ouer, in secret and suspicious maner, staied not aboute sixtene daies, inuozed in a sort to find the disposition of William Shelleie esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discovered not dreadlie his traitorous intents to Shelleie: therefore all Throckemortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

The clouds of lies cannot so darken the truth but it will appeare.

How william Shelleie shew offered to these treasonable plots.

But because the two papers produced at his arresignment, containing the description of the hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparantlie condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his partlie to the whole treason; you may not forget that he acknowledged one of the papers written in the secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denied the other written in the Romane hand. In the which, under the title of Chester, &c: is said, Upon the landing of forren supplies, Chester shall be taken. But what in your opinions might be vnderstood by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in the secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled; The names of noblemen and gentlemen in euerie countie fit to be dealt withall in this matter (which in truth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more enlarged) the question is to be asked, What matter? The answer followeth necessarilie. To assist the forren forces that shall come to inuade the realme: for that there is an other title in that paper ouer the names of the hauens, &c: Hauens in euerie coast fit for the landing of forces. Now iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of hauens, their entries, capacities, what winds bring vnto them from Spaine, France, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckemorton: the papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the secretarie but a printed or copie of the Romane.

Certaine words and clauses of letters treasonable.

Is it not likelie (thinke you) that he would acquaint the Spanissh ambassadoy with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partake of the rest of his traitorous practises & deuises, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safelie committed to his hands? It may be thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vntill he be partillie affected to excuse the treasons. And now to shew vnto you what mind this man hath caried towards hir maiestie; you are to be informed that Francis Throckemorton, after he had discovered to hir maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in the betwixtaling thereof, said to some of the commissioners vpon occasion of speech; I would I had bene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare anie of the matters by me confessed. And being at other times sent vnto by hir maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons; he vied this argument to persuade hir maiestie, that he had confessed all, saying that sothly he had already brought himselfe by his confessions

what mind Throckemorton hath caried towards hir maiestie.

This vnder
must speach
imposteth
some secrets
of great mo-
rte betwene
Throckmorton
and the
queene.

within the danger of the lawes, to the utter ruine of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be anie conceit in his maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to perswade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleue that he could discouer no more, at one time he vsed these speeches following with great behemencie: Now I haue disclosed the secrets of his who was the darrest thing vnto me in the world (meaning the Scottish queene) and whom I thought no torment shold haue done to me so much to haue preiudiced as I haue done by my confessions. I see no cause why I should spare anie one, if I could saie ought against him: and sith I haue failed of my faith towards hir, I care not if I were hanged.

this per se la
fide, a per se
fama, an Italian
prouerbe.

And when he began first to confesse his treasons, which he did most vnwillingle, after he was entered into the declaration of them before all the commissioners, vpon aduise ment he desired he might deliver his knowledge but to one of them onelie: where vnto they yielded. And thereupon remouing aside from the place where he sat by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a per se la fede, a per se l'honore*, that is, he that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation; meaning thereby (as it may be conceived) that he had giuen his faith to be a traitor, and not to reueale the treasons: then he began to confesse as you haue heard. By this discourse, containing the principall heads of his treasons, and the p'ofes and circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vndoutfull minds and affections, will cleerelie perceiue how impudentlie and vnrallie he denied at his arraignment the truth of his confessions, charging his maiestie with crueltie, and his ministers with vntuths in their proceeding against him. But the cause that moued him thereto, was the vaine conceit he had taken that his case was cleere in law, by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made and his arraignment, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirtenth yeare of his maiesties reigne, in the which there are certaine treasons specified and made of that nature, that no person shalbe arraigned for anie of those offenses committed within anie of the queenes maiesties dominions, vnlesse the offender be thereof indicted within six months next after the same offense committed; and shall not be arraigned for the same, vnlesse the offense be p'oued by the testimonie and oth of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession without violence: wherein he was greatlie deceived. For it was made manifest vnto him by the lord chiefe iustice and other of the iudges in commission at his triall, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of 25. Edw. 3. which admitted no such limitation of time or p'ofe. Herein his skill failed him, and forgot the aduise giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners, who (pittens his misfortune for suchie good gifts of the mind appearing in him) assured him that there was no waie so readie for him to redeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offense, which for a time after he had confessed his treasons he was contented to follow, and now six monethes after his condemnation by a new submission to the queenes maiestie the fourth of June had resumed that course. The submission *verbatim*, written with his owne hand, followeth.

This gifts
him were
p'oued in
the p'ced.

Throckmorton
was submitted
in a letter
in the year 1554
written with

To hir most excellent maiestie, euen
to hir owne roiall hands.



Of excellent prince, and my most gracious souereigne, sith to me the most miserable of all your maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustlie condemned by the

ordinarie and orderlie course of your maiesties laws, there resteth no further meane of defense but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, graciouelie to accept the same, which prostrate in all humilitie I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath bene deriued from your highnesse, as from the founteine, to the triall of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same spring, some drop of grace and mercie for the great & grievous offense, wherof I rest by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned: some part, I saie, of that your accustomed gracious clemencie, wherof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few beene deprived. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of vnbridled youth hath withdrawn me from that soiall respect, which nature & dutie bound me to owe vnto your maiestie, as to my lawfull & naturall dread souereigne; and that the naturall care in me of the defense of my life moued me latelie to the vntreue & vndutifull gainesaying of some such points as had bene before by me in most humble sort confessed: neuerthelesse, I most humbly beseech your most excellent maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you hold, as also in regard of your singular wisdom and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherewith God & nature hath plentifully indued you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your maiesties subiects and graciouelie to grant vnto me remission and forgiveness, that not onelie doo most humbly confesse my selfe worthie of death; but also in shew of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted mind, doo not craue at your maiesties hands the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stand with your gracious good pleasure; but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustlie by your maiesties lawes imposed vpon me, if the same may be anie satisfaction to your maiestie for the heinous crime wherof I remaine by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned; or anie mitigation of your maiesties indignation worthilie conceived against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour; and dieng will wish from my hart, that my end may be the beginning of your maiesties securitie, and my death the preservation of your life, and the increase both to your maiestie, and to this your most flourishing commonwelth, of all the most happie blessings of almightie God.

Your maiesties most wofull subiect
in that he hath offended you:

Francis Throckmorton.

He sent vnto his maiestie, together with the said submission, a declaration written likewise with his owne hand, containing the effects of the most principall points of his treasons formerly confessed: retracting onelie the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect wherof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

The declaration which Throckmorton
sent to hir maiestie, with his letter
of submission.



He onelie cause why I coined the praaise first by me confessed, and vnrallie touched my father, was, for that partlie I conceived that the paper written so long since, could not now by law haue touched me: but principallie, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and names:
Q q q q q q q q

his owne
handwriting;

He saith for
undeserued
mercie to his
maiestie in his
miserie, in
whose fauour
he might haue
liued by long
allie.

A declaration,
sc: written
by Throck-
morton to the
queenes ma-
iestie,

to

William
Drington,

in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confelſed upon occasion of conference betwixt the Spaniſh ambadoz and me of this latter pactiſe. Mine intelligence with the Scottiſh queene began a little before Chriſtmas was two yeares: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in France; the firſt letter I receiued by Godſtie Fulgeam, by whom alſo came all ſuch others as I after receiued for the moſt part, unleſſe it were ſuch as came to me by J. A. his hands, who as he told me, receiued them of the ſelloe by me ſpoken of in my former confeſſions, whoſe name, I proteſt before God, I know not, nor whence he is. And for ſuch letters as came vnto me in the abſence of Fulgeam, they were incloſed vnder a couerture from Fulgeam, and were deliuered me by the hands of Robert Tunſead his brother in law, vnto whom I deliuered ſuch as I had for the Scottiſh queene, couered with a direction vnto Fulgeam: and once I remember or twice I ſent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottiſh queene to the houſe of the ſaid Tunſead, nere Buckenones, couered with a direction to Tunſead, and vnder a letter to Fulgeam. In ſuch letters as came to me from the Scottiſh queene, were incloſed letters to J. A. manie times, and moſt times ſome for Thomas Morgan. My letters to me contained, &c.

The next
way to attaine
libertie for the
Scottiſh
queene, &c.

But before I returned mine anſwer vnto hir, I vnderſtood of the death of the duke of Lenox, and withall heard from Morgan, with whom all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had anie, other than that the matters by me written to Morgan were by him imparted vnto my brother moſt times) that by the perſuaſion of the pope and the king of Spaine, the duke of Guſſe had yielded to perſorme the iourne in perſon: and that it was thought that the next waie to attaine libertie for the Scottiſh queene, and to reſorme Scotland, was to begin here in England. And therefore he deſired to know from me, whether in mine opinion catholikes would not backe any ſuch force as ſhould be ſent, conſidering a demand of tolerance in religion for them ſhould inſue the well performing of the ſaid enterpriſe, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horſe and ſotmen, and where I thought to be the fitteſt landing. Mine anſwer was, that as then, I ſaw no great probability of the god ſucceſſe of ſuch an enterpriſe, for that the catholikes were timorous, diſperſed, the matter perillous to be communicated vnto manie, without which I ſaw not how anie eſtimat could be made of the forces: beſides, that it was an imminent danger vnto the Scottiſh queene, whereof I ſaw no remedie.

I toke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottiſh queene, whoſe anſwer was, that ſhe lateſt heard of that determination, &c. Upon my former anſwer vnto Morgan, he deſired me, that I would conferre with the Spaniſh ambadoz, to whom I ſhould be recommended from hence. Whereupon the ſaid ambadoz ſent for me, and brake with me in this matter, aſſuring me that in his opinion he found it verie eaſie to make great alteration here with verie little force, conſidering the diſtance in men to warre, and troubles would ſo amaze them (as he thought) that they would be as ſome overthowne as aſſailed: & he could not thinke but in ſuch a caſe catholikes would ſhew themſelves, ſith the purpoſe tended to the obtaining for them libertie of conſcience: and therefore he deſired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would do in ſuch a caſe, and where I thought the fitteſt landing, and what holds in theſe parts were eaſieſt to be ſupplied. I anſwered him, that (as it ſemed) the enter-

The peſtilent
perſuaſion of
the Spaniſh
ambadoz
to prefer this
pernicious
enterpriſe.

priſe ſtood vpon great vncerteinties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certeine force to be found here, which no man could aſſure him of, unleſſe he had founded all the catholikes, which was not poſſible without a manifeſt hazard of the diſcouerie of the purpoſe. For as for anie great perſonage, I know no one to be vnable to this action, that could carrie anie more than his ordinarie retinue: the onlie waie in ſuch a caſe was (I told him) for ſuch as would be vnable into this matter, and were of credit in their countries, to leue forces vnder colour of the princes authoritie.

But for that theſe things depended vpon vncerteine grounds, which was not fit to be vſed in ſo great an action, I ſaid it was to be reſolued, that the force to be ſent ſhould be of that number, that what backing ſoever they ſhould find here, they might be able of themſelves to incounter with anie force that might be provided to be ſent againſt them, and therefore they could not be leſſe than ſixtene thouſand men. For the place of their landing, I ſaid it depended much vpon the force that ſhould be ſent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a ſmall companie, then was it requiſit that it ſhould be in the countries beſt affected, & furtheſt from hir maiesties principall forces, which I ſaid to be in the northerne parts on either ſide. To the danger of the Scottiſh queene by me objected, he ſaid he knew no remedie, unleſſe ſhe might be taken aſwaie by ſome two hundred horſe, which I told him I ſaw not to be poſſible: for that I knew not anie gentleman in thoſe parts (which were men, if anie, to perſorme it) that I durſt wiſh to be made acquainted with the matter before hand.

Finallie, our concluſion was, that I ſhould inſorme him of the hauens as particularlie as I could: and within ſeto daies after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferior vnto that I ſpoke of; and that there was ſome different betwixt the pope & the king of Spaine for the charge, I told him that the ſureſt courſe and of leaſt danger were, to ſend a ſuplie into Scotland, where a ſmall force would breed a great alteration, and things being there eſtabliſhed by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall war, & by incuſſions ſo to annoie this ſtate, as hir maiestie here ſhould be forced to yield the libertie of the Scottiſh queene, and what ſhould thereupon haue bene reaſonable demanded for the benefit of the catholikes here. And herein I ſaid it would be a great furtherance, if at the ſame time ſome few were landed in Ireland, where: although they abide the ſame hazard that the former forces ſuſtained; yet would the charge be ſo great to hir maiestie, and ſo great an occasion of diſperſing of hir forces, as a much leſſe companie than was ſpoken of firſt by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) ſhake the minds of men generallie, and be of force (if anie thing) to draw them to ſhew themſelves in the furtherance of the purpoſe.

He bitterlie reſected the purpoſe for Ireland, and diſliked not the purpoſe for Scotland; but ſtill he was in mind to haue forces landed here: and therefore deſired me verie earneſtly to inquire particularlie of the hauens on the ſide of Cumberland and Lancaſhire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places eaſie to be taken, and what apt for fortiſication. The next time that I went to the Spaniſh ambadoz, he found himſelfe grieved that he vnderſtood matters were determined in France without his priuie: and told me that Perſons the Jeſuit was gone vnto Rome, ſent (as he thought) to vnderſtand the popes mind,

The reſolution
was fruſtrate
as alſo the
later of the
plot: ſuch was
Gods iuſtice
to perſecute &
ſupplant betwixt
the one and
the other.

was this
(thinke you)
naturall ſub-
jects opinion,
or not rather
the conceit of
a tyrannous
traitor?

This Spaniſh
ambadoz
had no
good meaning
in making
this requiſit.

mind. Some after came over my brother Thomas, to make an end of our account, and to perswade me to come over, assuring me that for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterpryse was never like to take effect. In the time of his being here, and while I interteined intelligence with the Scotch queene concerning his libertie, the Spanish ambassadoz sent for me, and told me of the coming over of Hope to visit his sister and the haucens, and as he thought, to take the best of account there: whereat he seemed to be aggrieved, for that such matters had not bene left to him, being one whome they in France made believe that they relied upon principally in this enterpryse. Afterwards, the ambassadoz told me, that it was Charles Paget, and that he was returned, but where he had bene he knew not, and at the same time I received a letter from Hogan, that it was Paget: but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the ambassadoz, that his coming was not to move any man, but onely to view the countrie, for that the moving of any man was referred unto him. I did so, and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaid names and haucens, saying, that so it were done eractlie by the spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he saw no likelihood of the execution of the enterpryse.

My brother having made an end of his account with me, returned with this resolution betwene vs (I protest before God) that if the enterpryse succeeded not betwene this and the next spring now past, that I would settle my things here and go over. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrie, both to sell and take order for my lands in those parts, as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and haucens for the most part of England, which had bene set downe by me about two yeares since, and left behind me at Feckenham in my studie. Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I returned to London, where I found the note of names in secretarie hand, which I carried to the Spanish ambassadoz, and there drew that other in Romane hand in his studie, putting downe Chesser to be taken, in respect of the easinesse as I thought, and the rather to give him encouragement in the matter, I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I taried so long, making knowle unto him, that I was had in suspicion, and my determination to be gone: but he pressed the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterpryse proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Whether Sir Francis Englefield were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (so the Spanish ambassadoz told me) that Sir Francis had intelligence with the said ambassadoz all the time of his being here. The Spanish ambassadoz told me that he heard the people of Northwales were generally well affected, and therefore he desired to have the haucens of that countrie: I told him that hereafter I would helpe him thereto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and hereupon the date before mine apprehension, the ambassadoz sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, desiring me to set downe the same at my leisure more eractlie, which was the cause that it was not in my graine deliuered. The writings in my casket were such as were by me confessed, and came into his hands as I have confessed.

I most humble beseech his most excellent maiestie, that the extremities which I have already suffered, and the causes by me discovered, to the safetie of his maiestie and the state, not made knowne (as hath appeared) by any other means than by my selfe, may craue at his hands the extending of his grati-

ous commiseration towards the releasing of the lamentable estate of me, his maiesties poore distressed subject, and mine, if God for mine offenses forbid not the same.

Now Iudge all ye, that be not peruerse affected whether Throckmorton be iustlie condemned, and whether his confessions (though as he pretended, extorted from him by violence) be of force in law against him. He conspired to overthrow the state, to bring in strangers to invade the realme, to remove his maiestie from his lawfull & naturall right and inheritance to the crowne of England, and to place a stranger in his seat. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (perchance) be denied: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterpryse, was, they found no waie how to put the Scotch queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discovered by torture (the onelie means left unto princes to discover treasons and attempts against their states and persons, where they find apparant matter to induce suspicion, as in the case of Throckmorton, upon sight of the plots of haucens, &c) may the law touch the traitor or not? If any man hold this question negativelie, hold him for a friend to traitors and treasons, and an enemy to the queenes maiestie, whome God long preserve, and confound his enemies: Amen.

On the tenth daie of Julie next following, the same Francis Throckmorton was conveyed by water from the Tower of London to the Blacke friersaires, and from thence by land to the sessions hall in the old baillie without Fleetgate, where he was deliuered to the shiriffes of London, and then laid on a hurdle, from whence he was drawn to Tyburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. The nineteenth daie of Julie, Robert baron of Denbigh, the onelie sonne and heire of Robert earle of Leicester, departed this mortal life, being then of the age of thre yeares and somewhat more, at Manchester in Essex, the solemnitie of whose funeral was there honozablie kept on the first of August; and after, his bodie was conveyed to Warwicke, & there in the chappell of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick his ancestor honozablie intombed, on the one and twentieth of October. In memorie of whom (but not as an epicedium, nor yet as an epitaph) these verses of fit invention and deulie may well be used:

*Opus, o expressa; atrum sed maior imago,
Nunc bona cum domino spes tumulata iacet:
Sic rosa, sic tenera sulco refecantur ariste,
Candida sic primo lilia vere cadunt.*

In this peare, an ancient and charitable citizen of London named D. S. embroiderer to the queenes maiestie (whome God from here estate had advanced to a degree of credit, having his wife alive, and by his onelie eight children, six of them married, whose children counted together made about the number of twentie) this man (I say) notwithstanding these great occasions by multiplied generations might have provoked him to gather and lay up against his death, such woollie wealth, as they thereby might reape profit after his decease: yet remembering himselfe, that christians are not placed in this world to benefit their children onlie, but also to do good to the household of faith, whereof none are more likelie to be members than the godlie poore, did late out the most part of his substance (when he was thre score yeares of age) in and about the building of six proper houses in forme of a quadrangle, with these words in faire great letters round about the same:

The poore widowes Inne here you may see,
Where six poore widowes haue houseroome free:

And

S recapitulation of some treasonable enterpryses by Throckmorton.

Throckmorton executed.

Robert baron of Denbigh deceased.

The charitable deeds of D. S.

These letters are placed about the quadrangle.

This Hope was Charles Paget others: sole names: spring: as before.

Throckmorton purpose: if his enterpryse succeeded not by the spring.

Sir Francis Englefield whether executor or no.

Throckmorton sure for commiseration to his maiestie.

boats of
squares of the
building.

And twentie shillings yeerlie paid,
During our liues for our further aid:
Though gift be but bare & came from small store,
Despite not the giuer but praise God therefore.
Woorke whilest thou hast breath:
No waite to life but Christs death.

Upon the front of the building, ouer the doze of
gate of entrance, are these words of well wishing
grauen in stone: GOD SAVE OVR NOBLE
QUEENE ELISABETH CHEEFE FOUN-
DER OF THIS WORKE. The originall of this
foundation was in this maner. The said W. S. did
purchase certeine old houses in the ward of castell
Bainard, in the cite of London, and pulling them
downe to the ground, did (upon his owne charges)
build upon the same ground six little houses all of
bricke and stone, as stronglie as he could deuise to
continue, euerie house having thre feuerall comes
one ouer the other: wherein he placed six poze wi-
dows immediatlie after they were builded, that is,
in euerie house one widow, choosing them within the
parish where the said houses do stand; being such as
haue liued in good name and fame all the daies of
their liues, and so do continue, and are of the age
of thre score yeares or thereabouts, before they
shall be admitted to dwell in anie of them: & being
thus admitted, and remaining widowes, they haue
their dwelling free during their liues, and twentie
shillings a pece beside, paid them quarterlie by fine
shillings euerie quarter, to buye them wood & coles.
And this he trulle pateth thenduring his owne life,
and his wife shall do it likewise if she do out liue
him during his life; and after both their deceases, he
hath made it ouer vnto Christs hospitall to performe
the same for euer. For the performance of the pre-
misses, he hath left vnto the said hospitall sufficient
rents, as well to paie the said six pounds yeerlie vnto
the said six poze widowes; as also to keepe the said
houses in reparations and buildings for euer, with
some ouerplus vnto the said hospitall.

And to the intent that his good and charitable pro-
uision should by no misbehaviour be abused, but de-
cent and agreeable to the age of the parties there
seated, he made certeine ordinances and rules, to be
observed and kept by those six poze widowes which
do dwell or hereafter shall dwell in anie of those
six houses, standing vpon saint Peters hill, in the
ward of castell Bainard, erected by the said W. S.
embodder to our most gracious and noble queene
Elisabeth, Anno 1584.

1 First, I will that they shall be such widowes
as shall be given to serue God, before all other ex-
ercises, and such as haue liued in good name and fame,
and so do continue; no blasphemers of the name
of God, no drunkards, no scolds; nor anie disquiet
persons, but of god and godlie conuersation, to the
better example of others. They shall be of the age of
thre score yeares, or of six and fiftie yeares at the
least, before they shall be admitted to dwell in anie
of the same houses. And if anie of them shall fortune
to marrie, they shall depart out of the same house or
houses wherein they or they do dwell, before they do
marrie, and neuer to be admitted to dwell in anie of
the same houses againe.

2 Also, they nor anie of them shall not lodge, nor
suffer to be lodged or harboured by daie nor yet by
night, anie manner of person, neither man, nor wo-
man, nor child, within anie of their houses, but onelie
themselves; without it be in some great extremitie
of sicknesse, when as of necessitie some honest anch-
ent woman a keeper, may watch with anie of them
for a night or two vpon great necessitie, or else not
lodge, harbour, keepe, or mainteine, or suffer to be
lodged, harboured, kept, or mainteined, neither by

daie nor yet by night, any manner of person; although
they be neuer so nere of blood or kindred, but if anie
of them shall so do, she or they shall presentlie auoid
out of hir or their houses within twentie daies next
after anie such offense committed, & neuer to be ad-
mitted to dwell in anie of the said houses after. My
meaning is not but that they may come the one of
them vnto the others house, or their friends, to be
merie together (when they shall thinke meete) lo-
unglie, as honest neighbours vs to do at houres
conuenient, and so to depart in good order.

3 Also, they shall be no keepers of sicke persons in
other houses which shall be sicke of the plague, or of
anie infectious sicknesse, for bringing of infected
clothes among themselves; nor they shall not suffer
anie other folkes to haue anie recourse by their
meanes, to wash anie backs or other clothes, neither
towell or linnen at the well, nor in anie other part
of the same yards but onelie themselves, for annoy-
ing of the tenants with filth & foule waters running
through their yards & houses there adjoining. And
if anie of the rest of the said widowes do or shall
know that anie of them or more, haue offended anie
of these articles aforesaid, and do not shew the same
vnto such persons as shall haue authoritie to correct
and amend the same: then all such persons shall be
in the like danger as the partie that hath so offen-
ded, if it may be proued that they did know there-
of: and if they or anie of them shall offend in anie of
these articles, they shall be put from their houses as
is aforesaid; and not be admitted anie more into
anie of them.

4 Also, I will that they and either of them, shall
most duallie vse the parish church of saint Wenets,
nere Pauls wharfe, and especiallie vpon the sab-
both daie, and vpon mondaie, wednesdaie, and
fridaie, in euerie weeke if there be anie seruice in the
same church on the said daies: and if they or anie of
them shall be absent from the same church at seruice
time, being in the cite, and being not sicke, they shall
paie two pence for euerie tyme so offending, which
shall be put into the poyes bore among themselves,
or into the poyes box in the said parish church.

5 Also, I will that none of them do occupie anie
water adoue the staires of anie of the same houses,
for decaying of the same houses, and perishing of
the felings: and if anie of them shall so offend, she
or they shall lose the due shillings that they should
receiue the next quarter daie following, by vertue
of my will.

6 Also, I will haue them to put in two sufficient
suertis to be bound in twentie pounds before they be
admitted into anie of the same houses, to performe
these articles, or else to auoid the said houses within
twentie daies (as is aforesaid) quietly.

7 Also, I will that the two widowes that do or
shall dwell in the two houses next the street on either
side of the gate, shall hang out one lanthorne be-
tweene them both, and a whole candell in it burning,
according vnto the custome in the cite of London vs-
ed in the winter season; that is to saie, the one wife
doe one tucke to hang it out, and the other widow
another tucke, and so to continue from time to time,
and the said lanthorne to be mainteined by those two
widowes that shall haue the hanging of them out.
And I will that they do mainteine them to be faire,
large, and cleere lanthorns: and for the prouision of
the candels, I will that the other foure widowes
dwelling in the other foure houses, shall buye either
of them one pound of cotton candels, and deliuer
them vnto the two widowes that shall hang out the
lanthorne, so as alwaies there shall not be aboue ten
candels in the pound. And if any of the same widowes
shall not performe this my meaning, I will that

Six houses
of perpetuall
reliefe, found-
ed vpon S.
Peters hill in
Bainard cas-
tell ward.

Rents left in
perpetuall for
the mainte-
nance of the
said houses.

Ordinances
of the founder
to be inuola-
bly observed.

what kind of
widowes are
to be admitted
into these
houses.

whom they
may lodge and
not lodge.

An order for
the auoiding
of infection,
sicknesse, an-
noyance, &c.

what weeke
daies they
are to repaire
to the church.

Comment
of these ordi-
nances in-
tended.

Personages
of these ordi-
nances in-
tended.

An order for
lanthorne and
candle light
in winter.

twice so much more as will performe the promises, shall be paid out of the five shillings that they or either of them should receive the next quarter daie following by vertue of my last will and testament.

God grant that they which are better able, may have no lesse good will to do the like, or better, that the goodlie poore may be relieved here on earth, upon whom, be it little or much that is bestowed; Christ Jesus no doubt will reward it a hundred fold in heaven: and who would not by workes of faithfull charity, endeavour to dwell in God, whome the scripture calleth charity? Considering that the apostle exhorteth all christians in no case to forget to do good and distribute, with such sacrifices he is well pleased.

On the 12 daie of November, the queens maiestie (returning after hir progresse) came to hir manor of St. James, where the citizens of London, to the number of two hundred of the grauest sort in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, on horsebacke, and a thousand of the companies on foot (having with them a thousand men with torches readie there to give light on euerie side for that the night drew on) received and welcomed hir grace. And on the foure and twentieth daie of the same moneth, hir maiestie and the lords rode to the parlement, which was that daie begun at Westmminster.

In the foresaid parlement held at Westmminster, were manie necessarie lawes ordeined for the commonwealth, amongst which was one speciall act procured by sir Roger Spanwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, for the maintenance of the famous stone bridge of Rochester. And here because there is mention made of sir Roger Spanwood: I thinke it convenient (tho I haue alwaies determined to set forth what I could might come to my mind and pen touching my sweet and native countrie of Kent, and such persons of the same as either by honorable descent in that countrie, or by office of his place in the commonwealth, or by worthy remembrance deserue not to be forgotten) to speake somewhat of the same sir Roger Spanwood, and such things as he hath done for that countrie, especially sir master Hamard a man of rare iudgement hath not forgotten to treat of him in his booke of the perambulation of Kent under the title of Sandwich. Wherefore thinking him worthy remembrance for that which he hath done in his owne countrie of Kent, I enter in discourse of him a Kentishman in this sort.

This man being borne at Sandwich in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and five and twentie, was first instructed in the grammar schole of that towne, as then but a meane thing and taught by a chanterie priest of the foundation of one Thomas Ellis. Afterward, when as by dissolution of chanteries in the time of king Edward the first this chanterie schole was taken away, & the children of the townes people being manie in number were forced to be taught in the grammar scholes far distant from Sandwich, to the great charges of their parents (whereby manie poore mens children for capacitie and paines taking most for learning, were put by the course of learning which otherwise might have procured learned and become good members of the commonwealth) the said sir Roger Spanwood by studie in the law, and reader in the inner temple, well considering the same (and minding to retire to Sandwich towne his birth place) a better grammar schole than that wherein he was first brought up, did in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred thre kynde and thye, upon his maner charge procure from the abbot & chapter of Cantuarburie a vacant place (having manie broken stone wallies there to the towne

gate in Sandwich called Cantuarburie gate. In which void tyme adjoining to the river of Delfe is now created a faire scholehouse (for the scholemaster, vsher, & certen boarding scholers) framed all of bricke & stone, for perpetuall continuance of which schole, the said sir Roger Spanwood (now lord chiefe baron in this yeare of our 2021 & 86) procured letters patents from the queene for incorporating and assurance of the same schole (with other lands and revenues thereto belonging) to the maior and his heires of Sandwich and to their successors for ever, by the name of the gouernours of the free grammar schole of Roger Spanwood in Sandwich: assuring to the said gouernours of his owne land the cleere yearelie value of 22 pounds and moze. Further, therunto procuring of his brother Thomas Spanwood (sometime maior of Sandwich) the cleere yearelie value of ten pounds of lands and tenements; and also of one Thomas Compton (iurat of Sandwich) eight pounds by yeare De clero, of his owne lands and tenements, in the grosse summe amounting to fourtie pounds by yeare, which lands being sufficientlie assured to the said gouernours, with convenient dwelling for the master, and vsher, lodging for sixtene boarding scholers, and with some beneuolence of parents for the teaching of their children, is a large endowment for perpetuall maintenance of the same grammar schole.

Besides which, for the further benefit of the same schole, the same sir Roger Spanwood hath obtained two scholers romes in Gonville and Caius college in Cambridge, and two other scholers romes in Lincolne college at Oxford, with pension of foure markes yearelie to euerie of the said foure scholers to be remoued from that schole of Sandwich, and to be placed in those colleges, from time to time as often as anie of the same college scholers romes shall be void, and that anie scholer shall be met to come from that schole of Sandwich. Beyond all which that he hath done for recompense of his birth place, with a free grammar schole for the education of the youth there, he also for reliefe of age hath bene into his dwelling place of saint Stephens in Bockington parish (adjoining to Cantuarburie) built in the yeare of our redemption 1573, a faire row of seven almes houses of bricke, placing in euerie of the same almes houses poore folkes, such as are counted to be honest & good. For perpetuall maintenance of which almes persons he hath endowed that building with a yearelie allowance of the value of foure pounds by yeare (to euerie of the same almes men & houses) in monie, bread, & felwell. And in the same parish church nere to those almes houses he hath newly created an Ale, where his tyme is made and placed, & in that church a new ronne of seven pewes and seates for the almes people to be bestowed in, together by themselves.

Likewise for setting to worke of middle age, whereby they may eschew idlenesse, this sir Roger Spanwood did in the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred fentie and eight, build a new house of correction in the Westgate street in the suburbs of Cantuarburie: And moreouer, whereas Rochester bridge standing on the river of Medweie, being famous built of stone (in the time of king Richard the second as is most likeli; though some attribute the same to the time of Edward the third) by one sir Robert Knolles knight, with the helpe of John lord Cobham of Cobham, and Margaret Courtneie his wife, being two of the principall benefactors thereunto, after the decaye of a wooden bridge (first erected over the same river some hundred yeares before that of stone was for the perpetuall maintenance of the same stone bridge) the ancient contributaries

he created a faire scholehouse of bricke and stone.

he procured letters patents for the maintenance of the same in perpetuall.

The summe of 40 pounds allowed yearelie, to the maintenance of the said grammar schole.

Two scholers romes obtained in Cambridge & two in Oxford for such scholers as remove from the said schole to either of the universities.

Seven almes houses by him founded for the reliefe of the honest aged.

Sir Roger Spanwood came.

A house of correction for idle idle persons.

The ancient bridge of Rochester, when builded and by whom.

Diverse opinions concerning the first founding of the said bridge.

The stone of the Londoners to the queens maiestie.

A parlement at Westmminster.

An. Reg. 27.

Addition of Fr. Thin.

In act for the maintenance of Rochester stone bridge procured by sir Roger Spanwood.

Sir Roger Spanwood a friend to the commonwealth.

The place & time of sir Roger Spanwoods birth, and bringing up.

Dissolution of chanteries.

Sir Roger Spanwood reader in the inner temple.

How the said
bridge began
to decay, and
what means
are used for
the repairing
of the same.

Sir Roger
Spawwood
desired reme-
die for the ha-
ving of the
said bridge
well repaired.

This desired
remedie ten-
ding to so good
a purpose
was impug-
ned.

The peacelie
revenues of
the said bridge
amount unto
more in value
by triple than
they were
before.

For further
remedie
thereof

An act of par-
liament obtai-
ned for the
benefite of the
said bridge.

lands (given for the support of the wooden bridge) after the ruine of the same wooden bridge reduced (by act of parliament holden in the one and twentieth of Richard the second) to the maintenance of the same new stone bridge; and that sundrie manors, lands, tenements, & rents in Kent, London, & Essex, were by devise of sundrie persons assured for the upholding of the same new stone bridge: yet by want of due circumspection this new stone bridge became in so great decay, that in the latter time of queene Marie, and beginning of hir maiestie now reigning, collection was made upon all householders, & carriages passing over that bridge in manner of a toll or tax: and more, by reason of the queenes commission, an universal taxation was made in nature of a tenth and fifteenth over all the countrie of Kent, and the citie of Canturburie, for and towards the reparations of the same bridge.

All which being an unwilling burthen, & grieve to the people, together with the revenues of the bridge lands, did not yet suffice to save the ruine of that famous stone bridge, untill by the careful travel of the said Sir Roger Spawwood (then a justice in the common ples) a remedie was found therefore without inturie to any person, and without exaction of any passenger. Which remedie was, that all the manors, lands, tenements, and rents, belonging unto the bridge, should be freed from all leases thereof, made at small rents; and the same lands to let to be duly improved to a higher rate, the same being a matter answerable to right and reason; considering the cause of the first gift of those lands then sufficient, and the now dearth of things, which made it insufficient to support the said bridge) the stone, timber and other stuffe, for repaire of the same bridge, with the works, wages, and carriages concerning it, being now growne to farre greater prices than in old time they were. Which desired remedie to undo the old leases, was much impugned by manie persons of wealthie hantoz, receiving great profit by those old under rented leases.

All which notwithstanding, this Roger Spawwood prosecuted the same to a good successe: for he making to appeare before the lords of the counsell and the rest of the iudges of the realme (in the presence of such as intioed these old leases, and of their learned counsell, and other favourers) that the said manors, lands, and tenements, belonging to the said bridge, were given to the wardens & communaltie, owners of the contributoie lands; and that their old leases, made by the wardens onelie without consent of the communaltie, were not good in law: the farmers submitted themselves to surrender their old insufficient leases, and to take such as might be available in law of the same lands. Whereby the peacelie revenues of the bridge lands grew to be of more value than triple that which they were before: and yet the old farmers had new leases unto their owne contentation; because the same are not so improved, but that they are as reasonable letten as other private mens lands be.

To which devise a further remedie was then added, and set forth by the said justice Spawwood, who for perpetuall supplie (when need should be) procured that the ancient contributoie lands, almost growne unto oblivion, should be to that end reduced into a convenient order answerable unto right and justice. And likewise for good direction in peacelie elections of wardens, and other officers, with the accounts, provision, works, and other such necessities required for perpetuall maintenance of that bridge obtained an act of parliament in the eighteenth yeare of this queenes reigne, as appeareth in the printed booke of statutes: wherein were manie things ordained

for the good ordering of the said bridge, and the officers belonging therunto. After all which a charge of five hundred pounds was of record demanded and levied upon the wardens of the said bridge, for averages of the stipends of chancery priests, sometime serving in the chappell at the east end of the said bridge, to the great damage and overthrow of the bridge; had not the said justice Spawwood by his travel upon due and lawfull trial at the assizes, delivered & discharged the bridge of that great demand; as appeareth by record in the court of the exchequer, before the said Sir Roger Spawwood came to be chiefe baron there. And yet abuse and slackness being had in these things, the wardens (notwithstanding that great benevolence and reliefe was at sundrie times and of sundrie persons procured unto the said bridge, by the careful and diligent travel of Thomas Wotton of Bodon Paleherbe of Kent esquier, a dore father and favourer of his countrie, as well at the times of the elections of the wardens, and the accounts of the officers) were forced to disburse great sums of their owne monie from time to time, to dispatch the needfull charges and works required for the bridge, without any convenient allowance of the contributoie persons; at the peacelie elections of the wardens, and without due regard had for order of the said land, belonging and contributoie to the bridge.

For avoiding whereof the said Sir Roger Spawwood, then & now lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, procured to passe another act of parliament, in the seven & twentieth yeare of hir maiestie reigne, wherein is further provision made for the said bridge, as in the printed booke of statutes at large appeareth. By which statute provided means and by reasonable following the presidents of the works and accounts (written in great & light books by the said chiefe baron; and William Lambard esquier; in the yeare next after the said last mentioned act of parliament of the seven and twentieth of the queenes reigne, they then executing the office of wardens) all needfull reparations be so done, and provision before hand so made, as it is now growne out of all controuersie, that the said famous stone bridge of Rochester for ever like to last according unto the intent of the first building, and the indowment thereof for the good and benefittall service of the commonwealth. This Sir Roger Spawwood, having had before an other wife issued of the gentlemanlie familie of the Thembals, as at this daie joined in marriage with Elisabeth (descended of an ancient and worshipfull familie) the daughter of John Copinger of Albhallowes in the countie of Kent esquier: which Elisabeth, being a woman of such rare modestie and patience, as hir vertue entitles must needs confesse the same: or rasoned these verses following to be composed touching hir & hir husband the said Sir Roger Spawwood:

Scacorum probo baro (Manwood) beatum
Quem faciunt leges, lingua, loquela virum
Copingi facit tamen et quia nata Copinger
Egregia est summa felix digna viro:
Que voluita thoro Wilkins, sapientiaque Manwood,
Copingi tamen est effusata bini.

In the moneth of January deceased Edward of Armes lord Clinton, earle of Lincoln, and lord admiral of England, knight of the garter, and one of hir maiesties private counsell, a man of great piety, and service as well by sea as land, he was buried at Canterbury, leaving manie children behind him honorable married. Of this noble man (whiles he lived) none to blame the honorable lords of the countie were not obscurely knowne, to wit of the peacelie appointment of the queenes maiestie, & comprising in an orderlie discourse their high places of service to the

Spawwood
Thomas
Wotton of
Kent esquier
a father and
favourer of
his countie.

Sir Roger
Spawwood
and master
William
Lambard
esquier were
denies of the
said bridge.

Elisabeth
(daughter of
John Copinger
esquier)
second wife
to Sir Roger
Spawwood,
her modelle.

The earle of
Lincolne
deceased.

William
Cope
fine Elisabeth
C.O.

the crowne, amongst others, speaketh verie commendable and deserving of this deceased earle, who (at such time as the said booke was published under the title aforesaid) had bene lord great admirall of England thirtie yeares, and of counsell unto thre princes: a lwaies of unspotted report speciallie for allegiance, and therefore as singularly beloved in his life; so accordingly bemoaned at his death. The words that concerne this noble mans memorials are thus certant, to the advancement of his honour, testified by report of two English poets:

*O Clontone tua concessa est regia clas
Tutela, totos ter denos circiter annos:
Consultasse tribus (nec & hac tibi gloria parua)
Principibus, veterum satraparum sanguine clares,
Multa gentis pelago praelare, multiq; terris:
Hunc decorat comitem grandi Lincolnia fastu.*

And before this, namely in the yeare 1564, at that time the said noble man was honozed with the title of *Præfectus maris*, and attendant vpon his maiestie in presence, at his being in Cambridge, where he was magnificallie interteined with all his trope of lords and traine of ladies, &c: thus did an academiike witte in praise of the foyrenamed earle:

*Regnat orque maris Clontonus, cuius in undis
Excellens nomen præcipuumque decus:
Ile mihi Neptunus, aquas mouet ille tridente,
Hunc Triton, hunc pelagi dyg, deaq; colunt.*

Jesuits, semina-
ries, and
massing
priests set o-
ut the seas
and banished
out of this
realme of
England for
euer.

On the one and twentieth daie of Januarie, one and twentie Jesuits, seminaries, and other massing priests, late prisoners in the Tower of London, Parthallie, and Kings bench, were shipped at the Tower wharffe, to be conveyed towards France, & banished this realme for euer, by vertue of a commission from his maiestie, as may moze fullie appeare by that which followeth.

A view of the said commission from the queenes maiestie.



Here as the queenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the danger that hath and might grow unto the realme, by accesse of Jesuits and seminarie priests, and other like wandering and massing priests coming hither to seduce and withdraue his loving subjects from their due obedience to God and his maiestie; and therewithall, traitorouslie to practise the mooring and stirring of rebellion within the realme, as hath appeared by sufficient proofe against them, and by confession of sundrie of themselves; for the which diuerse of the said Jesuits and seminaries haue bene tried, condemned, and executed by the ordinarie and orderlie course of his maiesties lawes, and yet they haue not restrained daillie to practise and attempt the like treasons. His maiestie notwithstanding, following the accustomed course of his princelie clemencie, liking rather for this time to haue them onelie banished out of the realme, than to suffer the suffice of his lawes to be executed against them (although they haue deserved the same in the highest degree) hath given power to vs of his maiesties priue counsell & others, by commission and warrant under the great seale of England, bearing date the fiftenth daie of this present month of Januarie, to see this his purpose and determination for their banishment put in execution. By vertue whereof, we haue proceeded thereto, and haue committed to the charge of these bearers, William Bolles one of his maiesties yeomen of his chamber, and Anthonie Hall, the persons whose names doe follow, that is to saie, James Wolfe graue, John Hart, Edward Kington, Jasper Welwood, William Ledder, Samuel Coniers, Arthur

The queenes
maiesties
mercies no-
table.

The names
of such Je-
suits (Je-

Wits, William Charmington, Richard Blake, William Hartie, Richard Porris, William Dean, William Bishop, Robert Putter, Thomas Stephanon, John Colston, Christopher Tomson, Thomas Worthington, John Barnes, William Smith, clerks, being Jesuits, seminaries, and other wandering and massing priests, and Henrie Dytton gentleman: all which haue bene apprehended in this realme, to be by them imbarked, and transported beyond the seas, according to such direction as they haue receiued in that behalf.

These shall be the refo: by the authoritie aforesaid, to will and require you, and in his maiesties name striclie to charge and command you, and euerie of you his maiesties officers, as well within the realme of England and Ireland, as in anie other parts of his maiesties dominions and countries, to whom it may and shall apperteine, not onelie to suffer them to passe vnder the charge of the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall: but also that in case by contrarie of winds, or extrenitie of weather, they shall be after their imbarcking, diuen into anie port or creeke within anie of your iurisdiccions, that vpon the sight of this passport ye aid and assist the said Bolles, and Anthonie Hall, if they shall so require you, in seeing them safelie retained, committed, & kept in custodie (if they shall come aland) till such time as they the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall may with safetie put againe into the sea, to transport them to such place beyond the sea, as by our direction they are appointed; and to suffer them efflonies to imbarke and depart, without staie or interruption. Forseeing, that they the said Jesuits and seminaries, and other the wandering and massing priests aforesaid, no: anie of them, no: the said Henrie Dytton be suffered to conueie or transport out of the realme, anie thing that by the lawes be prohibited or forbidden. Whereof (as of the rest commanded herein) we require you not to faile, as you will answer to the contrarie at your perils. Given vnder our hands at Graue with the twentieth daie of Januarie, in the seven and twentieth yeare of his maiesties reigne. ¶ Now followeth a certificat of the master that transported the foyrenamed one and twentieth banished persons, as followeth.

suited, &
should say) as
by vertue of
the queenes
commission
were banished
out of the
queenes domi-
nions.

A further
charge vpon
the said semina-
ries touch-
ing trans-
portation.

To the right honorable lords and o-
thers of his maiesties most honorable priue
counsell, and all other officers to whome
it may apperteine.



These may be to certifie, &c: that William Bolles, yeoman vsher of his maiesties chamber, and Anthonie Hall of London skinner, hauing imbarked at the Tower wharffe of London, the one and twentieth daie of Januarie 1584 one and twentieth persons being banished men into my barke called the Sparte partin of Colchester, to be transported and conueied into Normandie, for sirtene of which said one and twentieth persons they had compounded with me aforesaid. The same William Bolles and Anthonie Hall haue satisfied and paid me for all thre passages and vittels, and haue also hired at Douer an experimented pilot for the coasts of Normandie; which said Bolles and Hall with the said banished men in their charges, after their being by contrarie winds diuen to state against Crith, at Grauesend, in Tilberie hope, at Læ, at the Spanlard, at the Dotones, at Douer, and at Rie, were by force of weather and chase of pirats diuen to Bullen, and there arrived all safelie the second day of Februarie 1584, and thense sent the said banished men, some by horse, but most on foot, with conducs to Abbi-
nile

A certificat to
the lords of
the counsell,
&c: concern-
ing the foyre-
said matter,

in the coasts of Normandie. Witnesse my hand
hereunto this first of Februarie, 1584. By me
spatthew Strut.

An other certificat, written and
directed into England by the said
banished men.



A certificat
written to
hang upon
perpetuall re-
cord, wherein
the Jesuits
do acknow-
ledge the ex-
ceeding cour-
teous and
honestie be-
haviour shew-
ed them at
and in their
banishment,
et. Note good
reader note.

L All magistrates, officers, & ministers,
within the realme of England or else-
where, to whome it may in any wise ap-
pertaine: this may be to give certifica-
tion, that we whose names are here under written,
who were imbarked at the Tower wharfe of Lon-
don the one and twentieth daie of Januarie 1584,
and there receiued into the charge of maister Wil-
liam Bolles, and maister Anthonie Hall, by com-
mission from their lordships and other hir maiesties
most honorable priuie counsell, haue bene by them
the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall verie
friendly & honestlie intreated, and with carefull dili-
gence safelie conducted, transported, & conueied to
the prouince of Normandie, & by them left this third
daie of Februarie, according to the English compa-
tation, in the yeare of Christ 1584, which said Bolles
and Hall haue in our presence paid the maister of the
barke which transported vs for his whole freight and
vittels in the ship, for the time of our remaining a-
board: and generallie so well vsed vs in all respects,
that we can not but acknowledge our selues much
beholding to them & fullie satisfied, in hauing bene
committed to the charge of so courteous officers,
sith the case standeth so with vs that we are banished
our countrie contrarie to our desires, wherein we
take no little grieue of mind. For testimonie ther-
of, we haue hereunto set our seuerall hands this pre-
sent third daie of Februarie 1584. Jasper Wal-
wood, Edward Kusthon, John Hart, et.

¶ A Lord what a mercifull queene is this, in such
sort to forgive and forget iniuries, yea treasonable
iniuries, as by banishment onlie to chastise them,
that deserued extreame punishment: yea with a
banishment scarce fittie to be so termed; sith in the
execution thereof there was such clemencie shewed,
as that the banished by their owne confessions haue
lest acknowledged vnder their owne handwriting,
a notable kind of curtesie receiued by the meanes
of hir maiestie. And therefore they cannot but in
conscience commend hir highnesse tender affection
so gratiofullie exchanged for seuerer affliction; in-
much that it may rightlie be reported of hir, high-
nesse, which the poet spake of Caesar, that is to saie:

*Es pignus ad paucos principes, ad premia velox,
Cuique dolet quatuor cogitur esse ferax.*

Henric earle of Darbie appointed to be hir maie-
ties ambassadoe, to Henric the third French king,
and to inuest him with the order of the garter, toke
his leaue of the queenes maiestie at Craneswich on
the twentieth daie of Januarie, and with him such
gentlemen as were present, were admitted to kisse
hir highnesse hand. Maister Robert Coke, Claren-
ceur appointed to attend in that boiage in place of
Carter, whose roome was void, and Robert Clouer
Sumerfet herald likewise appointed to that tour-
neie, were referred to the two and twentieth daie of
the same moneth. Noble men and gentlemen at-
tending on the earle of Derby; the lord Sands
with eight seruants, lord Windsoze, eleuen ser-
uants, maister Scrope sonne and heire to the lord
Scrope two seruants, maister Windsoze brother
to the lord Windsoze thre seruants, sir Richard
Sherborne thre seruants, sir Randolph Breerton
sir seruants, maister Clarenceur for Carter foure
seruants, maister Anthonie Coke foure seruants,

maister Gerard sonne and heire to sir Thomas Ce-
rard, maister Fleetwood, maister Pudigate, ma-
ster Stallage gentleman vther, the queenes ser-
uants. Maister Sumerfet herald of armes two
seruants, maister Crompton, maister Smith, ma-
ster Denton, maister Thomas Hills one seruant,
The earls owne; maister Thomas Arden steward
two seruants, maister For controller one seruant,
maister Pewton gentleman vther one seruant,
maister Phillips chapleine one seruant, maister Alex-
ander gentleman of the horse one seruant, maister
Pocroft physician one seruant. The earls waiting
gentlemen; maister Watonie sonne and heire to
sir John Watonie one seruant, maister Legh son
and heire to sir Piers a Legh one seruant, mai-
ster Warren one seruant, maister Thomas Sher-
borne sonne to sir Richard Sherborne, maister
Dollie had one seruant, maister Sparhet one ser-
uant, maister Richard Starke one seruant, mai-
ster Stanlie one seruant, maister Wierton, mai-
ster Hammer one seruant, maister Flood one ser-
uant, maister Saltsburie one seruant, maister Bu-
thie my lords page, maister Donnes one seruant,
maister Francis Starke one seruant, maister
Baptist one seruant, maister Randolph one ser-
uant, maister Casser, maister Chambers one ser-
uant, maister Foxton, maister Russell one seruant.
The earls yeomen kitch. This traine had to carie
trunks, males, and chests, fiue carts and a wagon
throughout from Calis to Paris, besides the earls
sumpter horse and gerdiebands on horse backe.

On the first and twentieth daie of Januarie, the earle
with his traine passed from London to Grauelend
in a tiltboat called a light horseman, and there ta-
king post horses rid to Sittingborne, and there lodg-
ed, from whence they rid to Douer, where they im-
barked and landed at Calis on the first of Februarie,
the earle of Derby lord ambassadoe, with the lords
Sands and Windsoze transported in the queenes ship
named the Skout, the other gentlemen & traine in
crauers of Douer to the number of eight in the
whole, where they were all receiued and welcomed to
the towne by monsieur de Courdon gouernour ther-
of, and rested there the next daie; on which daie at
night the said earle, barons, and principall gentle-
men were invited to a supper, by the said monsieur
de Courdon, which was prepared for them in a mer-
chants house in verie sumptuous sort and great in-
tertainment, and after supper musike and dancing,
some labies and gentlewomen of the towne being
purposelte brought to the place to intertaine and to
dauce with the noblemen and others.

On the third of Februarie the whole traine went
from Calis to Bullogne to bed, where they were ve-
rie well interteined, the gouernours deputie presen-
ting the earle with certeine pots of wine of sundrie
sorts. On the fourth of Februarie they rid to Pon-
frel to bed, and there were likewise presented. On
the fifth they went to Alenill to bed, and were met
with one hundred and fiftie shot of harquebuzers at
the entrie of the towne; where on either side the
streets were made ranks of shot all the way as they
passed to their lodging, & after marched off about the
market place, giuing manie a volée of shot till it
waxed darke, the gouernour of the towne presenting
sundrie sorts of wine. And the daie following they
toke their iourne to Amiens to bed, where of mon-
sieur Crenicure called Boninet, lieutenant of Pi-
cardie for the king, accompanied with an hundred
gentlemen, and best citizens, met the earle halfe a
mile without the towne, and so rid talking with him
& his traine. That night the said Crenicure presen-
ted the earle with great store of verie large and good
fresh water fish, and the towne with wine of diuerse
sorts,

The lord and
ambassadoe pas-
sed from Lon-
don to Gra-
uelend, and so
to Douer, and
arrived at
Calis.

Monsieur de
Courdon gou-
ernour of
Calis inter-
teined the
ambassadoe.

Monsieur
Crenicure
lieutenant of
Picardie met
with the lord
ambassadoe,

Ouid. lib. 1. de
Pont.

Earle of
Derbie am-
bassadoe into
France.

Attendants
upon the said
ambassadoe.

lozys, and the dale following being sundae, the said Creuicure invited the earle to dinner, which dinner was greatlie commended. After dinner his lordship & traine went to Wyethill to bed, the next daie to Cleremont, where he staid tuesday, and on wednesday the tenth of Februarye to March.

His Edward Stafford the quenes ambassadoz resident with the french king.

On the 11 he went to S. Denise, where by the waie his lordship was met by sir Edward Stafford, his maiesties ambassadoz resident with the french king, who brought with him diuerse gentlemen of England, to the number of thirtie horse, and so accompanied him to S. Denise where they kept companie all the daie following being friday. On saturday his lordship made his entrie into Paris, about two or thre of the clocke at after none, there being of the lord ambassadoz traine more than two hundred horse; and midwaie betwene saint Denise and Paris, there met with their lordships sent from the king, the duke of Montpensier a prince of the blood, the lord of Caignie, le Chapelain aux Ursins, countie de Lude, de Plenne, de Malicorne, de la Roche Fenelon, who had sometimes bene ambassadoz li-
ger in England, Desrie, Dabin, de Fontaines, de Coimillon, the marques of Curton, the countie de Gignan, all counsellors in the counsell, & knights of the holie ghost. The duke of Tremouille, the countie de Bassac, de Creance, Sancerre, and of Alsace, with a great number of lordes and barons, gentlemen of the chamber, which all were commanded by the king to mount on horsebacke, and accompanie the said duke de Montpensier, who met the earle of Derby and the English traine midwaie betwixt Paris and saint Denise, and did accompanie him into hostell de Longueville, sometime called the hostell of Anjou. At his lordships entrie into the said lodging, the sers de Parle and de Conair maistres de hostell to his maiestie, gaue him to vnderstand how they were appointed by the king to haue care of his good vse and intertainment, who likewise had appointed maistres de la Roche Fenelon, the marques de Curton, & the countie de Gignan, to keepe his lordship companie at all times. And so was his lordship with the other lordes and gentlemen lodged in the said hostell de Longueville, where was thre tables verie sumptuouslie furnished for them all of the kings cost; the one table in the great chamber for the lordes and gentlemen, servants to his maiestie; the other in the hall for the erle of Derbies gentlemen; and the third in a gallerie beneath for gentlemen servants, besides liuerie into euerie chamber, both of war, wood, wine, and such like, in as great plentie as could be desired.

The statelie & the honorable receiving at the lord ambassadoz house he came in presence & audience of the french king.

On sundae the fourteenth of Februarye after the English account, and the foure and twentieth after the french reckoning, the said earle betwixt the houres of two and thre in the after none, went from his lodging by a posterne through the garden, which is nere to the Louure, accompanied with the said lordes de la Roche Fenelon, de Curton, and Gignan, together with the sers de Condie, & the said de Parle, and de Conair, and found the capitaine of the regiment of the kings gard, making two ranks on either side of the street, beginning from the posterne to the Louure gate, who welcomed him in the kings behalfe. Without the gate of the said Louure he was receiued by the lieutenants of the great prouost of France & his archers; at the Louure gate by the sers de Montegnie capitaine thereof to his maiestie and his archers; which archers together with those of the great prouost made two ranks from the said gate of the Louure to the foot of the staires. From the foot of the staires his lordship was receiued by the sers de Perdillon the french lieutenant of the swissers of the kings gard, which from the foot of the said stai-

ers to the doze of the hall, made two ranks for his lordships passage. At the entrie of the hall, his lordship was receiued by the sers de Chateau blanc knight of the holie ghost, and capitaine of the archers of the kings gard; who likewise from the said doze into the doze of the antichamber made two ranks. From the doze of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the sers de Combault of the holie ghost, chiefe master de hostell to the king, and by the other masters of the hostell to his maiestie, and by his gentlemen waiters; and there in the said antichamber all the said earle of Derbies officers and gentlemen wearing liueries were appointed to staid, and the quenes servants that proceeded next after them, and before the said earle went still forward. At the entrie of the chamber of estate his lordship was receiued by the sers de Liencourt knight of the holie ghost, chiefe escuir of the kings escuir, and the other escuires of the escuir together, with the lieutenant of the hundred gentlemen of his maiestie, who made likewise two ranks for his lordships passage from that chamber doze to the chamber of audience, euerie of them bearing halberds in their hands. At the entrance of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the duke Joleul, accompanied with the gentlemen of the kings chamber ordinarie, who made two ranks from that chamber doze to the doze of the chamber roiall.

Into the said chamber roiall first entred all the gentlemen, the quenes maiesties servants, the lordes that had receiued and accompanied the said earle and lordes; and the said duke de Joleul accompanied the said earle of Derbye even unto the bars that stood about the edge of the haltpase, or mounting floze in the same chamber, where the king stood at his beds feet, accompanied without the said barriers on his right hand with the cardinals of Bourbon, Camoline, and Joleul; and on the left hand with the lordes, the princes of Contie, the countie de Soissons, and duke Montpensier, princes of the blood; the dukes de Peuers, Delbeuse, de la Tremouille, de Ketz, monsieur le chancelloz, sers de Aliequier, du Bonchale, de la Malette, Dantragurs, de la Chapelle aux Ursins, Chaignie, la Vauguion, countie de Pauleurier, Clermont, Dantragurs, de Larchaut, and other knights of the holie ghost, and counsellors of the estate in great number. The said earle with the lord ambassadoz ordinarie of England alone, he entered within the said haltpase within the barriers unto his maiestie, of whom they were receiued with great courtesie, & as amiable countenance as could be. And the earle deliuered the quenes maiesties letters unto the king with great reuerence, and then making rehearfall of that he had in charge to saie, the said ambassadoz presented unto the king the lordes Sands and Windsoz, with other the English knights and gentlemen; which all one after an other mounted upon the haltpase, kissed their hands, & did their reuerence unto the king. When the erle toke his leaue, and was conducted by all the lordes & capitaines that had before receiued him, and conueied him: unto the place where they had first receiued him. Afterwards he went to salute the quene mother, and at the entrance into his antichamber he was receiued by monsieur de Lanfac knight of the holie ghost, and knight of honour unto the same quene, whom he found accompanied with his nerec the princeesse of Lozaine standing at his beds head, the princeesses of Conde and Montie, and the duchess of Peuers standing at the beds feet, the duchesses Dufez, and of Ketz, and other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. From thence his lordship was conueied to the quene Regents chamber, at the entrance whereof he was receiued by the countie de Fielque knight of

The chamber roiall, & manner of receiving and conducting of the lord ambassadoz thereunto, and other notable observations.

The earle of Derbye & sir Edward Stafford, &c. were courteously receiued of the king.

The lord ambassadoz saluted the quene mother.

The lord ambassadoz conueied to the quene Regents chamber.

of the holie ghost, and his knight of honour, finding his accompanied with the duchesses of Montpensier and Joyeuse, who stood at his beds feet, the ladies of Golden his ladies of honour and other ladies and gentlewomen also in great number, and then returned to the foresaid hostell de Longueville.

The French king invested into the order of the garter.

On mondaie the fiftenth of February, the king by monsieur le Doye Fenelon told the lord ambassador his mind touching the receipt of the order, that he intended to receive it on Thursday following in the afternoon, at the Augustine friers, which was done accordingly with a mantle of blew velvet, and a hood, and collar of the order, with a booke of the statutes of the order, which all were invested upon the king in a place called maison de Pauvrales; but the oth was ministered unto the king in the friers church, Magnificat being then song, or singing. On Sundaye the eight and twentieth of February, the ambassador with his traine took their leaue, at whose returne from the court to his lodging he was presented that night with a rich cupbord of plate, worth twelue hundred pounds at the least; and unto master Clarenceaux was given a chaine of gold worth one hundred and twentie pounds and better, of nine hundred thirtie and six links; to master Sumerslet a chaine of one hundred and fiftie links, worth one hundred marks; and to Thomas Spils a chaine of the same value.

Gifts of royal magnificence bestowed and received.

On the Thursday following, the earle with his traine set forward homewards from Paris unto saint Denise, and so were lodged all the waie in the same lodgings that before they had bene received in, and arrived prosperously in England, from Bologne to Douer, on Fridaye the twelue day of March; and on the Tuesday following were brought to the queenes maiesties presence at Greenwich, who graciously welcommed them home.

William Parrie hanged and quartered at Westminster.

This yeare on the second daie of March being Tuesday, William Parrie was drawne from the Tower thorough the citie of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, boweled, and quartered, for high and horrible treasons by him practised, as maie appeare by the discourse that followeth, published upon his execution, to give generall intimation of his notorious trecheries unto all the queenes maiesties subiects.

A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by William Parrie against the queenes maiestie, and of his conviction and execution for the same, the second of March 1584, according to the account of England.

A description of William Parrie.

This William Parrie, being a man of verie meane and base parentage, but of a most proud and insolent spirit, bearing himselfe alwaies far above the measure of his fortune, after he had long led a wastfull and dissolute life, and had committed a great outrage against one Hugh Hare, a gentleman of the inner temple, with an intent to have murdered him in his owne chamber, for the which he was most iustlie convicted, seeing himselfe generallie condemned with all good men for the same, and other his misdeameors, he left his naturall countrie, & gave himselfe to travell into forren parts beyond the seas. In the course of this his travell he forsooke his allegiance and dutifull obedience to his maiestie, and was reconciled, and subiected himselfe to the pope. After which, upon conference with certaine Jesuits and others of like qualitie, he first conceived his most detestable treason to kill the queene (whose life God long preserve) which he bound himselfe by promise,

William Parrie reconciled to the pope: and of his treason in superlatius gradu.

letters, and vowes, to performe and execute: and so with this intent he returned into England in Januarye one thousand five hundred foure score & thye; and since that did practise at sundrie times to have executed his most diuinish purpose and determination: yet covering the same so much as in him laie with a veile and pretense of great loialtie unto his maiestie.

Immediately upon his returne into England, he sought to have secret access to his maiestie, pretending to have some matter of great importance to reueale unto his: which obtained, and the same so privatis in his highnesse palace at Whitehall, as his maiestie had but one onelie counsellor with him at the time of his access; in a remote place, who was so far distant, as he could not heare his speech. And there then he discovered unto his maiestie (but shadowed with all craftie and traitorous skill he had some part of the conference and proceeding as well with the said Jesuits, and other ministers of the popes, as especially with one Thomas Morgan a fugitive, residing at Paris, who above all others did persuade him to proceed in that most diuinish attempt (as is set downe in his voluntarie confession following) bearing his maiestie notwithstanding in hand, that his onelie intent of proceeding so farre with the said Jesuits, and the popes ministers, tended to no other end, but to discover the dangerous practises devised and attempted against his maiestie by his disloyall subiects and other malicious persons in forren parts: albeit it hath since appeared most manifestlie, as well by his said confession, as by his dealing with one Edmund Spensill esquier, that his onelie intent of discovering the same, in so far as he craftie and traitorouslie did, tended to no other end, but to make the waie the easier to accomplish his most diuinish and wicked purpose.

Thomas Morgan a fugitive and furtherer of Parries purpose.

Edmund Spensill not ignorant of this attempt.

And although anie other prince but his maiestie (who is loth to put on a hard censure of those that protest to be loiall, as Parrie did) would rather have proceeded unto the punishment of a subiect that had labored so farre, as by oth and vow to promise the taking awaie of his life (as he vnto his maiesties selfe did confesse) yet such was his goodnesse, as in stead of punishing, he did deale so graciously with him, as he suffered him not onelie to have access unto his presence: but also manie times to have private conference with him, and did offer unto him upon opinion once conceived of his fidelitie towards him (as though his wicked pretense had bene, as he protested, for his service) a most liberall pension. Besides, to the end that he might not grow hateful to the god and well affected subiects of the realme (from whom he could in no sort have escaped with safetie of his life, if his diuinish purpose had bene reuealed) his maiestie did conceale the same, without communicating it to anie creature; untill such time as he himselfe had opened the same unto certaine of his counsell; and that it was also discovered that he sought to draw the said Spensill to have bene a partie in his diuinish and most wicked purpose.

Graciously queene and too favourable, even to thine enemies!

A verie rare example, and such as doth more set forth the singular goodnesse and bountie of his maiesties princelie nature, than commend (if it be lawfull for a subiect to censure his souereigne) his prudence such as ought to be in a prince and person of his maiesties wisdom and qualitie. And as the goodnesse of his maiesties nature did hereby most manifestlie shew it selfe to be rare in so extraordinary a case, and in a matter of so great perill unto his owne royal person: so did the malice of Parrie most evidently appeare to be in the highest and extreamest degree, who notwithstanding the said extraordinary grace and fauour extended towards him, did not onelie

The malice of Parrie groweth to an extreme mischief against the queene.

lie perswade the said Penill to be an associat in the said wicked enterprisse: but did also verie belementlie (as Penill confesseth) importune him therein as an action lawfull, honourable, and meritorious, omitting nothing that might prouoke him to assent thereunto. But such was the singular goodnesse of almighty God (who euen from his maiesties cradle by manie euident arguments hath shewed himselfe his onelie and especiall protector) that he so wrought in Penills heart, as he was moued to reueale the same vnto his maiestie, and for that purpose made choise of a faithfull gentleman and of good qualitie in the court, vnto whome vpon mondaie the eight of Februarie last past, he discovered at large all that had passed betwene Parrie and him, who immediatlie made it knowne to his maiestie. Whereupon his highnesse pleasure was, that Penill should be examined by the earle of Leicester, and sir Christopher Hatton: who in the euening of the same daie did examine him, and he affirmed constantlie all which he had before declared to the said gentleman.

In the meane time, his maiestie continued his singular and most princelie magnanimitie, neither dismayed with the rarenesse of the accident, nor appalled with the horror of so villanous an enterprisse, tending euen to the taking auaie of his most gracious life (a matter especiallie obserued by the counsellors that was present at such time as Parrie after his returne did first discover vnto his maiestie his wicked purpose; who found no other alteration in his countenance, than if he had imparted vnto him some matter of contentment) which sheweth manifestlie how the repose of his confidence whole in the defense of the almighty. And so his maiestie, following the wonted course of his singular clemencie, gaue order that Parrie the same mondaie in the euening (though not so knowne to him) should be sent vnto maister secretaries house in London, he being then there; who according vnto such direction as he receiued from his maiestie, did let him vnderstand, that his highnesse (in respect of the good will he knewe he bare vnto the said Parrie, & of the trust that Parrie did outwardlie professe to repose in maister secretarie) had made especiall choise of him to deale with him in a matter that concerned his highlie, and that he doubted not, but that he would discharge his dutie towards him, according vnto that extraordinary deuotion that he professed to beare vnto him.

And thereupon he told him that his maiestie had bene aduertised, that there was somewhat intended presentlie against his owne person, wherewith the thought he could not but be made acquainted, considering the great trust that some of his most affected subiects reposed in him: and that his pleasure therefore was, that he should declare vnto him his knowledge therein: and whether the said Parrie himselfe had let fall anie speeche vnto anie person (though with an intent onelie to haue discovered his disposition) that might draw him in suspicion, as though he himselfe had anie such wicked intent. But Parrie with great and vehement protestations denied it vtterlie. Whereupon maister secretarie, the rather to induce him to deale more plainelie in a matter so important, declared vnto him, that there was a gentleman of qualitie euerie waie as good or better than himselfe, and rather his friend than enimie, that would auouch it to his face: yet Parrie persisted stubbornelie in his former deniall, and insinuation of his owne innocencie, and would not in anie respect yield that he was partie or partie to anie such motion, enterprisse, or intent.

Being lodged that night at the secretaries house, the next morning he desired earnestlie to haue some further speeche with maister secretarie: which granted,

Parrie declared to him that he had tailed to remembrance that he had once some speeche with one Penill a kinsman of his (so he called him) touching a point of doctrine contained in the answer made to the booke, intituled, The execution of iustice in England; by which booke it was resolved, that it was lawfull to take auaie the life of a prince, in furtherance of the catholike religion: but he protested that thep neuer had anie speeche at all of anie attempt intended against his maiesties person. Which deniall of his (at two sundrie times after so much light giuen him) doth set forth most apparantlie both the iustice and prouidence of God: his iustice, for that (though he was one of a sharpe conceipt) he had no power to take hold of this ouerture, thereby to haue auoided the danger that Penills accusation might bring him into by confessing the same, as a thing propounded onelie to sale Penills mind, whome before he had reported vnto maister secretarie he found a person discontented, and therefore his confession might to verie great purpose haue serued to haue cleared himselfe touching the intent: his prouidence, for that of his great mercie he would not suffer so dangerous and wicked a member to escape and line to his maiesties perill.

The same daie at night, Parrie was brought to the earle of Leicesters house, and there exscons examined before the said earle of Leicester, maister vicechamberlaine, and maister secretarie: he persisted still in his deniall of all that he was charged with. Whereupon, Penill being brought before him face to face, iustified his accusation against him. He notwithstanding would not yet yield to confesse it, but verie proudlie and insolentlie opposed his credit against the credit of Penill, affirming that his no, was as good as Penills yea, & as by way of rectification, objected the crime to Penill himselfe. On the other side, Penill did with great constancie affirme all that he had before said, and did set downe manie probable circumstances of the times, places, and manners of their sundrie conferences, and of such other accidents as had happened betwene them in the course of that action: whereupon Parrie was then committed to the Tower, and Penill commanded by their honours to set downe in writing vnder his hand, all that which before he had deliuered by word: which he did with his owne hand as followeth.

Edmund Neull his declaration the tenth of Februarie, 1584, subscribed with his owne hand,



William Parrie the last summer, some after his repulse in his sute for the maistership of saint Batharins, repaired to my lodging in the White friers, where he shewed himselfe a person greatlie discontented, and belementlie inueighed against his maiestie, and willed me to assure my selfe, that during this time and state, I should neuer receiue contentment. But sith, said he, I know you to be honorable, deservend, and a man of resolution, if you will giue me assurance, either to loine with me, or not to discover me, I will deliuer vnto you the onelie meanes to do your selfe good: Which when I had promised him, he appointed me to come the next daie to his house in Feuter lane: & repairing thither accordinglie, I found him in his bed; whereupon he commanded his men forth, and began with me in this order.

My lord said he (for so he called me) I protest before God, that three reasons principallie do induce me to enter into this action which I intend to disco-

Parrie is desirous to haue some speeche with maister secretarie.

Parrie is examined before certaine lordes of the counsell, &c.

Penill charged Parrie so preciselie, that he is committed to the Tower.

Note the malicious humors of Parrie because he might not obtaine preferment to his liking.

Penill discovered the intended treason against his maiestie.

Who enter anie man read or heare of the like magnanimitie in a woman?

Parrie is committed to the custodie & examination of sir Francis Walsingham.

Parrie desired with protestation that wharsoeuer is demanded of him.

A triple reason that moved Barrie to his pretended reason.

Barrie committed it an act meritorious to murder his maiestie.

A villanous persuasion of inducement to be accessarie to the treason!

Note Barries pestilent humor of malice against his maiestie.

These doubts were of advantage to Penill, but meane of reprochfull ruine to Barrie.

ner bin to you: the replanting of religion, the preserving of the Scottish title, and the advancement of justice, which were corrupted in this commonwealth. And thereupon entered into some discourses, what places were fit to be taken to give entrance to such foreign forces as should be best liked of, for the furtherance of such enterprises as were to be undertaken. And with these discourses he passed the time, untill he went to dinner: after which, the companie being retired, he entered into his former discourses. And if I be not deceived (said he) by taking of Quinborough castle, we shall hinder the passage of the queenes ships forth of the river. Whereunto when he saw me use no contradiction, he shooke me by the hand. Cuth (said he) this is nothing: if men were resolute, there is an enterprize of much more moment, and much easier to performe: an act honorable, and meritorious to God and the world. Which seeing me desirous to know, he was not ashamed to utter in plaine termes, to consist in killing of his maiestie: wherein, said he, if you will go with me, I will lose my life, or deliver my countrey from his bad and tyrannous government. At which speeches finding me discontented, he asked me if I had read doctor Allens booke, out of which he alledged an authority for it. I answered, no, and that I did not believe that authority. Well (said he) what will you saie, if I shew further authority than this, even from Rome it selfe, a plaine dispensation for the killing of him, wherein you shall find it (as I said before) meritorious: God confine said I, when you shall shew it me, I shall thinke it verie strange, when I shall see one to hold that for meritorious, which another holdeth for damnable. Well, said Barrie, doe me but the favour to thinke upon it till to morrow: and if one man be in the towne, I will not faile to shew you the thing it selfe: and if he be not, he will be with in these five or six daies: at which time if it please you to meete me at Canon rowe, we may there receive the sacrament to be true ech to other, and then I will discover unto you both the partie, & the thing it selfe. Whereupon I praised Barrie to thinke better upon it, as a matter of great charge both of soule and bodie. I would to God, said Barrie, you were as perfectly persuaded in it as I am! for then you doubtedlie you should doe God great service.

Not long after eight or ten daies (as I remember) Barrie comming to visit me at my lodging in Herrens rents in Holborne, as he often used, we walked forth into the fields, where he renewed againe his determination to kill his maiestie, whom he said he thought most unworthy to live, and that he wondered I was so scrupulous therein. She hath sought, said he, your ruine and overthrow, why should you not then seeke to revenge it? I confesse (quoth I) that my case is hard, but yet am I not so desperat as to revenge it upon my selfe, which must needs be the event of so unhonest and impossible an enterprize. Impossible, said Barrie! I wonder at you, for in truth there is not anie thing more easie: you are no courtier, and therefore know not his customes of walking with small traine, and often in the garden verie privatlie, at which time my selfe may easilie have access unto him, and you also when you are known in court. Upon the fact we must have a barge readie to carie us with speed downe the river, where we will have a ship readie to transport us if it be needfull: but upon my head, we shall never be followed so far. I asked him; How will you escape forth of the garden? For you shall not be permitted to carie anie men with you, and the gates will then be locked, neither can you carie a dog without suspicion. As for a dog (said Barrie) I care not: my dagger is enough. And as for mine escaping, those

that shall be with him, will be so busie about him, as I shall find opportunitie enough to escape, if you be there readie with the barge to receive me.

But if this same dangerous in respect of your reason before shewed, let it then rest till his comming to saint James, and let us furnish our selves in the meane time with men and horse fit for the purpose: may ech of us keepe eight or ten men without suspicion? And for my part, said he, I shall find good fellows that will follow me without suspecting mine intent. It is much, said he, that so many resolute men make doe upon the sudden, being well appointed with ech his case of daga: if they were an hundred waiting upon him, they were not able to save him, you comming on the one side, and I on the other, and discharging our daga upon him, it were verie happy if we should both misse him. But if our daga faile, I shall bestirre me well with a sword per the escape me. Whereunto I said: God doo: give over this odious enterprize, & trouble me no more with the hearing of that, which in heart I loth so much. I would to God the enterprize were honest, that I might make knowne unto the whether I want resolution! And not long after, his maiestie came to saint James, after which, one morning (the daie certaine I remember not) Barrie returned againe his former discourse of killing his maiestie, with great earnestnesse and importunitie persuading me to joine therein: saying he thought me the onelie man of England like to performe it, in respect of my valure, as he termed it.

Whereupon I made semblance as if I had bene more willing to heare him than before, hoping by that means to cause him to deliver his mind to some other that might be witness thereof with me, where in neuertheless I failed. After all this, on saturday last being the sixt of february, betwene the houses of five and six in the after none, Barrie came to my chamber, and desired to talke with me apart, whereupon we drew our selves to a window. And where I had told Barrie before, that a learned man whom I met by chance in the fields, unto whom I propounded the question touching his maiestie, had answered me that it was an enterprize most villanous and damnable, willing me to discharge my selfe of it: Barrie then desired to know that learned mans name, and what was become of him, saying after a scornfull manner; No doubt he was a verie wise man, and you wisser in believing him: said further. I hope you told him not that I had anie thing from Rome. Yes in truth, said I. Whereunto Barrie said, I would you had not named me, nor spoken of anie thing I had from Rome! And thereupon he earnestlie persuaded me with many words to depart beyond the seas, promising to procure me safe passage into Wales, and from thence into Britaine, whereat we ended. But I then resolved not to doe so, but to discharge my conscience, and laie open this his most traitorous and abominable intention against his maiestie: which I revealed in sort as is before set downe.

Edmund Nevill.

After this confession of Edmund Nevill, William Barrie the eleventh daie of february last, being examined in the Tower of London, by the lord Hunsdon lord gouvernour of Berwicke, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicerchamberleine to his maiestie, and Francis Walsingham knight princel pall secretarie to his maiestie, did voluntarie and without anie constraint, by word of mouth make confession of his said treason, and after set it downe in writing all with his owne hand in his lodging in the Tower, and sent it to the court the thirtieth of the same, by the lieutenant of the Tower. The parts

Note the traitorous proceeding of Barrie to doe as he should have bene done.

Made the resolution of Barrie to accomplish his treason by oft frequenting the action.

Penill is resolved at no hand to be partaker with Barrie in his treason.

Barrie has taken care to be examined in the hearing of certain lordes.

whereof concerning his manner of doing the same, and the treasons wherewith he was iustlie charged are here set downe, word for word, as they are written and signed with his owne hand & name, the eleventh of Februarie, 1584.

The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, in writing all with his owne hand.

The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, doctor of the lawes (now prisoner in the Tower) & accused of treason by Edmund Neuell esquier, promised by him (with all faith & humilitie) to the queenes maiestie, in discharge of his conscience and dutie towards God and hir. Before the lord Hunsdon lord gouernour of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicedamherlaine, sir F. Walsingham knight principall secretarie, the thirteenth of Februarie, 1584.

Parrie.

Macke, good and gracious lord, whose hard hap it was to intertime so bad & gracelesse a sinner.

Parrie sueth for licence to traueil beyond sea, and obiect with it.

Parrie instructed himselfe in religion before the inquisitor of Millaine.

Parrie is retained in the plot of his treacherous deale.

In the yeare 1570 I was sworne his maiesties seruant, from which time vntill the yeare 1580, I serued, honored, and loued hir with as great readinesse, deuotion and assurance as anie poore subiect in England. In the end of that yeare, and vntill the first of may 1582, I had some trouble for the hurting of a gentleman of the Temple. In which action I was so disgraced and oppressed by two great men (to whom I haue of late bene beholden) that I neuer had contented thought since. There began my misfortune, and here followeth my woofull fall. In Iulie after, I laboured for licence to traueil for thre yeares, which (vpon some consideration) was easilie obtained. And so in August, I went ouer with doubtful mind of returne, for that being suspected in religion, and not hauing receiued the communion in two and twentie yeares, I began to mistrust my aduancement in England. In September I came to Paris, where I was reconciled to the church, and aduised to liue without scandale, the rather for that it was mistrusted by the English catholikes, that I had intelligence with the greatest counsellour of England. I staid not long there, but removed to Lions (a place of great traffike) where, because it was the ordinarie passage of our nation to and fro betwene Paris and Rome, I was also suspected.

To put all men out of doubt of me, and for some other cause, I went to Millaine, from whence as a place of some danger (though I found fauour there) after I had cleared my conscience, and iustified my selfe in religion before the inquisitor, I went to Venice. There I came acquainted with father Benedico Palmio, a graue and a learned Iesuit. By conference with him of the hard state of the catholikes in England, & by reading of the booke De persecutione Anglicana, and other discourses of like argument, I conceived a possible meane to relieue the afflicted state of our catholikes, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope, or some learned diuines. I asked his opinion, he made it clere, commended my deuotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me knowne to the Runtio Campeggio, there resident for his holinesse. By his meanes I wrote vnto the pope, presented the seruice, and sued for a passport to go to Rome, and to returne safelie into France. Answer came from cardinall Como, that I might come, and should be welcome. I misliked the warrant, sued for a better, which I was promised: but it came not before my departure to Lions, where I promised to stae some time for it.

And being indeed desirous to go to Rome, and loth to go without countenance, I desired Christophero de Salazar, secretarie to the king catholike in Venice,

who had some brotherstanding (by conference) of my deuotion to the afflicted catholikes at home and abroad, to commend me to the duke di Pousa terra gouernour of Millaine, and to the countie of Alinari Embi, then resident for the king his master in Rome: which he promised to doe effectually for the one, and did for the other. And so I took my iourne towards Lions, whither came for me an ample passport (but somewhat too late) that I might come & go

In verbo pontificis per omnes iurisdictiones ecclesiasticas, absq;

impedimento. I acquainted some good fathers there of

my necessitie to depart towards Paris by promise,

& praised their aduises vpon diuerse points, wherein

I was well satisfied. And so assuring them that his

holinesse should heare from me shortly, it was undertaken that I should be excused for that time.

In October I came to Paris, where (vpon better

opinion conceived of me amongst my catholike

countriemen) I found my credit well settled, and such

as mistrusted me before, ready to trust and embrace

me. And being one daie at the chamber of Thomas

Sporgan a catholike gentleman (greatly beloved

and trusted on that side) amongst other gentlemen,

talking (but in verie good sort) of England, I was desired

by Sporgan to go vp with him to another chamber,

where he brake with me, and told me that it was

hoped and looked for, that I should doe some seruice

for God and his church. I answered him I would doe

it, if it were to kill the greatest subiect in England:

whom I named, and in truth then hated. So he, said

he, let him liue to his greater fall and ruine of his

house: 2 It is the queene I meane. I had him as

I wished, and told him it were some done, if it might

be lawfullie done, and warranted in the opinion of

some learned diuines. And so the doubt once resolved

(though as you haue heard I was before reasonably

well satisfied) I vowed to undertake the enterprise,

for the restitution of England to the ancient

obedience of the see apostolike. Diuers diuines were

named, doctor Allen I desired, Parsons I refused.

And by chance came master Wats a learned priest,

with whom I conferred, and was overruled.

For he plainelie pronounced (the case onelie

altered in name) that it was vtterlie vnlawfull:

with whom manie English priests did agree as I

haue heard, if it be not altered, since the booke made

in answer of the execution of the English iustice

was published, which I must confesse hath taken

hard hold in me, and (I feare me) will do in others, if

it be not prevented by more gracious handling of

the quiet and obedient catholike subiects, whereof

there is good and greater store in England than this

age will ertingulsh. Well, notwithstanding all these

doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conference

in Italie, that I could not go backe, but promised

faithfullie to perfoyme the enterprise, if his holinesse

vpon my offer & letters would allow it, & grant me

full remission of my sinnes. 4 I wrote my letters the

first of Ianuarie 1584, by their computation, took

aduise vpon them in confession of father Amball a

Codeto a learned Iesuit in Paris, was louinglie

embraced, commended, confessed, and communicated

at the Iesuits at one altar with the cardinals of

Windsor and Barbone: whereof I prated certifi-

cat, and inclosed the same in my letter to his holinesse,

to lead him the rather to absolue me, which I required

by my letters, in consideration of so great an

enterprise undertaken without promise or reward.

5 I went with Sporgan to the Runtio Magazoni,

to whom I read the letter and certifiat inclosed,

sealed it, & left it with him to send to Rome: he promised

great care of it, and to procure answer; and so louinglie

embraced me, wished me good speed, and promised that I should be remembered at the altar.

Arrrrrrr.

6 After

Note with what fellowes, enemies to God and his church, Parrie lineth himselfe.

Note the dishonourful conference betwene Sporgan and Parrie.

Parrie boweth to vnderstande the king of the queene.

What a lamentable hearing is this!

Parrie is now become altogether past grace, and growne resolute with Judas to kill the Lords appointed.

6 After this I desired Morgan, that some speciall man might be made priuie to this matter, least he dieng, and I miscarling in the execution, and my intent neuer trulie discovered, it might sticke for an euerlasting spot in my race. Winerse were named, but none agreed vpon for feare of betwailing.

7 This being done, Morgan assured me, that shortly after my departure, the L. Fernehurst (then in Paris) should go into Scotland, and be readie vpon the first newes of the queens fall, to enter into England with 20 or 30000 men to defend the queene of Scotland (whom, and the king hir sonne, I doe in my conscience acquit of anie priuie, liking, or consent to this, or anie other bad action, for anie thing that euer I did know.)

I promise for a Scottish inuasion after the deathe of Parrie executed.

Note the bilians ill mind to hir maies.

I shortly departed for England, and arrived at Kie in Januarie 1583, from whence I wrote to the court, aduertised some, that I had a speciall seruice to discover to the queens maiesie. 8 Which I did more to prepare access and credit, than for anie care I had of hir person, though I were fullie resolu'd neuer to touch hir (notwithstanding anie warrant) if by anie deuise, perswasion, or policie she might be wrought to deale more grationlie with the catholikes than she doth, or by our manner of proceeding in parlement meaneth to doe, for anie thing yet seene. I came to the court (then at Whitehall) praised audience, had it at large, and berie priuatie discovered to hir maiesie this conspiracie, much to this effect, though couered with all the skill I had: she toke it doubtfullie, I departed with feare. And amongst other things, I cannot forget hir maiesies gracions speech then bitered touching the catholikes, which of late, after a sort I auowed in parlement: she said to me that neuer a catholike should be troubled for religion or supremacie, so long as they liued like good subiects. Whereby I mistrusted that hir maiesie is bozne in hand, that none is troubled for the one or the other. It may be trulie said that it is better than it hath bene, though it be not yet as it should be.

Note hir maiesies vnderferued grations outines to pretended catholikes.

In March last, while I was at Cronewich (as I remember) suing for saint Katharines, came letters to me from cardinall Como, dated at Rome the last of Januarie before, whereby I found the enterpryse commended, and allowed, and my selfe absolved (in his holinesse name) of all my sinnes, and willed to go forward in the name of God. That letter I shewed to some in court, who imparted it to the queene: what it wrought, or maie worke in hir maiesie, God knoweth: onelie this I know, 9 That it confirmed my resolution to kill hir, and made it cleere in my conscience, that it was lawfull and meritorious. And yet was I determined neuer to doe it, if either policie, practise, perswasion, or motion in parlement could preuaile. I feared to be tempted, and therefore alwaies when I came nere hir, I left my dagger at home. 10 When I looked vpon hir maiesie, I remembred hir manie excellencies, I was greatly troubled: and yet I saw no remedie, for my bowes were in heauen, my letters and promises in earth, and the case of the catholike recusants and others little bettered.

Note Parries resolution by letters from cardinall Como.

Parrie is in a manner saying what to doe as may be noted by these speeches interrogatorie.

Parrie despaired.

Sometimes I said to my selfe: Why should I care for hir? What hath she done for me? Haue I not spent ten thousand markes since I knew hir seruice, and neuer had penie by hir? It maie be said, she gaue me my life. But I saie (as my case stood) it had bene tyrannic to take it: and I feare me it is little lesse yet. If it please hir grationlie to looke in to my discontentments, would to Iesus Christ she had it, for I am wearie of it. And now to come to an end of this tragicall discourse. In Iulie I left the court, bitterlie reieted, discontented, and as hir maiesie might perceiue by my passionate letters, care

lesse of my selfe. I came to London: doctor Allens booke was sent me out of France: 11 It redoubled my former conceits, euerie word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught that kings maie be excommunicated, depeined, and violentlie handled. It proueth that all warres ciuill or foren, undertaken for religion, is honourable. Hir maiesie maie doe well to read it, and to be out of doubt (if things be not amended) that it is a warning, and a doctrine full dangerous. This is the booke I shewed, in some places read, and lent to my cousin Penill (the accuser) who came often to mine house, put his finger in my dish, his hand in my purse, and the night wherein he accused me, was wrapped in my goiwe, six moneths at least after we had entered in to this conspiracie: in which space hir maiesie, and ten princes in seuerall prouinces might haue bene killed. God blesse hir maiesie from him: for before almighty God I tole and am glad in my soule, that it was his hap to discover me in time, though there were no danger nere.

And now to the matter of our meetings. He came to me in the beginning of August, and spake to me in this or the like sort: Cousine, let vs doe somewhat, sith we can haue nothing. I offered to ioine with him, and gladlie heard him, hoping because I knew him to be a catholike, that he would hit vpon that I had in my head: but it fell not out so. He thought the deliuerie of the queene of Scotland 12 sie, presuming vpon his credit and kinned in the North: I thought it dangerous to hir, and impossible to men of our fortunes. He fell from that to the taking of Berwik: I spake of Winbrough and the nauie, rather to intertaine him with discourse, than that I cared for those motions, my head being full of greater matter. 13 I told him that I had another manner of enterpryse, more honourable and profitable vnto vs, and the catholikes commonwealth, than all these, if he would ioine in it with me, as he presentlie vowed to doe. He pressed to know it, I willed him to sleepe vpon the motion: he did so, and (belike ouertaken) came vnto me the next morning to my lodging in London, offered to ioine with me, and toke his oth vpon a bible, to conceale and constantly to pursue the enterpryse for the aduancement of religion: which I also did, and meant to performe: the killing of the queene was the matter.

How long the conspiracie was in hand long per it was detected.

Note the motions that should haue bene commended and finished in this conspiracie.

This oth and all of the like quality and nature are violable.

The maner and place, to be on horsebacke, with eight or ten horses, when she should ride abroad about saint James, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Shepesh, or some other part: but we resolu'd vpon the first. This continued as agreed vpon manie moneths, till he heard of the death of Westmerland, whose land and dignitie (whereof he assured himselfe) bred belike this conscience in him to discover a treason in Februarie, contriued and agreed vpon in August. If it cost him not an ambitious head at last, let him neuer trust me. He brought a tall gentleman (whome he commended for an excellent pifolier) to me to Channon Row, to make one in the match: but I refused to deale with him, being loth to laie my head vpon so manie hands.

The death of Westmerland repozed.

Sp. Penill hath (I thinke) forgotten, that he did sweare to me at diuerse times, that all the aduancement he could giue, should serue but for his scourge, if euer time and occasion should serue: and that although he would not laie hand vpon hir in a corner, his hart serued him to strike off hir head in the field. Now leaning him to himselfe, thus much (to make an end) I must confesse of my selfe: I did meane to trie what might be done in parlement, to doe my best to hinder all hard courses, to haue praised hearing

Parrie chose greth Penill with herrenous speeches of cursed dissolutes.

ring of the queenes maiestie, to moue hir (if I could) to take compassion vpon hir catholike subiects, and when all had failed, to do as I intended. If hir maiestie by this course would haue eased them, though she had neuer preferred me, I had with all comfort and patience borne it: 13 but if she had preferred me without ease or care of them, the enterprise had held. ¶ God preserve the queene, & incline hir merciful hart to forgive me this desperat purpose, and to take my head (with all my hart) for hir better satisfaction.

W. Parrie.

After which, for the better manifesting of his treasons, on the fourteenth of Februarie last past, there was a letter written by him to hir maiestie, verie voluntarie, all of his owne hand, without any motion made to him. The tenor whereof, for that which concerneth these his traitorous dealings, is as followeth.

A letter written by Parrie to hir
maiestie.

Your maiestie maie see by my voluntarie confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented mind: & how constantly I pursued my first conceived purpose in Venice, for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, continued it in Lions, and resolved in Paris to put it in aduventure, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolike. You maie see withall how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, diuinitie, and policie, by the pope and some great diuines: though it be true or likelie, that most of our English diuines (lesse practised in matters of this weight) doo vterlie mislike and condemne it.

The enterprise is preuented, and conspiracie discovered, by an honourable gentleman my kinsman, and late familiar friend, maister Edmund Neuill, priuie and by solemne oth (taken vpon the bible) partie to the matter, wherof I am hardlie glad, but now sorie (in my verie soule) that euer I conceived or intended it, how commendable or meritorious so euer I thought it. God thanke him, and forgive me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had libertie and oportunitie to doo it) to gaine your kingdom. I beseech Christ that my death and example maie as well satisfie your maiestie, and the world, as it shall glad and content me.

The queene of Scotland is your prisoner, let hir be honourable intreated, but yet surelie garded. The French king is French, you know it well enough, you will find him occupied when he should doo you good; he will not lose a pilgrimage to saue you a crowne. I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart & soule I doo now honour & loue you, am inwardlie sorie for mine offense, and readie to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *A culpa* but not *A pena*, good ladie. And to farewell, most gracious and the best natured and qualified queene that euer liued in England. From the Tower, the fourteenth of Februarie, one thousand five hundred eightie and foure.

W. Parrie.

After which, to wit, the eighteenth of Februarie last past, Parrie, in further acknowledging his wicked and intended treasons, wrote a letter all of his owne hand in like voluntarie maner to the lord treasurer of England, and the earle of Leicester, lord steward of hir maiesties house, the tenor wherof is as followeth.

William Parries letter to the lord
treasurer, and the earle of Leicester.

MY lords, now that the conspiracie is discovered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and mind prepared patiently to suffer the paines due for so heinous a crime; I hope it shall not offend you, if I bring *Miserere* with the poore publicane, I leaue to despair with curst Caine. My case is rare and strange, and for any thing I can remember, singular: a naturall subiect solemne to vow the death of this naturall queene (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, and restitution of religion. The matter first conceived in Venice, the seruice (in generall words) presented to the pope, continued and vnderaken in Paris, and lastlie commended and warranted by his holinesse, digested and resolved in England, if it had not bene preuented by accusation, or by hir maiesties greater lenitie and more gracious vsage of hir catholike subiects.

This is my first and last offense conceived against my prince or countrie, and dooth (I cannot denie) containe all other faults wharsoeuer. It is now to be punished by death, or most gratiousslie (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doo confesse to haue deserued, life I doo (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the queenes honor, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a treason unpunished were strange; to drawe it by death in example were dangerous; a sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprise vpon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not bene seene in England; to indict him, arraigne him, bring him to the scaffold, and to publish his offense, can doo no good; to hope that he hath more to discover than is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnfaie any thing he hath written, is in vaine; to conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were verie hard, and against former experience.

The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (least the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though parciall) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good queene Elisabeths, the offense is committed against hir sacred person, and she may (of hir mercie) pardon it without preiudice to any. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, than to liue: Pardon poore Parrie and releaue him; for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous, or dishonorable to the queenes maiestie (as by your fauors, I thinke it full of honor and mercie) then I beseech your lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be indicted, and afterwards (if I must die) humble to intreat the queenes maiestie to hasten my trial and execution: which I praie God (with all my heart) may proue as honorable to hir, as I hope it shall be happy to me, who will while I liue (as I haue done alwaies) praie to Iesus Christ for hir maiesties long and prosperous reigne. From the Tower the eighteenth of Februarie, 1584.

W. Parrie.

And where in this meane time sir Francis Walsingham secretarie to hir maiestie, had dealt with one William Cresshton, a Scot for his birth, and a Jesuit by his profession, now prisoner also in the Tower, for that he was apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme, to vnderstand of him, if the said Parrie had euer dealt with him in the parties beyond the seas touching that

question,

God (no doubt) will preserve good queene Elisabeth, though a thousand such traitors as Parrie conspire hir death to their owne destruction.

Parries purpose conceived in Venice, continued in Lions, resolved in Paris, to be executed in England.

Result charged by Parrie to be accessorie to the treason.

Compare this with the events in Anno 1585, 1586, speciallie about August.

Parries guiltie conscience generously at last by voluntarie confession.

A traitor of singular note by his owne confession was Parrie.

An offense sufficient to hang 1000 traitors without drop of mercie.

Parrie had more glowing rhetoric than faithfull obedience.

God Lord with what heart might Parrie hope after any thing but death, hauing bene so captall a traitor.

Cresshton apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme.

question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maie-
stie or not. The which at that time the said Creitchton
called not to his remembrance: yet after vpon bet-
ter calling it to mind, vpon the twentieth date of Fe-
bruarie last past, he wrote vnto maister secretarie
Walsingham thereof voluntarilie, all of his owne
hand, to the effect following.

William Creitchtons letter to sir

Francis Walsingham, Febr. 20.

Right honorable sir, when your honor de-
manded me if maister Parrie did aske me,
if it were leason to kill the queene; in
deed and veritie, then I had no remem-
brance at all thereof. But since, thinking on the mat-
ter, I haue called to mind the whole fashion of his
dealing with me, and some of his arguments: for he
dealt verie craftilie with me, I dare not say maliciou-
lie. For I did in no wise thinke of anie such descine
of his, or of anie other, and did answer him simple
after my conscience and knowledge to the veritie of
the question. For after that I had answered him twice
before, *Quod omnino non liceret*; he returned late at
euen by reason I was to depart earlie in the next mor-
ning toward Chamberie in Sauoie where I did re-
maine, and being returned out of the cloffe within
one of the classes of the college, he proponed to me
of new the matter, with his reasons and arguments.

Note Cre-
itchtons re-
port of Par-
ries craft and
malice.

Creitchtons
reasons to re-
pell Parries
traitorous
allegations.

Downe magis
amare aduer-
bis quam no-
mina.

Creitchton
holdeth Par-
ries attempt
unlawfull:
note.

Parrie faith-
fully and
like a traitor
to shift off the
heauie charge
of treason.

First he alleged the vtilitie of the deed for deliue-
ring off so manie catholikes out of miserie, and resti-
tution of the catholike religion. I answered, that the
scripture answered thereto, saying: *Non sunt facienda
mala, vt veniant bona*. So that for no good, how great
that euer it be, may be wrought anie euill, how little
that euer it be. He replied that it was not euill to take
awaie so great euill, and induce so great good. I an-
swered, that all good is not to be done, but that
onlie: *Quod bene & legitime fieri potest*. And there-
fore, *dixi Deum magis amare aduerbia, quam nomi-
na. Quia in actionibus magis ei placent bene & legitime,
quam bonum. It vt nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene &
legitime fieri possit. Quod in hoc casu fieri non potest*. Yet said
he, that seuerall learned men were of the opini-
on, *Quod liceret*. I answered, that they men perhaps
were of the opinion, that for the safetie of manie in
soule and bodie, they would permit a particular to his
danger, & to the occult iudgement of God: or per-
haps said so, moued rather by some compassion and
commiseration of the miserable estate of the catho-
likes, nor for anie such doctrine that they did find in
their bookes. For it is certeine, that such a thing is not
licit to a particular, without speciall reuelation diuine,
which exceedeth our learning and doctrine. And so
he departed from me. Out of the prison in the
Tower, the 20 of Februarie.

Your honors poore seruitor in Christ
Iesu, W. Creitchton prisoner.

And there also the same Parrie was on the
same twentieth date of Februarie examined by
sir Francis Walsingham knight, that was be-
come of the letter contained in his confession to be
written vnto him by the cardinall de Como: he
then answered, that it was consumed and burnt.
And yet after, the next date following, being more
beheementlie byged vpon that point in examination
(because it was knowne that it was not burnt) he
confessed there he had left it in the towne: where-
vpon, by Parries direction it was sent for, where it
had bene layed by together with other frivulous pa-
pers, and written vpon the one side of it; The last
will of William Parrie. The which letter was in the
Italian tong as hereafter followeth, with the same
in English accordinglie translated.

Amor Signore, mon signor
Guglielmo Parrie.



On Signore, la Santita di N.S. ha veduto le
lettere di V.S. del primo con la fede inclusa,
& non puose non laudare la buona disposi-
tione che serue di tenere verso il seruicio & be-
neficio publico, nel che la Santita sua lessata
di perseverare, con farne ruscire li effetti che V.S. promette: &
accioche tanto maggiormente V.S. sia aiutata da quel buon
spirito che l'ha mossa, le concede sua beneditione plenaria indul-
genza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V.S. ha
chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n'hauea in cielo,
vuole anco sua Santitata costituirsi debitor a riconoscere li
meriti di V.S. in ogni miglior modo che porta, & cio tanto piu,
quanto che V.S. usa maggior modestia in non pretendere men-
te. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pen-
sieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core,
& le desiderio ogni buono & felice successo. Di Roma 4 30
di Gennaio, 1584.

Al piacer di V.S.

N. cardinals di Como.

Al Sig. Guglielmo Parrie.

Cardinall de Comos letter to D.

Parrie, 30. Ian. 1584 by account
of Rome.



On signor, his holinesse hath seene your
letter of the first, with the certificat inclu-
ded, and cannot but commend the good
disposition & resolution which you write
to hold towards the seruice and benefit publicke: reasons in
wherin his holinesse doth exhort you to perieuer, & this for,
to bring to effect that which you haue promised. And
to the end you may be so much the more holpen by
that * good spirit which hath moued you thereto, * God spirit,
he granteth vnto you his blessing, plenarie indul-
gence and remission of all your sinnes, according to
your request. Assuring you, that besides the merit that
you shall receiue therefore in heauen, his holinesse will
further make himselfe debitor to acknowledge your
deseruings in the best maner that he can: and so
much the more, in that you vse the greater modestie
in not pretending anie thing. Put therefore to effect
your * holie and honorable purposes, and attend your
health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you
hartilie, and doe desire all good and happie success.
From Rome the 30 of Ianuarie, 1584.

At the pleasure of your signorie,
N. Card. of Como.

Vpon all which former accusation, declaration,
confessions and protestes, vpon mondays the two
and twentieth date of Februarie last past, at West-
minster hall, before sir Christopher Wrate knight
chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard
knight master of the rolles, sir Edmund Anderson
knight chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Roger
Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, sir
Thomas Watdie knight one of the iustices of the
ples before hir maiestie to be holden, & William Pa-
riam one of the iustices of the common ples, by ver-
tue of hir maiesties commission to them and others
in that behalfe directed: the same Parrie was indi-
cted of high treason, for intending and practising the
death and destruction of hir maiestie, whome God
long prosper, and preserue from all such wicked at-
tempts. The tenor of which indictment appeareth
more particularlie in the course of his arraignment
following.

The maner of the arraignment of Wil-
liam Parrie the 25 of Februarie 1584, at West-
minster

Cardinall de
Como his as-
signing let-
ter to Parrie
to perieuer
in his dutie
deuote.

But as God
would, Par-
ries enter-
prise wanted
that which
was his
success.

* God clea-
re in the
meane time
that allow
this for,

* God spirit,
naie malignat
spirit more
than diabolic
call.

* State curbed
and abhomi-
nable purpo-
ses, with
restitution to
the benefi-
cer.

Parrie con-
fessed, and
arraigned at
Westminster
hall the 22 of
Februarie.

the names
of such partic-
nages of the

as and toope
supas had
received of
Barrie are
sighted.

minister, in the place where the court commonlie called the Kings bench is viallie kept by vertue of hir maiesties commission of oier and terminer, before Henrie lord Hunsdon gouernour of Barwike, sir Francis Knolles knight treasurer of the queenes maiesties household, sir James Croft knight comptrollor of the same household, sir Christopher Hanton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie, sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rolls, sir Edmund Anderion knight chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, and sir Thomas Hennage knight treasurer of the chamber.

Then three proclamations for silence were made, according to the vsuall course in such cases. Then the lieutenant was commanded to retorne his precept, who did so, and brought the prisoner to the bar, to whome spiles hands equier clerke of the crowne said; William Barrie hold by thy hand: and he did so. Then said the clerke of the crowne; Thou art here indicted by the oths of twelve good and lawfull men of the countie of Spideler, before sir Christopher Wraie knight and others, which take the indictment by the name of W. Barrie, late of London doctor, or therwise called W. Barrie, late of London doctor of the law, for that thou as a false traitor against the most noble and christian prince, queene Elisabeth thy most grations soueraigne and liege ladie, not hauing the feare of God before thine eyes, nor regarding thy due allegiance (but being seduced by the instigation of the diuell, and intending to withdraue and extinguish the hartie loue and due obedience, which true & faithfull subiects should beare vnto the same our soueraigne ladie) diddest at Westminster in the countie of Spideler on the first daie of Februarye, in the six and twentieth yeare of hir highnesse reigne, and at diuerse other times and places in the same countie, maliciouslie, and traitorouslie conspire and compass, not onelie to depriue and depose the same our soueraigne ladie of hir roiall estate, title and dignitie; but also to bring hir highnesse to death and final destruction, and sedition in the realme to make, and the gouernement thereof to subuert, and the sincere religion of God established in hir highnesse dominions to alter and supplant.

And that, whereas thou William Barrie, by thy letters sent vnto Gregorie bishop of Rome, diddest signify vnto the same bishop thy purposes and intentions aforesaid, and thereby diddest prae and require the same bishop to giue thee absolution; that thou afterwards, that is to saie, the last day of March in the six and twentieth yeare aforesaid, diddest traitorouslie receiue letters from one called cardinall de Como, directed vnto the William Barrie, whereby the same cardinall did signifie vnto thee, that the bishop of Rome had perused thy letters, and allowed of thine intent; and that to that end he had absolved thee of all thy finnes, and by the same letter did animate and stir thee to proceed with thine enterprise; and that thereupon, thou, the last daie of August in the six and twentieth yeare aforesaid, at saint Giles in the fields, in the same countie of Spideler, diddest traitorouslie confer with one Edmund Penill equier, bitering to him all thy wicked and traitorous deuises, and then and there diddest moue him to assist thee therein, and to ioune with thee in those wicked treasons aforesaid, against the peace of our said soueraigne ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. What saiest thou William Barrie, art thou guiltie of these treasons whereof thou standest here indicted, or not guiltie?

Then Barrie said; Before I plead not guiltie, or confesse my selfe guiltie, I prae you giue me leaue to speake a few words: and with humbling himselfe began in this manner. God saue queene Elisabeth, & God send me grace to discharge my dutie to hir, and to send you home in charitie. But touching the matters that I am indicted of, some were in one place, and some in another, and done so secretlie, as none can see into them, except that they had eyes like vnto God: wherefore I will not laie my blood vpon the surie, but do mind to confesse the indictment, I containe but the parts that haue bene openlie read, I prae you tell me. Wherevnto it was answered, that the indictment contained the parts he had heard read; no other. Whereupon the clerke of the crowne said vnto Barrie; Barrie, thou must answer directly to the indictment, whether thou be guiltie or not.

Then said Barrie; I do confesse that I am guiltie of all that is therein contained: and farther so, I desire not life, but desire to die. Vnto which the clerke of the crowne said; If you confesse it, you must confesse it in maner and forme as it is compassed in the indictment. Wherevnto he said; I do confesse it in maner and forme as the same is set downe, and all the circumstances thereof. Then the confession being recorded, the queenes learned counsell being ready to prae iudgement vpon the same confession, master vicechamberleine said: These matters contained in this indictment, and confessed by this man, are of great importance; they touch the person of the queenes most excellent maiestie in the highest degree, the verie state and welldoing of the whole commonwealth, and the trust of Gods word established in these hir maiesties dominions, and the open demonstration of that capitall enuie of the man of Rome, that hath set himselfe against God and all godlinesse, all good princes and good gouernement, and against good men. Wherefore I prae you for the satisfaction of this great multitude, let the whole matter appeere, that euerie one may see that the matter of it selfe is as bad as the indictment purporteth, and as he hath confessed.

Whereunto in respect that the iustice of the realme hath bene of late verie impudentlie slandered, all yielded as a thing necessarie to satisfie the world in particular, of that which was but summarilie compassed in the indictment, though in the law, his confession serued sufficientlie to haue proceeded thereupon vnto iudgement. Whereupon the lords and others the commissioners, hir maiesties learned counsell, and Barrie himselfe agreed, that Barries confession (taken the eleuenth and thirteenth of Februarye 1584, before the lord of Hunsdon, master vicechamberleine, and master Secretarie) and cardinall de Como his letters, and Barries letters to the lord treasurer and lord steward, should be openlie read.

And Barrie, for the better satisfieng of the people and standers by, offered to read them himselfe: but being told how the order was, that the clerke of the crowne should read them, it was so resolved of all parts. And then master vicechamberleine caused to be shewed to Barrie his said confession, the cardinalls letter, and his owne letter aforesaid: which after he had particularlie viewed euerie leafe thereof, he confessed, and said openlie they were the same. Then said master vicechamberleine; Before we proceed to shew what he hath confessed, what saie you (said he to Barrie) is that which you haue confessed here true, and did you confesse it frelie and willingly of your selfe, or was there anie extort means used to draw it from you? Surelie (said Barrie) I made that confession frelie without anie constraint, and that is all true, and more so: for there is no treason that hath bene since the first yeare of the queene anie waie touching

Barrie and
in to the
indictment,
wherein he
confessed it.

Barrie con-
fesseth that he
is guiltie of
all things con-
tained in the
indictment.

Sir Christo-
pher Wattons
collection out
of Barries
indictment.

Certaine spe-
ciall matters
vnder writ-
ting read in
open audience
of the multi-
tude for their
satisfaction.

Barries con-
fession was
not read but
Voluntarie: ergo
more credibly
touching

The lieuten-
ant of the
tower retorne
not his pre-
cept.

The indict-
ment against
Barrie where-
in his trea-
sonous treason
appeareth.

Barrie sent
letters to
Gregorie the
bishop of
Rome: and
wha was the
hope of them.

Barrie mo-
ued himselfe to
shew him in
his treasons.

touching religion, saving receipt of *Agnus Dei*, and persuading of others, wherein I haue not much dealt, but I haue offended in it. And I haue also deliuered mine opinion in writing, who ought to be successor to the crowne: which he said to be treason also.

¶ Barries confession of his treasons was read by his owne selfe, A letter of cardinal di Como vnto Barrie also read.

Then his confession of the eleuenth and thirtieth of Februarie, all of his owne handwriting, and before particularlie set downe, was openlie and distinctly read by the clerke of the crowne. And that done, the cardinal *di Como* his letter in Italian was deliuered vnto Barries hand, by the direction of maister vicechamberleine, which Barrie there perused, & openlie affirmed to be whole of the cardinals owne handwriting, and the seale to be his owne also, and to be with a cardinals hat on it: and himselfe did openlie read it in Italian, as before is set downe. And the words bearing sense as it were written to a bishop or to a man of such degree, it was demanded of him by maister vicechamberleine, whether he had not taken the degree of a bishop: He said, No: but said at first, those tearmes were proper to the degree he had taken: and after said that the cardinal did bouchsafe as of a fauour to write so to him. Then the copie of that letter in English as before is also set downe, was in like manner openlie read by the clerke of the crowne, which Barrie then acknowledged to be trulie translated. And thereupon was shewed vnto Barrie his letter of the eighteenth of Februarie, written to the lord treasurer, and the lord steward: which he confessed to be all of his owne handwriting, and was as before is set downe.

¶ Barries letter of the eighteenth of Februarie to the lord treasurer and the earle of Leices-ter read.

These matters being read openlie for manifestation of the matter, Barrie prayed leaue to speake; whereto maister vicechamberleine said: If you will saie anie thing for the better opening to the world of those your soule and horrible facts, speake on: but if you meane to make anie excuse of that which you haue confessed, which else would haue bene and do stand proued against you; for my part, I will not sit to heare you. Then his maiesties attorneie generall stood vp and said: It appeareth before you my lords, that this man hath bene indicted and arraigned of generall most heinous and horrible treasons, and hath confessed them, which is before you of record: wherefore there resteth no more to be done, but for the court to giue iudgement accordingly, which here I require in the behalfe of the quenes maiestie. Then said Barrie, I praie you heare me for discharging of my conscience; I will not go about to excuse my selfe, nor to saue my life; I care not for it, you haue my confession of record, that is enough for my life: and I meane to vtter more, for which I were worthy to die; and said: I praie you heare me, in that I am to speake to discharge my conscience. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Barrie, then do thy dutie according to conscience, and vtter all that thou canst saie concerning those thy most wicked facts.

Then said Barrie: My cause is rare, singular and vnnaturall, conceived at Venice, presented in generall words to the pope, undertaken at Paris, commended and allowed of by his holinesse, and was to haue bene executed in England, if it had not bene prevented. Yea, I haue committed manie treasons, for I haue committed treason in being reconciled, and treason in taking absolution. There hath bene no treason since the first yeare of the quenes reigne touching religion, but that I am guiltie of (except for receiving of *Agnus Dei*, & persuading as I haue said) and yet neuer intended to kill quene Elisabeth. I appeale to his owne knowledge and to my lord treasurer and maister secretaries. Then said my lord of Hunsdon: Hast thou acknowledged it so often, and so plainlie in writing vnder thy hand, and here of

record; and now, when thou shouldest haue thy iudgement according to that which thou hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of, dost thou go backe againe, and deny the effect of all? How can we beleue that thou now saiest?

Then said maister vicechamberleine: This is absurd, thou hast not onelie confessed generallie, that thou wert guiltie according to the indictment, which summarilie, and yet in expresse words doth containe that thou haddest traitorouslie compassed and intended the death & destruction of his maiestie: but thou also saidst particularlie that thou wert guiltie of euerie of the treasons contained therein, wherof the same was one in plaine & expresse letter set downe, and read vnto thee; Yea thou saidst that thou wert guiltie of more treasons to be these: And diddest thou not vpon thy examination voluntarilie confesse, how thou wast moued first therunto by milike of thy state after thy departure out of the realme: And that thou diddest milike his maiestie for that he had done nothing for thee: How by wicked papists and popish bookes thou wert persuaded that it was lawfull to kill his maiestie: How thou wert by reconciliation become one of that wicked sort, that held his maiestie for neither lawfull quene, nor christian? And that it was meritorious to kill her: And diddest thou not signifie that thy purpose to the pope by letters, and receiuedst letters from the cardinal, how he allowed of thine intent, and excited thee to performe it, and thereupon diddest receiue absolution: And diddest thou not conceiue it, promise it, vowe it, sweare it, and receiue the sacrament that thou wouldest do it? And diddest not thou thereupon asseuer, that thy vovew were in heauen, and thy letters and promises on earth to bind thee to do it: And that what soener his maiestie would haue done for thee, could not haue remoued thee from that intention or purpose, vntlesse she would haue desired from dealing as she hath done with the catholikes, as thou callest them? All this thou hast plainlie confessed; and I protest before this great assemblie, thou hast confessed it more plainlie & in better sort, than my memorie will serue me to vtter: and saiest thou now, that thou neuer meantest it?

¶ (said Barrie) your honors know how my confession vpon mine examination was extorted. Then both the lord Hunsdon and maister vicechamberleine affirmed, that there was no torture or threatening words offered him. But Barrie then said, that they told him, that if he would not confesse willingly, he should haue torture. Wherevnto their honors answered, that they vsed not anie speech or words of torture to him. Then said Barrie, that you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confesse it of my selfe. But their honors expresse affirmed that they vsed no such words. But I will tell thee, said maister vicechamberleine, what we said, I spake these words: If you will willingly vtter the truth of your selfe, it may do you good, and I wish you to do so; if you will not, we must then proceed in ordinarie course to take your examination. Wherevnto you answered, that you would tell the truth of your selfe. Was not this true? Which then he promised vnto. And herevnto, his maiesties attorneie generall put Barrie in remembrance what speeches he vsed to the lieutenant of the Tower, the quenes maiesties sergeant at law, M. Gaudie, and the same attorneie on saturday the twentieth of Februarie last at the Tower, vpon that he was by them then examined by order from the lords: which was, that he acknowledged he was most milike and fauorable dealt with, in all his examinations: which he also at the bar then acknowledged to be true.

Then maister vicechamberleine said, that it was wonder

to see how he could be so bold as to say that he was not guilty of the treasons which he had confessed, and yet to say that he was not guilty of the treasons which he had confessed.

¶ Note all this charge of maister vicechamberleine to be accusation of all or most of the treasons of Barrie.

¶ Barrie charged the lords of the council with vniuersitie.

¶ Barrie charged the lords of the council with vniuersitie.

¶ Barrie had for his credit a long time said he was secretlie, that he had bene solicited

The magnanimitie of the queene maifeste notified by Sir Christopher Hatton.

wonder to see the magnanimitie of hir maiestie, which after that thou haddest opened those traitorous practises in soyt as thou hast laid it downe in thy confession, was neuertheless such, and so far from all feare, as that she would not so much as acquaint a nie one of hir highnesse priuie counsell with it, to his knowlege, no not untill after this thine enterpryse discovered and made manifest. And besides that which thou hast set downe vnder thine owne hand, thou diddest confesse, that thou haddest prepared two Scottish daggers fit for such a purpose: and those being disposed auaie by thee, thou diddest saie that another would serue thy turne. And withall, Barrie, diddest thou not also confesse before vs how wonderfullie thou wert appalled and perplexed vpon a sudden at the presence of hir maiestie at Hampton court this last summer, saieing that thou diddest thinke thou then sawest in hir the verie likenesse and image of king Henrie the seuenth: And that therewith, and vpon some speeches vsed by hir maiestie, thou diddest turne about and weape bitterlie to thy selfe: And yet diddest call to mind that thy bowes were in heauen, thy letters and promyses on earth; and that therefore thou diddest saie with thy selfe, that there was no remedie but to do it: Diddest thou not confesse this? The which he acknowledged.

The lord of Hunsdon's speeches concerning Barrie manifeste of his treason.

Then said the lord Hunsdon; Satest thou now, that thou diddest neuer meane to kill the queene: Diddest thou not confesse, that when thou diddest vtter this practise of trecherie to hir maiestie, that thou diddest couer it with all the skill thou haddest; and that it was done by thee, rather to get credit and access therby, than for anie regard thou haddest of hir person? But in truth thou diddest it, that thereby thou mightest haue better opportunitie to perforce thy wicked enterpryse. And wouldst thou haue run into such feare as thou diddest confesse that thou wert in, when thou diddest vtter it, if thou haddest neuer meant it? What reason canst thou shew for thy selfe? With that he cried out in a furious manner: I neuer meant to kill hir: I will laie my blood vpon queene Elisabeth and you, before God and the world: and therevpon fell into a rage and euill words with the queenes maiesties attourneie generall. Then said the lord Hunsdon; This is but thy popish pride & ostentation, which thou wouldst haue to be tolde to thy fellowes of that faction, to make them beleue that thou diest for poperie, when thou diest for most horrible and dangerous treasons against hir maiestie, and thy whole countrie. For thy laieing of thy blood, it must lie on thine owne head, as a iust reward of thy wickednesse. The lawes of the realme most iustlie condemne thee to die out of thine owne mouth, for conspiring the destruction both of hir maiestie, and of vs all: therefore thy blood be vpon thee: neither hir maiestie, nor we at anie time sought it; thy selfe hast spilt it.

Barrie adueth the honorable and worshipfull of the bench with termes vncomforth and darke speeches.

Then he was asked what he could saie, why iudgement of death ought not to be awarded against him: Whereunto he said, he did see that he must die, because he was not fettered. What meanest thou by that, said master vicechamberleine? Said he, I looke into your studie, and into your new booke, and you shall find what I meane. I protest (said his honor) I know not what thou meanest: thou doest not well to vse such darke speeches, vnlesse thou wouldst plaine lie vtter what thou meanest thereby. But he said, he cared not for death, and that he would laie his blood amongst them. When spake the lord chiefe iustice of England, being required to giue iudgement according to law, and said; Barrie, you haue bene much heard, and what you meane by being fettered, I know not; but I see you are so fettered in poperie, that you cannot settle your selfe to be a good sub-

iect. But touching that you should saie to state iudgement from being giuen against you, your speeches must be of one of these kinds; either to proue the indictment (which you haue confessed to be true) to be insufficient in law; or else to pleade somewhat touching hir maiesties mercie, why iustice should not be done of you. All other speeches wherein you haue vsed great libertie, is more than by law you can aske. These be the matters you must looke to, what saie you to them? Whereunto he said nothing.

More libertie of speech giuen to Barrie than by law was allowable.

Then said the lord chiefe iustice; Barrie, thou hast bene before this time indicted of diuerse most horrible and hateful treasons, committed against thy most gracious soueraigne, and native countrie: the matter most detestable, the maner most subtil and dangerous, and the occasions and meanes that lead thee therinto most vngodlie and villanous. That thou diddest intend it, it is most euident by thy selfe. The matter was the destruction of a most sacred and anointed queene thy soueraigne and mistress, who hath shewed thee such fauour, as some thy betters haue not obtained: yea, the ouerthrow of thy countrie wherein thou wert borne, & of a most happye common-wealth whereof thou art a member, and of such a queene, as hath bestowed on thee the benefit of all benefites in this world (that is to saie) thy life, heretofore granted thee by hir mercie when thou hadst lost it by iustice & desert. Yet thou hir seruant sworne to defende hir, mentest with thy bloodie hand to haue taken auaie hir life, that mercifullie gaue thee thine, when it was yeilded into hir hands. This is the matter wherein thou hast offended.

Barrie's treason recapitulated by the lord chiefe iustice, both for maner and matter.

The maner was most subtil and dangerous, beyond all that before thee haue committed anie wickednesse against hir maiestie: for thou making theu as if thou wouldst simple haue vttered for hir safetie the euill that others had contriued, diddest but take thereby credit & access, that thou mightest take the apter opportunitie for hir destruction. And for the occasions and meanes that drew thee on, they were most vngodlie and villanous: as the persuasions of the pope, of papists, and popish booke. The pope pretendeth that he is a pastor, when as in truth he is far from feeding of the stocke of Christ, but rather as a wolfe seeketh but to feed on & to sucke out the blood of true christians, and as it were thirsteth after the blood of our most gracious and christian queene. And these papists and popish booke, while they pretend to set forth diuinitie, they do indeed most vngodlie teach and persuaide that which is quite contrarie both to God and his word. For the word teacheth obedience of subiects toward princes, & forbiddeth anie priuat man to kill; but they teach subiects to disobey princes, & that a priuat wicked person may kill. Yea & whome a most godlie queene, & their owne naturall and most gracious soueraigne. Let all men therefore take heed how they receiue any thing from him, heare or read anie of their booke, and how they confer with anie papists. God grant hir maiestie, that she may know by thee, how euer she trust such like to come so nere hir person!

The occasions and meanes that induced Barrie to these treasons.

The danger & damnable nature of popish booke either read or listened vnto of papists, &c.

But see the end, and why thou diddest it, and it will appeare to be a most miserable, fearefull, and sorrowfull thing: for thou diddest imagine, that it was to releue those that thou callest catholikes, who were most likeliest amongst all others to haue felt the worst of it, if thy diuelish practise had taken effect. But sith thou hast bene indicted of the treasons committed in the indictment, and therevpon arraigned, and hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of them; the court doth award, that thou shalt be had from hence to the place whens thou diddest come, and so drawne through the open citie of London vpon an hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and let downe alive,

The forme of indictment against the traitor pronounced by the lord chiefe iustice.

allise, and thy priuie parts cut off, and thy entrails taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy head to be cut off, and thy bodie to be diuided in foure parts, and to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure: and God haue merite on thy soule.

Barrie was
put at the
iustice bar
without all
ceremonie.

William Barrie
the traitor
executed.

Barrie (even
at the time
of his death)
seemeth to
clear and
urge
himselfe as
innocent of
the treasons
for
the which
he
was
condemned.

Barrie neuer thelesse persisterd still in his rage and fond speech, and raginglie there said, he there summoned queene Elisabeth to answer for his blood before God: wherewith the lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to take him from the barre: and so he did. And upon his departure, the people stricken as it were at heart with the horror of his intended enterprise, ceased not, but pursued him with outcries, as; Awaite with the traitor, awaite with him, & such like: whereupon he was conueied to the barge, to passe to the Tower againe by water: & the court was adioyned. After which, upon the second daie of this instant March, William Barrie was by vertue of procelle in that behalfe awarded from the same commissioners of oier and terminer, deliuered by the lieutenant of the Tower erlie in the morning vnto the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, who receiued him at the Tower hill, and thereupon, according to the iudgement, caused him there to be forthwith set on the hurdle: from whence he was drawne thereupon through the middell of the citie of London, vnto the place for his execution in the palace at Westminister: where, hauing long time of state admitted vnto him before his execution, he most maliciouslie and impudentlie, after some other vaine discourtesie of words & often deliuered in speech, that he was neuer guiltie of anie intention to kill queene Elisabeth, and so without anie request made by him to the people to pray to God for him, or praier publikelie vsed by himselfe for ought that appeared: but such as he vsed, if he vsed anie, was priuat to himselfe: he was executed according to the iudgement. And now for his intent, how soeuer he pretended the contrarie in words, yet by these his owne writings, confessions, letters, & manie other proofes afore here exprest, it is most manifest to all persons, how horrible his intentions and treasons were, and how iustlie he suffered for the same: and therefore by greatlie to be doubted, that as he had liued a long time vaine and vngodlie, and like an atheist and godlesse man, so he continued the same course till his death to the outward sight of men. & Here endeth the true and plaine course and procelle of the treasons, arrest, araignement, and execution of William Barrie the traitor.

An addition not vnneccessarie for this purpose.

As much as Barrie in the abundance of his proud and arrogant humour, hath often both in his confession, and letters, pretended some great and grieuous causes of discontentment against hir maiestie, and the present state: it shall not be impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set forth simple and true, the condition and qualitie of the man, what he was by birth and education, and in what course of life he had liued. This vile and traitorous wretch was one of the younger sonnes of a poore man, called Barrie ap David: he dwelled in Southwales in a little village called Southop in the countie of Flint: there he kept a common alehouse, which was the best and greatest state of his lining. In that house was this traitor borne, his mother was the reputed daughter of one Contwaie a priest, parson of a poore parish called Warkin in the same countie of Flint: his eldest brother dwelleth at this present in the same house, and there keepeth an alehouse as his father did before him. This traitor in his childhood

A description
of Barrie
both by lineage
person, education,
and qualitie, &c.

as he had learned a litle to write and read, was put to serue a poore man dwelling in Chester, named John Fisher, who professed to haue some small skill and vnderstanding in the law. With him he continued diuerse yeares, and serued as a clerke, to write such things as in that trade, which his master bidd, he was appointed.

Barrie before
he borne and
baptized
brought up.

During this time, he learned the English tongue, and at such times of leasure as the poore man his master had no occasion otherwaie to vse him, he was suffered to go to the grammar schoole, where he got some litle vnderstanding in the Latine tongue. In this his childhood he was noted by such as best knew him, to be of a most villainous and dangerous nature & disposition. He did often run awaie from his master, and was often taken & brought to him againe. His master, to correct his peruerse and froward conditions, did manie times shut him as prisoner in some close place of his house, and manie times caused him to be chained, locked, and clogged, to staie his running awaie. Yet all was in vaine: for about the third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for his last farewell to his poore master, he ran awaie from him, and came to London to seeke his aduentures. He was then constrained to seeke what trade he could to liue by, and to get meat and drinke for his bellie, and clothes for his backe.

Barrie a
villainous
and dangerous
robber in
his young
yeares,

His good hap in the end was to be interteined in place of seruice about his desert, where he staied not long, but shifted himselfe diuerse times from seruice to seruice, and from one master to another. Now he began to forget his old home, his birth, his education, his parents, his friends, his owne name, and what he was. He aspired to greater matters, he challenged the name and title of a great gentleman, he wanted himselfe to be of kin and allied to noble and worshipfull, he left his old name which he did beare, and was commonlie called by in his childhood, & during all the time of his abode in the countie, which was William ap Barrie (as the maner in Wales is.) And because he would seeme to be in deed the man which he pretended, he took upon him the name of Barrie, being the surname of diuerse gentlemen of great worship and honour. And because his mothers name by his father a simple priest, was Contwaie: he pretended kindred to the familie of Sir John Contwaie, and so thereby made himselfe of kin to Edmund Penill.

Note Barrie
was ambitious,
and how the
priest forgetteth
that once
he was parish
clerke

Being thus set forth with his new name and new title of gentleman, and commended by some of his good fauourers, he matched himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales, who brought him some reasonable portion of wealth. She liued with him but a short time, and the wealth he had with her lasted not long: it was soon consumed with his dissolute and wastfull manner of life. He was then driven to his wanted shifts, his creditors were manie, the debt which he owed great, he had nothing therewith to make payment, he was continually pursued by sergeants and officers to arrest him, he did often by sleights and shifts escape from them. In this his needie and poore estate, he sought to repara himselfe againe by a new match in marriage with another widow, which before was the wife of one Richard Hethwood.

Barrie married
himselfe
in marriage
with a widow
in Southwales.

This matter was so earnestlie followed by himselfe, and so effectualie commended by his friends and fauourers, that the sillie woman yielded to take him to husband: a match in euerie respect verie vnequall and vnfit. His wealth and yearelie liuelihood was verie great, his poore and base estate worse than nothing, he verie young, the of such age as for yeares he might haue bene his mother. When he had thus possessed himselfe of his new wifes wealth, he omitted

Barrie a
foolish
man, in debt &
danger: he
married a
rich widow,
&c.

Barrie de-
soureth his
owne
daughter, and
soureth his
owne mother.

red nothing that might serue for a prouidall, dis-
late, and most vngodlie course of life. His riot and
excesse was vnrueasurabie, he did most wickedlie
desoure his wifes owne daughter, and sundrie
waies pittfullie abuse the old mother: he caried him-
selfe for his outward port and countenance (so long
as his old wifes bags lasted) in such sort, as might
well haue sufficed for a man of verie god hauour
and degre. But this lasted not long, his proud hart
& wastfull hand had sone powred out old bestwoods
wealth.

He then fell againe to his wonted thirst, bozot-
ed where he could find anie to lend, and ingaged his
credit so far as anie would trust him. Amongst o-
thers, he became greatlie indebted to Hugh Hare,
the gentleman before named. Who after long forbea-
ring of his monie, sought to recover it by law. For
this cause Barrie conceiued great displeasure a-
gainst him, which he pursued with all malice, euen
to the seeking of his life. In this murderous intent,
he came in the night time to Hares chamber in
the Temple, broke open the doore, assaulted him, and
wounded him grieuoulie, and so left him in great
danger of life. For this offense he was apprehended,
committed to prison, indicted of burglarie, ar-
reigned, and found guiltie by a verie substantiall iu-
rie, and condemned to be hanged, as the law in that
case requirith.

Barrie con-
demned for
burglarie, is
pardoned of
the queene.

He standing thus convicted, his maiestie of hir
most gracious clemencie, and pittfull disposition,
toke compassion vpon him, pardoned his offense,
& gaue him his life, which by the law & due course of
iustice he ought then to haue lost. After this he taried
not long, but pretending some causes of discontent-
ment, departed the realme, and trauelled beyond the
seas. Whom he demeaned himselfe there from time
to time, and with whom he conuersed, is partlie in
his owne confession touched before. This is the man,
this is his race, which he feared should be spotted if he
miscaried in the execution of his traitorous enter-
prise, this hath bene the course of his life, these are
the great causes of his discontentment.

Barrie pre-
tended a con-
science of re-
ligion, being
buriedd pro-
phane and of
no religion.

And whereas at his arraignment and execution,
he pretended great care of the disobedient popish sub-
iects of this realme, whom he called catholikes, and
in verie insolent sort seemed to glorie greatlie in the
profession of his pretended catholike religion: the
whole course and action of his life sheweth plainelie,
how prophane & irreligious he did alwaies beare
himselfe. He boasted, that for these two and twentie
yeares past he had bene a catholike, and during all
that time neuer receiued the communion: yet before
he trauelled beyond the seas, at thre seuerall times
within the compasse of these two and twentie yeares,
he did voluntarilie take the oath of obedience to the
quenes maiestie, set downe in the statute made in
the first yeare of hir highnesse reigne; by which, a-
mongst other things, he did testifie and declare in his
conscience, that no forreins prince, person, prelat,
state, or potentat, hath or ought to haue anie iuris-
diction, power, preeminence, or authoritie, ecclesiasti-
call or spirituall, within this realme; and therefore did
utterlie renounce & forsake all forreyn iurisdiccions,
powers, and authorities, and did promise to beare
faith and true allegiance to the quenes highnesse,
hir heires and lawfull successours.

Barrie do-
luntarie oath
(thys taken
in 22 yeares)
of obedience to
his maiestie.

With what conscience or religion he toke that
oath so often, if so be he were then a papist in deed, as
since the discouerie of his treasons he pretended, let
his best friends the papists themselves iudge. But
perhaps it may be said, that he repented those his of-
fences past: that since those thre oaths so taken by
him, he was thys reconciled to the pope, and so his
conscience cleared, and he become a new man, and

And this is
most like, for
what shall not
the pope
himselfe
iudicially

(which is more) that in the time of his last trauell, he
cast awaie all his former lewd manners: that he
changed his degre and habit, and bought or begged
the graue title of a doctor of law, for which he was
well qualified with a little grammar schole Latine:
that he had plenarie indulgence and remission of all
his sinnes, in consideration of his vnder taking of so
holie an enterprise as to kill queene Elisabeth, a sa-
cred annointed quene, his naturall and soueraigne
ladie: that he promised to the pope, & vowed to God
to performe it: that he confirmed the same by re-
ceiuing the sacrament at the Jesuits, at one altar
with his two beauperes, the cardinals of Clandonme
and Harbone: and that since his last returne into
England, he did take his oath vpon the bible to execut
it. These reasons may seeme to beare some weight
in deed amongst his friends the Jesuits, and other pa-
pists of state, who haue speciall skill in matters of
such importance.

Barrie two
beauperes the
cardinals of
Clandonme
& Harbone.

But now latelie in the beginning of this par-
ment in Nouember last, he did effronies solemnlie
in publike place take the oath before mentioned, of o-
bedience to hir maiestie. How that maie stand with
his reconciliations to the pope, and with his promi-
ses, vowes, and oath to kill the quene, it is a thing
can hardlie be warranted, vnlesse it be by some spe-
ciall priuilege of the popes omnipotentie. But let
him haue the glorie he desired, to liue and die a pa-
pist. He deserued it, it is fit for him, his death was
correspondent to the course of his life, which was dis-
solall, perjured, and traitorous towards hir maie-
stie; and false and perfidious towards the pope him-
selfe, and his catholikes, if they will beleue his so-
lemne protestations which he made at his arraigne-
ment and execution, that he neuer meant nor inten-
ded anie hurt to hir highnesse person. For if that be
true, where are then his vowes which he said were in
heauen, his letters and promises vpon earth? Why
hath he stolen out of the popes shop so large an in-
dulgence and plenarie remission of all his sinnes,
and meant to performe nothing that he promised?
Why was his deuotion and zeale so highlie commen-
ded? Why was he so speciallie praised for, and remem-
bered at the altar? All these great fauours were then
bestowed vpon him without cause or desert: for he
deceiued the pope, he deceiued the cardinals and Je-
suits with a false semblance and pretense to do that
thing which he neuer meant.

What a nota-
ble dissembler
was this?

Barrie perfi-
dious towards
his maiestie &
perfidious to
the pope, &c.

But the matter is clere, the conspiracie, and his
traitorous intent is so plaine and euident: it is the
Lord that reuealed it in time, and preuented their
malice: there lacked no will or readinesse in him to
execute that horrible fact. It is the Lord that hath
preserued hir maiestie from all the wicked practises
and conspiracies of that hellish rable: it is he that
hath most graciously deliuered hir from the hands
of this traitorous miscreant. The Lord is hir onelie
defense in whome she hath alwaies trusted, he will
defend hir maiestie, and saluall for hir sake no lesse
than god king David (sundrie times assailed with
falseharted enimies) and all his subjects will har-
tillie praye for; namely such vengeance and heauie
measure of iudgement to be proportioned and allot-
ted them, as is wished against the malicious wic-
ked in the eight and fiftith psalme, effectualle set
downe by the Paraphrast in these words following:

*Confringe malas (o Deus) imprudens
Os communitis contere dentibus:
Et rictibus sauis biantes
Hos inhihe catulos leonum, &c.
Sensim liquecant, tardigradus velut
Limax: acerbo funere deferant
Vitale lumen, more fatius
Ant: sum percutit ortum, &c.*

Buch. in psalm.
58.

A few

A few obseruations gathered out of the
verie words and writings of William Parrie the
traitor, applied to proue his traitorous coniuration,
with a resolute intent, imagination, purpose, and obstinate de-
termination to haue killed hir maiestie, our most
gracious soueraigne: whom the Lord hath
saued, and euer maie he saue by
his mercie.

Benedicto
Palmito a Je-
suit, mentio-
ned before,
pag. 138 f.

Thomas
Morgan and
Watts the one
termed a ca-
tholike gentle-
man, pag. 138 f.

They cannot
be found in
localitie that
are vnsound
in religion:
Ergo how
can they giue
Censur his
right, that
denie God his
due and true
seruice?

Unball a Je-
suit in Paris,
of whome be-
fore, pag. 138 f.

Bagazzoni
the Puntio;
see before,
pag. 138 f.

See before
pag. 138 f.

This William Parrie the traitor, 1 con-
fesseth to haue conceived the treason at
Venice, by conference with B. Palmio,
of whome he still thinketh so well, as he
can not but speake of him with reuerend mention;
whereas, if he had neuer thought, or did now soe
thinke the treason, he would rather curse the time
that euer he met with such a bloudie and treacherous
ghostlike father. Well, this graue and learned frier
Palmio (saith he) made the matter cleere in religion
and conscience, and commended the traitors deno-
tion. This treason Parrie so apprehended, as he
wrote presentlie to the pope, presenting the seruice.
2 Returning to Paris, he conferred with Morgan,
bolued to performe it for restitution of England, &c.
3 Being dissuaded (as the credible man writeth) by
Watts, he replied that he was gone so farre, as he
could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to per-
forme the enterpryse, if the pope would vpon his of-
fers and letters allow it, and grant remission, &c.

Where this by the waie is to be noted, that if the
opinions of these English priests (as he will needs
make vs beleue) were differing from the pope, and
our English Iesuits, varying from Iesuit Palmio
and others beyond sea Iesuits, in the question of
murdering a prince: some of them at least would
haue giuen losall intelligence of such a treason con-
ceiued and nourished in that man, who had made so
manie priuie both beyond and on this side the sea,
as could not be dissuaded from his purpose, but e-
uer departed with a resolution contrarie vnto these
cold dissuaders. It were no good policie to trust this
popish traitor, but rather to suspect all pope created
priests to be of the same mind with their supream
head, and all English Iesuits to consent with foreign
Iesuits their fellow members. They be all of one or-
der and bow, they haue one superiour; and if they had
detested this fact in deed, some of them, seeing the
wretch to persist, must needs haue belaid it, and
not to suffer him to go on headlong in such a sinne,
leauing hir roiall person to the will and malice (as
much as in them laie) of a murdering ruffian.

But to proue his intent with continuance and
growing of the same, 4 Again he writeth letters to
the pope, in Januarie one thousand five hundred
eightie and foure by that account, toke aduise vpon
them in confession of A. Codzeto, was commended,
again he confessed, toke the sacrament (verelic Crue-
tum sacramentum, & sacrificium cruoris) at the Iesuits,
at one altar, with the cardinals of Wandosini and of
Barbone. Whereof he had certificat to the pope, which
he sent inclosed in his letters to his holinesse, to lead
him to absolue him; which he required in considera-
tion of so great an enterpryse undertaken without
reward. 5 The letter and certificat he read to Bagaz-
zoni, and left with him to be sent to the pope, who wi-
shed him god speed, promising he should be remem-
bered at the altar. 6 He doubteth, least if Morgan di-
ed, and he miscarried in the execution (as he did, God
be thanked, and choked in the halter, notwithstanding
their remembrance at the altar) and his intent
neuer trulie discovered; that is to saie, that he did it
for the catholikes, it might be a spot in his race.
Parke here the verie word (intent) in his owne con-
fession. 7 Morgan assureth him, that the lord Jerme-

hurst should go into Scotland, and be readie to en-
ter vpon the first newes of our quenes fall. Thus
much for his intent beyond the sea, and before his
coniuration discovered.

Vpon his arrivall in England, he wrote to court,
that he had a speciall seruice of discouerie vnto the
quene: but with that intent, let his owne words
speake, 8 Wrote to prepare access and credit, than for
anie care had of hir person. Admitted vnto hir gra-
tious audience, he discovered the coniuration; yet in
that manner, let him selfe saie, euen couered with
all the skill he had. This intent was with deepe tra-
son: for (as he saith) so he did, he disclosed onlie so
much as he thought good and necessarie to ground in
hir highnesse a settled confidence towards him, wher-
by he might effect his traitorous intent with better
opportunitie, and his owne safetie. He belaid him-
selfe so farre as he might couer his chiefe drift, manie
principall things concealed, nothing of lord Jerme-
hurst with his Scotish forces, &c. 9 Receiuing from
the pope him selfe commendation and allowance of
his enterpryse, of encouragement, and plenarie in-
dulgence by no meaner man than cardinall di Co-
mo, though he shewed the letter to hir maiestie; not
for anie care of hir person, but for his better access
& credit, as the rest, yet let his owne words tell what
his intent was at the verie receiuing and shew-
ing of the same letter. Forsooth (saith he) this letter
confirmed his resolution to kill the quene, making
it cleere in his conscience, as a thing lawfull and me-
ritorious.

Now is his intent grown to a resolution, not doubt-
full, but cleere in conscience, not alone lawfull, but
meritorious. *Papa dixit*, a cardinall is punitio. What
other thing is this, than for the pope and his card-
inals, like an other *Antoninus Commodus*, to make one
Inter scarios & gladiatores? The diuell inforcing this
traitors heart to execute his intent, 10 He was
troubled looking vpon the quene, and remembryng
hir excellencies: yet he saw no remedie, his bowes
were in heauen, his letters and promises on earth.
Yea, he strove to close his eyes at these excellencies,
and obstinated his hart by seeking reasons to quench
all sparks of humanitie and allegiance arising in
his thoughts. For thus reasoneth he against his con-
science; Why shouldst thou care for hir? What hath
she done for thee? Hast thou not spent ten thousand
marks, &c. What more diuellysh intent could possesse a
traitor, than to labour to suppress a small remaine
of conscience, abhorring to kill so excellent a perso-
nage, which God stirred vp in his thoughts to his
suffer condemnation? 11 Doctor Allens booke re-
doubled his former conceits, euery word was a
warrant to a prepared mind.

Soe hold the smooth words of that catholike booke
are interpreted and conceiued. One spirit occupieth
the catholike reader with the catholike writer, and
therefore can best expound the writers sence in his
readers mouth, euen to be a booke fraught with em-
phaticall speeches of energeticall persuation to kill
and depose hir maiestie, and yet doth the hypocrite
writer, that traitor catholike, dissemble and protest
otherwise. 12 Parrie suffering repulse in a sute
for S. Katharins, communeth with maister Penill,
recommendeth the enterpryse as honorable & profit-
table to the catholike common-weale. Being pro-
tudiced in opinion of Allens booke (as before) he com-
mendeth it, and deliuereeth it to Penill, thereby to
wreke the same vills intent in him which it had alrea-
die confirmed in himselfe. He toke now an other oth
vpon the bible, after the manner of a protestant, to
pursue the enterpryse, and ment (he saith) to performe
it, so far forth as the place and manner of being was
appointed. This second coniuration he neuer be-
wrote.

See before,
pag. 138 f.

Cardinall di
Como, of
whom see be-
fore, pag. 138 f.
and his letter
to Parrie,
pag. 138 f.

See before,
pag. 138 f.

See before,
pag. 138 f.
part of the
rites voluntar-
ie confession.

Note the pro-
mises recei-
uing of Parrie
euery time
harts full, Ten
principall
people, dem-
onstrations of
prodigious sum-
me, pag. 138 f.

waited in six moneths, till accused by Peuell, and then at first denied it.

12 Finally, to declare his height of malice, he saith, if the queene had preferred him neuer to great-
lie, yet must this bloudie enterprise haue holden, ex-
cept he had released the catholikes. Was this no
intend? but neither benefit nor bountie could staie?
Which neither feare of God, nor reuerence of excel-
lencie could repell? Which neither dread of punish-
ment, nor tract of time could remoue? Did he
conceale it, confesse and abuse of it, bow himselfe
to the execrable seruice, present and offer it, harden
his heart against others dissuasions, beat backe con-
trarie motions of his owne conscience, go so farre
as he could not go backe, promise it faithfullie, re-
ceiue a church sacrament thereupon, make certifi-
cat thereof, propound himselfe the end and reason of
his intent, discourse vpon the contingent sequels,
preuenting the spot of his race, receiue letters of al-
lowance, commendation, incouragement, and ab-
solution, could he bow in heauen, and promise on
earth, could he doe all this in a thing which he meant
not?

Could he resolute and confirme his resolution of a
thing which he intended not; yea, could he intend &
meane (for all these be his owne words) that which
he neuer meant nor intended: could he redouble his
conceits, and haue a prepared mind for that he in-
tended not? Would such a craftie traitor practise
with others by perswasive speech, & traitorous booke
in such a matter, as the onelis broching thereof must
capitallie indamage his kinsman and friend, and
withall laie his owne head in his friends hand? And
yet notwithstanding, either he meant this treason,
either else he little loued his friend, to tempt him
so dangerouslie; whom yet, he saith, he loued so, as to
suffer his finger in his dish, & his hand in his purse.
But which is aboue all, would any man sweare a
gaine on the bible, appoint time and place, conceale
it with as much perill as if he had done it; would he
denie it, would so ambitious a man discontent him-
selfe with all preferment, for the attaining of that
which he meant not? Was this mischievous course,
begun and continued, a long time, at home and a-
broad, in manie kingdomes, communicated with
manie persons, of severall nation and qualitie, as
pope, cardinall, Nuntio, frier, priest, kings secretaire
and ambassadoers, all this while not meant? Was
it franke and voluntarie confessed meant, final-
lie, recorded by pleading guiltie in maner & forme
with all circumstance, and yet could he die an inno-
cent for intent?

All this falling vpon no simple man, but vpon
one, not now the first time holding by his hand at
barre, & vpon a doctor of law, the verie hood whereof
is able to giue a man more iudgement, than to slip
without light in all these things: I know not how
he maie be excused without strong suspicion of the
excuser. And if a prince may not iudge a wicked
seruant out of his owne mouth, nor determine an
offense by two or three moneths, it were a notable
wole for traitors and murderers, thus to haue all
proceedings set lose, as well of our common lawes,
which condemne vpon all evidences, as of the ciuill
lawes, which giue capitall sentence vpon confession
onelis: yea, Moses wisdome is overreached, and
Christes equitie in his euangelicall parable against
the lewd seruant not vsing his talent is eluded. All
this is also ratified by voluntarie letters of his to his
maiestie apart, and to his honorable counsell. And
if any Italianat papist neuertheless will needs
beleue this epugnancie of his last speeches, let him
yet take this one note of him, whereby to consider
how credible a man he crediteth.

Either Parrie meant this monstrous murder
according to his vowes in heauen, and swoyne pro-
mises in earth, and so died a desperat traitor, prote-
sting the contrarie in his last words vpon his soule
and damnation: or else was he perjured, to the soule
abuse of pope & all poperie, most execrable propha-
ning Gods name by promising, swearing, bowing,
etc: that which he meant not. Necessarie therefore
must he perishe vpon perjured treason, or wrecks
vpon desperat deieration. Nothing auoideth this di-
lemma, but a popish bull of dispensation, which if he
had, I know not how princes may not as safely suf-
fer wolues and beares come to their presence, as such
papists. And verie like it is that Parrie had a spe-
ciall bull, either else was it comprehended in his
indulgence, that he might take othes contrarie to
his catholike conscience, as he did the oth of suprema-
cie in the beginning of the last parlement. Which if
his counsellors had not bene priue with what in-
tention he did sweare, he neuer durst haue taken it,
least they should haue now betraied him as a man
sworne against the pope, therefore not to be trusted.
But the truth is, this papist Parrie was both a traitor,
and a manifold perjured traitor, whome (with
all other of the like stampe) we leave to the small
iudgement of God at the last and dreadfull dome:
registring (in the meane time) a proper epigram,
and of no lesse fit than true deuise, in memoire of the
said capitall traitor, requiting that propheticall poise
concerning Daruell Gatheren and frier Forrest, of
whome you shall read in the thirtieth yeare of king
Henrie the eight; this of Parrie being as followeth:

William Parrie

Was ap Harrie

By his name:

From the alehouse

To the gallows

Grew his fame.

40 Gotten westward

On a bastard

As is thought:

Wherefore one wai e

Kin to Conwaie

Hath he fought.

Like a beast

With inceast

He begon:

50 Mother married

Daughter caried

Him a sonne.

Much he borrowed

Which he sorrowed

To repaie:

Hare his good

Bought with blood

As they saie.

60 Yet for payment

Had arrainment

Of his detter

Shce that gaue him

Life to saue him

Hangd a better.

Parrie his pardon

Thought no guardon

For his word:

Wherefore sought

That he mought

Trauell forth.

Which obtained

He remained

As before:

And with rashnes

Shewd his bashnes

More and more.

He did enter

To aduentuer

Euen hir death:

By whose fauor

He did euer

Draw his breath.

It was pittie

One so wittie

Malcontent:

Leauing reason

Should to treason

So be bent.

But his gifts

Were but shifts

Void of grace:

And his brauerie

Was but knauerie

Vile and base.

Wales did beare him

France did sweare him

To the pope:

Venice wrought him

London brought him

To the rope.

Wherewith strangled

And then mangled

Being dead:

Poles supporters

Of his quarters

And his head.

All these cir-
cumstances
prooue that
Parrie was
resolute and by
prepared both
in heart and by
hand to put in
practise his
conceited and
natural trea-
son.

How could
this helhound
die an inno-
cent for in-
tent; the pre-
mises confi-
rmed.

Abr. Fl. ex lib.
manuscripto.

Situs nuper do-
mus sycorum
predicatorum vo-
cata le Blacke-
friars in villa
Cantabrigie.

In this yeare one thousand five hundred eightie & foure, sir Walter Mildmaie knight, one of his maiesties most honorable priuie counsell, founded a college in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and named it Emmanuell college. The same was sometimes a house of friers, and came to king Henrie the eight by dissolution, as appeareth by the sequale, being an extract out of a substantiall and large booke written in parchment (which I haue seene, and whense I had this transcript) containing the entrie or inrolment of certeine letters patents, writings and euidences touching the said college. First the premisses came vnto king Henrie the eight by act of parliament touching the dissolution of monasteries; & afterwards the said king by letters patents vnder the great seale of England, dated *Decimo sexto Aprilis, anno tricesimo quinto regni sui*, did grant the same to Edward Clrington and Humfrie Petcalfe, and to the heires of the said Edward for ever. After that, the said Edward Clrington and Humfrie Petcalfe by their deed sold dated *Quarto Martij, anno tricesimo sexto Henrici octavi*, did grant the premisses to William Sherwood gentleman & his heires for ever. Then George Sherwood gentleman, sonne and heire to William Sherwood by deed sold dated *Vicesimo nono Septembris, anno vicesimo tertio Elisabetha regina*, did grant the premisses to Robert Tailor esquier and to his heires for ever.

And afterwards, the said Robert Tailor by deed sold dated *Duodecimo Iunij, anno vicesimo quinto Elisabetha regina*, did grant the premisses to Richard Culuerwell citizen & mercer of London and Laurence Chaderton of Cambridge bachelors of diuinitie, and their heires for ever. And after that, the premisses were conueied to sir Walter Mildmaie, who hath conuerted the same into a sedplot of learning, for the benefit of the church & common-wealth: so that the students maie verie trulie saie this, and moze to of so good, so honoorable and vertuous a founder:

*flumini dum cruerit equor,
Dumque vagas stellas pascet uterque polus,
Dum steriles alris lustrant montibus umbra,
Virtutis stabit fama decusque tua.*

1585
The parli-
ment dissol-
ued.

On the nine and twentieth daie of March, which was in the yeare of Christ 1585, the parliament was dissolved: at the breaking vp thereof, the queenes maiestie in the parliament house made an oration, to such effect as followeth.

The queenes maiesties oration in the parliament house.

The queenes
maiesties ora-
tion in the
parliament
house.

On the care
that his ma-
iestie hath of
true religion,
the lord of life
lengthen his
graces life.

M Lords and ye of the lower house, my silence must not inturle the owner so much, as to suppose a substitute sufficient to render you the thanks that my heart yeldeth you: not so much for the safe keeping of my life (for which your care appeareth so manifest) as for the neglecting your priuat future perill, not regarding other waie than my present state. No prince herein (I confesse) can be surer tied, or faster bound than I am, with the linke of your good will; and can for that, but yeld a hart & hand to take for ever all your best. Yet one matter toucheth me so nere, as I may not ouerskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take roote, and being corrupted may marre all the tree: and that there be some faultfinders with the order of the cleargie, which so may make a slander to my selfe & the church, whose ouer ruler God hath made me; whose negligence can not be excused, if anie schismes or erroneous hereticall were suffered.

Thus much I must saie, that some faults and negligences may grow and bee (as in all other great charges it happeneth) and that vocation without: All which if you my lords of the cleargie do not amend, I meane to depose you: loke you therefore to your charges; this may be amended without heedelesse or open exclamation. I am supposed to haue manie studies, but most philosophicall: I must yeld this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no professors) haue read more. And I need not tell you, that I am so simple that I vnderstand not, nor so forgetfull that I remember not; & yet amongst my manie volumes, I hope Gods booke hath not bene my domest studie, in which we find that, which by reason (for my part) we ought to beleue, that seeing so great wickednesse and griefs in the world, in which we liue but as waie-faring pilgrims, we suppose that God would neuer haue made vs but for a better place, and of moze comfort than we find here. I know no creature that breatheth, whose life standeth hourelie in moze perill for it than mine owne, who entered not into my state without sight of manifold dangers of life and crowne, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. When it followeth, that I regarded it so much as I left my selfe behind my care.

And so you see that you wrong me too much (if anie such there be) as doubt my coldnesse in that behalfe. For if I were not perswaded that mine were the true waie of Gods will, God forbid I should liue to prescribe it to you. Take heed, lest Ecclesiastes saie not too true; They that feare the hoie frost, the snow shall fall vpon them. I see manie ouer bold with God almighty, making too manie subtill scannings of his blessed will, as lawiers do with humane testaments: the presumption is so great as I may not suffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate Romaniists, which that aduersaries they be to mine estate is sufficientlie knowne) nor tolerate new fanglednesse. I meane to guide them both by Gods true rule: in both parts be perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kinglie rule, to haue euerie man according to his owne censure to make a dome of the balditie and priuie of his princes gouernement, with a common veile and cover of Gods word, whose followers must not be iudged but by priuat mens exposition, God defend you from such a ruler that so euill will guide you. Now I conclude, that your loue and care neither is nor shall be bestowed vpon a carelesse prince, but such as for your good will passeth as litle for this world as who careth least; with thanks for your free subdite: a manifest shew of the abundance of your good wills, the which I assure you, but to be imploid to your weale, I could be better pleased to returne than receiue.

This is the summe of his maiesties oration vttered in a solemne assemble, and well worthy the recording, as testifying no lesse in sinceritie and truth, than euerie god subiect may seale vnto himselfe, and laie his hand vpon his hart to be faithfullie meane for his securitie. Wherein is specialtie to be noted the religious care which his maiestie hath botwed to haue of the propagation and supposition of the gospel; according to that which is reported of his by waie of prophesie in the vision of queene Anne in a dreame; where (after a repetition of miseries foretold to befall in queene Maries daies) these words are inferred:

*Ecce malis tantis tua parua medebitur infans,
Iamque tenella geret possespectrum patris adultæ,
Solamen magnum patriæ, solamen amicis:
Quæ regnante diu, cælis ea fata feruntur,
Britanni populus felix, erit Anglia Felix,
Et longa tali sub principe pace fruatur.*

His maiesties
reuerend estu-
mation of
Gods word
and sacred
scriptures.

Most
princelie resolu-
tion and
persuasion!

The God of
vengeance and
justice more
them out, that
the Lordes an-
nointed maie
be free from
all feare of
hurt.

what subiect
would thinke
life and land
too deere to
lose (if need
soere) for so
gratious a
queene?

C. O. in sua Eli-
sabetha.

*Papa relegatus fallax ad littora Tybris
Ausonii, propria ditione iubebitur esse
Contentus, vniuersumque domi protrudere merces.
Hic iuris papalis erit tum terminus Anglis.
Pestra dabit proles papa immedicabile vulnus,
Non post idolis genua incuruare licebit
Amplius, aut statum benevolentia thura cremare.
Hinc papa incassum furibunda mouebitur ira,
Dentibus infundens & quæret tollere prolem
Παρ' ἔκνον' insidijs structis, quæ numine cæli
Protectore suo semotis hostibus æuum
Pace colet, seros ornabit honoribus annos,
Pace suos placida cines: sua regna beabit.
Non tamen in claram bacchari desinet atrox
Reginam, pus ore vomens & virus ut aspis,
Promittere cælum verbi (quis crederet illud?)
Principis obsequium quicumque reliquerit vltro,
Cum pacto hoc miseris reuera in Tartara mittat.*

Mr. Flem.
The death of
pope Gregorie
the thirteenth:
read of this
pope's practi-
ces against
England in
Barrie's trea-
sure, pag.
138, 39.

The pope is
herein called by
his own pre-
sumptuous &
proud enter-
prise to im-
pugn christian
liberty.

This hath
been done in
such sort by a
mathematici-
an stranger,
that he is bold
to challenge
one holding
the contrary
opinion to a re-
pudiation.

In this peare of Grace, on the eleuenth of Apill
died pope Gregorie the thirteenth, termed the last &
lewd pope of that name; one that wanted not the
waies to applie his vsurped supremaie to the com-
mon abuse of all christendome, according to the re-
ceived custome of his predecessors; who rather than
they would absteine arie be it neuer so small an eclipse
of their worldlie pompe, all the world shalbe set to-
gether by the ears, in so much that heauen & earth shall
ring with the noise of the tumults. This is he that (a-
mong other acts by him undertaken & done) after the
old Romaine or Julian kalender was by popish ar-
guments accused & charged with manifold imperfec-
tions, whereinto by continuance of time it was tuned
to fall, thrust forth into the world a reformed kalen-
dar, exhibited to his holiness by one Antonie Lillie
doctor of arts & physicke, wherein (by a certaine new
cycle of epacts by one Aloissius the said Antonies
brother germane deuised, and to an vndoubted rule
of the golden number directed, as also to whatsoeuer
magnitude or greatnesse of the yeare of the sunne
applied) all things that in the old kalender were
faultie, may by constant reason and for euer to last
be so reformed; that the kalender once reformed ac-
cording to this plot, need neuer hereafter either to be al-
tered or amended. Howbeit, in commending the
perfect reformation of this new kalender, whereby
not onelie all things erroneous are abolished; but
also such foresight is had of the time to come, that the
calculation of this kalender shall neuer hereafter
seeme subiect unto change: an occasion of some be-
moues may hereof arise, touching christian libertie;
namlie, Whether the church be tied to a certaine time
according to the reformed calculation astronomi-
call, in the celebration of yearelie festiuals: Whether
it be lawfull for the bishop of Rome to reforme the
time and the kalender: Whether the church of Christ
be bound by necessitie of religion to receiue that ka-
lendar, at the first original beginning proceeding
from the pope, though the same afterwards were set
forth vnder another title: Whether it profiteth or be
requisite that for the keeping of peace and concord, in
contracts, bargainings, and intercourse of traffike
and merchandize, the one partie should submit him-
selfe to that kalender, whereunto the pope hath po-
werd his popelings; and persuaded manie more to do
the same, &c. Although these and the like interrogato-
ries may be made against the papists; yet because to
giue an instance is not to answer a doubt, it is to
be wished that this kalender were thoughtlie sifted
by some sound and sober mathematician, and the
three heads, whereof this new reformed kalender of
Gregorie doth consist, dispoised: which three heads,
repeated by Gregorie in his bull before the said ka-
lendar, are these.

1 The reuoluing and coupling of the equinoctiall

in the spring to the one and twentieth date of March,
with such a caveat giuen, that from thence, as from
the proper and fixed seat, it may not possiblie hereaf-
ter at any time remoue. 2 The correction of the
golden number by the cycle of epacts, in such sort,
that the numbers of epacts may shew not onelie the
date of the new mone in euery moneth of all yeares;
but also, and that principally the terme of Easter:
that is, the certaine & iust date of the verie next full
mone following after the equinoctiall of the spring;
and that euery yeare without error or deceit. 3 The
verie iust and certaine fundate of Easter, that ought
to be celebrated and kept on the verie next fundate
after the full mone, which first doth follow after the
iust equinoctiall of the spring. These three heads be-
ing so anatomized and opened by mathematicians
as were met, it should be found in the end, that this
new kalender, in all and euery part thereof, euen
wherein it is best reformed, or so thought to be, is ma-
nie waies faultie, & erroneous in the verie grounds;
in which qualittie leauing it, as not to be put to the
touch in a publike chronicle, but otherwise to be had
in triall, Gregorie the preferer thereof is now to be
handled by description, which is no fiction or imagi-
ned bable, but deriued out of an oration or funeral
sermon at Rome, at the burfall of his holiness,
containing his maners, life, deeds, and last words at
his death: together with the lamentations of the
cardinals and whole Romish clergie. Otherwise to
be intituled; as followeth.

Vide M. Micha-
elium Meslinum
Geppingensem
in Tiburgensi
academia Ma-
thematicum, &c.

A sermon full of papisticall adulation,
and matter sufficient to procure the wise and ver-
tuous minded to contemne such grosse and pal-
pable blindness, and all persons to laugh at
the Romanists absurd and erroneous
follies.

Here is nothing so certaine as death, ei-
ther incertaine as the moment thereof.
Wherefore the holie doctor saith: Keepe
thy selfe continually in that estate wher-
in thou desirest to die. And the proverbe goeth, that
manie a one thinketh himselfe in perfect helth, when
he heareth death in his bosome. To saie the truth, we
do continually carrie death about with vs, it is in
vs immediatlie after we take life and mouing in
our mothers wombe; and wheresoeuer we walke, it
is still at our heeles: if we take horse, it is with vs;
if we be on the water, it is the guide of our ship: so
as we can neuer saie death to be absent from vs: for
our selues are verie death, and no part of our bodie
immortall. Wherefore those that suppose themselves
to liue in this world are far deceiued in their owne
opinions, and the pilgrimage of man in this world
is but a shadow of life, which vnto vs seemeth life, but
in deed is none. The better therefore to describe the
said shadow, I will make an abstraction of the dead
time of mans age, from the full and greatest age that
a creature can liue in the world.

First, the longest age that man can liue is but firtie
yeares. From firtie yeares we must deduct the nights,
for man when he sleepeth liueth not. Besides that, sleep
is termed the image of death: so that deducting the
nights, which comprehend one halfe of the time,
man liueth but thye score yeares in the world.
Whiles man liueth these firtie yeares, he liueth but
the one halfe of them, for if he haue one date of mirth
and quiet, he hath another of sorrow and care, because
griefe doth still secretlie creepe into mirth. And anie
person troubled with cares and bered in mind, doth
rather die than liue. We must therefore take from the
firtie yeares aforesaid the one halfe, and so there re-
maine but thirtie. Now, let vs see whether in the

A god and
plausible be-
ginning, if the
proceeding
were agree-
able.

Popish de-
vines do rat-
ther imitate
anie duns
than the pro-
phet Dauid,
who setteth
downe the
age of man to
consist of 70
yeares.

§ l l l l y. space

A further ex-
amination of
mans age by
popish lear-
ning.

space of fir score yeares a man may not passe a waie
ten at the least in sickness, mischances, or other in-
firmities: I may tell you there is no man that liueth
fir score yeares in the world, but at severall times
and during the said age he hath about ten yeares in-
firmities: and therefore we must take from the thirtie
yeares which are the remainder of mans life yet ten
yeares, & then there are but twentie left, which are
now the twentie yeares of his life. We must take
them at his infancie & in his oldest age: that is, ten
yeares from his verie childhood, & the other ten from
his extreme old age. But thus also in infancie as
in extremitie of age there is no life, but rather a li-
ving death: I conclude, that man hath not one onelie
houer of life in this world, also that whosoever seeketh
life in this world doth much deceiue himselfe. In
heauen therefore it is that we must assure our selues
to liue, and seeke for life; but not upon earth where
death doth continuallie haunt vs. For we ought to
die to the world, to the end to be borne in Iesus
Christ; according to the soueraigne sentence and de-
crea, & ye inhabitants of Rome we see your great
bishopp and mine is dead: behold our crowne is fal-
len: our lodestar banished a waie and our light ex-
tinguished.

Happy newes
to the true
church, when
the members of
antichrist de-
crease.

And for mine owne part, O miserable man,
who am deplued of him, of two things I wish for
one, that is, either neuer to remember the god that
we haue lost; either else calling the same to mind, to
find some one that were able to giue me comfort cor-
respondent to the greatnesse of the heavinesse wher-
into I am fallen. And indeed my selfe do now come
into the pulpit upon two severall occasions mere
contrarie ech to other, to wit, to reherse the gretnes
of the god that is taken from vs, & to comfort those
that susteine the losse: naie rather, to do two things
which seeme to repugne ech other. For if it be true
that nothing doth more aggravate the griefe of the
losse, than the remembrance of the value of the thing
lost; then doth nothing seeme more contrarie to the
comfort of the liuing, than the praises of him that is
dead, as in this case, wherein so far do the merites
of the deceased exceed, that the arrowes which pearce his
hart that is deplued of him are the more sharpe and
grievous. Whobest some man would answer, that
contrariwise by the commendations of him that is
departed, we do declare that he is not dead, but li-
ueth, and thus we may by litle and litle assuage the
sorrow of our losse and damage in whatsoever ma-
ner.

This is no
adulation to a
dead carrion,
what did this
fellow (thinke
you) to the
beast when he
was alive?

A comparison
abused to the
commenda-
tion of lewd
pope Grego-
rie.

Childish rea-
sons and
swoole dimini-
tie.

But as it were hard for a painter in the face of a
sorrowfull person to represent a smiling counte-
nance, so doth it seeme to me a difficult enterprise to
undertake to comfort a man by rehearsing the ver-
tues of him that is taken a waie from vs: and that
the more, if we should enter into consideration of
him that is spoken of: of your selues that are the
hearers: and of me that do make the discourse: for
in each of these thre, the same circumstances that
seeme to make mine enterprise easie, are those that
indeed do yeld it most difficult and troublesome. As
if a man should in respect of him saie, that if the mul-
titude of his great vertues do seeme to abridge my
labour, in seeking some argument whereupon to
ground his praises: so contrariwise the abundance
of so great vertues do hold me so short, that I can
not certeinlye resolve upon the choice of one onlie
whereupon to praise him to commend him. For you, if
a man should saie, in that you all knew him and used
him to your great profit, it should seeme sufficient
for me onlie to decipher matters: so contrariwise
your own perfect knowledge, together with your dea-
lings with him, would sufficientlie open unto you
all my defaults in displaing of him. And for mine

owne part, if infinit courtesies and great fauours,
wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, do seeme
without seeking anie cuning to breed in me as much
affection as is requisite: so by contrarie reason, the
great fauours and benefits, wherewith he hath al-
waies gratified me, do not leaue me anie cunning
meanes to hinder me from hauing greater affecti-
on than is here to be required of me. And this was
the principall reason that moued me somewhat
to refuse this so honozable a commission, and unto me
in manie other respects most welcome, and to re-
quest you to appoint and commit to some other the
charge to discourse hereupon, and to leaue unto me
teares and lamentations onlie.

But now unto thee, O my god master and fa-
ther (for so will I alwaies call thee) do I turne my
selfe. Spae it be possible that this my oration, which
latelie in thy life thou diddest harken unto, should
now be imployed in praising of thee being dead, ei-
ther that this my tongue, which imploied me to the
seruice of this countrie, thou diddest so greatly ho-
nor, should now be occupied, alas, in lamentations
for thy so hartfull death to all christendome? And
what? Hast thou then brought me so foolishlie to
Rome, to the end here to celebrate thy funerals? Wh
how that commission to read Hieremie might well
foreshew unto me (but I perceiued it not) that my le-
cture thereof should end in lamentations, and now
behold that diuination accomplished! See *Quomodo*
sedet sola ciuitas, how the citie sitteth desolat, notwith-
standing it be *Plena populo*, full of people: also how this
spouse, the church of Rome, who by great brightnes
seemed to be *Domina gentium*, ladie of nations, now
hauing lost thee, *Est facta quasi vidua*, is made as it
were a widow: and as a widow all dipped in teares
and lamentations, willethe me to celebrate the pra-
ises of hir deere spouse, which she all wholie together
can not celebrate: wherein although I can not (as in
truth I am not able) atteine to the least parcell of thy
deserts, which are not well to be exprest, yet at all
adventures I assure my selfe, O happy soule, that
as in thy life time thou diddest pardon me a number
of other imperfections, so now thou wilt likewise
forgiue me this: I know that as thou wert accuso-
med, thou wilt make better account of the god will
than of the glose and pompe of words, and as discret
thalt well see, that not onelie I, but also that no ora-
tour is able to atteine to the type of thy commenda-
tions.

Among the which my lords, and ye my hearers, I
do frellie confesse, that I haue greatlie doubted
whether I were best to begin, as I take the maner to
be, at the greatnesse and eminencie of the familie
from whence he is extract: and at the first I was pur-
posed so to do, and that the rather because it is not
yet scarce two months since that my selfe heard him
in this temple, discourse how our saviour Iesus
Christ was content to be borne of a mother though
poore, yet noble, and descended of a noble race; also
that nobilitie was verie effectual euen to spirituall
life, as it may be said of him that is noble, that whe-
ther it be through consormitie or resemblance of
mind with his predecesors, either thorough the re-
membrance of such things as they haue done, either
else thorough the effect of god bzinging vp, or for what
other reason he is better disposed to do well; that
nobilitie serueth him as a spur to godnesse and a bri-
dle to euill: also that as the pretious stone being set
in gold maketh a greater shew than in iron, euen so
the same vertuous deeds do giue a more effectual ex-
ample, when they proceed from noble personages
than from men of base estat, with other things which
he spake to the same purpose.

Whobest I will not speake thereof, in that it
might

How did this
fellow flatter
Gregorie as
true, whom he
so magnified
being dead?

I fit child
scholar for
bad a father
and master.

No spouse but
a strumpet
spotted with
spirituall for-
nication.

Beastlie and
blasphemous
drumme, fit
for so lewd a
bishopp, and so
vilelearned a
chaplain.

Noble borne
(no doubt)
was this
Gregorie, or
therwise cal-
led though the
good fellow.

A similitude
of a pretious
stone set in
gold, and pre-
tious in persi-
nages nobilitie
descended.

might be accounted rashnesse in me, euen in Rome to sake to make his holinesse familie more famous than it is. It may be that some may saie that this familie doth want glorious titles, preeminence, riches, possessions, iurisdictiones, pretensions of rights, patronages, ancient pedigrees of their predecessours, commendations of learning, praise of armes, noble and famous alliances either in Italie or without, and to be briebe, all such things collected into one, as being severallie taken are sufficient to set a faire shew upon a whole progenie. Notwithstanding all these things which are terrestriall & too common with others, and for the causes aforesaid his holinesse perceiving (as he perceived all things) that it is not enough for a hoile to be of a good race, except himselfe be also good, and that they are happie and wise, who as the sea, do not receive the sweetnesse of this baine glorie of the riuers of their predecessours, but returning their course and swelling over the mouths of the riuers themselves, can yeld to their forerunners the reward of firme and permanent commendation; so of that great nobilitie which he had brought forth of his mothers wombe with him, he did therein onelie yeld thanks to God, for that his actions with their circumstances, thereby, and in respect thereof, were more notable and exemplarie.

Gregorie perceived all things: but it would be known how.

Long similitude most foolish and most ridiculous: he applied.

Marke this principally, that Gregorie was mortified if the text lie not.

Jesus! what a wonder is this: and well worthie to be placed in Legenda aurea.

The head which sought to overthrow the true church, to dissolve the members from their allegiance to their prince, and to

Wh most happy person, who in the midst of so great eminencie of birth, could so well subdue pride, and in himselfe give example unto other! Euen like unto the pearle, which although it lieth in the bottome of the sea, yet keeping it selfe close in the shell, and neuer opening untill it ascendeth to receive the dew of heaven, we find therein no smell, no savour, or drop that tasteth of his sea; but being pure, cleare and white, it seemeth to be formed euen in heaven. We must not therefore take commendations of this people at the transitorie things of the sea of this world, and although he be therein extract of a most noble birth, yet will I not saie anie more thereof as of that which is none of his.

But discoursing and speaking of that which properlie apperteineth to himselfe, I would aske whether his mind commanded not his bodie? Also whether it were possible to find a bodie more withered, afflicted, macerated, dried up, or pale through the effect of austere and hard penance? Other mens bodies (Christian hearers) are for the most part withered to be of this or that forme, because they yeld such or such inclination to the mind. But in this I will shew you a matter worth the noting; that is, that here the case was altered, for it was the mind that ministered inclination to the bodie: so that being wahren altogether spirituall, had not earthly need forced him, he neuer desired meat, drinke, or bodily rest: and he lived in such sort as it was a miracle (whereof, alas, we haue but too sone sene the issue) how he could live so manie yeeres, but rather living was dead. And for my part I assure you, I neuer, euen in the hart of summer, kissing his holie hands (good God shall I neuer do so more) found them other than cold, wherein there was no heat, except the same proceeded of some excessive or immoderate labor, or of some motion of a sudden feuer. Most deere bodie! Most holie members! But loke yet once againe upon them, O ye Romane people, and saie: Are not these the verie hands which so often haue bin joined together, and lifted up to praye and offer sacrifice for vs? Be not these the feet that haue travelled so far for our sakes? Is not this the head that neuer imagined anie thing but for our benefit? Is not this the heart that burned in love of vs? O deere members! O members so deere! What? Shall you then go under the earth? And what? Must you be buried? Alas my God! who is that thou hast taken

away from vs? And therefore do ye hide your selues: For my part, none but onlie death shall euer plucke out of my heart the liuelie image of that so well beloued countenance: especiallie in this act, wherein with your eyes toward heaven as it were smiling, and with an angelicall countenance I see you depart and remaine dead.

maintaine his owne pompe and glorie.

But it is time for vs (Christian hearers) to proceed to matters of greater importance, which are so manie & withall so intangled one within an other, that I could not find anie more fit meane to part and distorde them; neither do I thinke that we can take anie better course, than the verie course of his holie life: and there to begin. When he was a little child he was verie deuout, and it is well knowne that God, euen in his first youth, wrought in him marvellous signes of singular godnesse. The like is read of saint Basil, saint Gregorie, saint Dominike, saint Francis, and manie others, as was to be sene in this young child (saie they that do remember it) namelie, that at his returne from the college, all the delite that that age vsed to take in anie other thing, he toke onelie in framing of little altars, adorning of small chapels, and counterfetting of holie things. Matters, which although the wisest maie thinke too base for this place, and for the occasion now ministered, yet would I not onelie not disdain, but also take great and singular pleasure in the same.

For all that to hitherto spoken is more ridiculous, idle and more like labour.

Notes that he would in time prove a strong pillar of idolatrie.

And although some do saie, that among such serious affaires such small trifles should haue no place: yet do I delite to shew how commendable, ne onelie graue matters, but euen such small things were in him. Concerning the rest, according to the proportion of his age, or rather beyond the reach of that age (as occasions do increase to must my stile arise) his holinesse being past the inferior scholes, and comming to studie the law, it is not possible to make an end of writing with what modestie and grauitie he there passed the yeares of his studie: he was apparelled in clerks attire, but, which was of greater importance, he obserued clergie manners, much continencie, & (as is supposed) perpetuall virginite, with modest behauiour, no vanitie, continuall studie: these were his exercises. And to be briebe, although thorough our mishaps, the vntueritie wherein he studied were not vsuallie either the quietest or the holiest in the world, yet might the writing of Paganzen concerning the great Basil and the tostone of Athens be applied to him. Like as there is one riuier, which flowing thorough the sea, taketh no bitternesse thereof; also a certeine beaust that lieth in the fire and consumeth not: euen so he with great quietnesse passing these troubles, and with soueraigne vertues such vices, did first and most worthilie attaine to the doctorall degree, & afterward was called to Rome, and made cardinall, onelie thorough desert, for his learned studies, and not by fauour, as the most part do now vsuallie practise.

The continencie and virginite of the popish clergie doth consist in keeping of concubines.

Note how Gregorie is extolled by some of com-parison.

A happy departure, a blessed iournie for all the holie church, but especiallie for this great citie of Rome, which haue receiued so great benefits and so much comfort at his hands. Notwithstanding, what sooner affaires he had in hand, yet did he daile apply his studie at a certeine houre, & so continued his studie euen to his death, with so deepe iudgement and good successe, that although his intellectuall habilitudes had not bene verie farre surmounted & darkened thorough the marvellous brightnesse of his moral and theologicall vertues: yet in respect of his learning and studie onelie, he deserued great praise, and in truth he was neuer other than most learned and a great fauourer of learned men. Who did euer shew them more pleasure, or receiue them more courteously,

A great student was Gregorie, but in no good facultie.

Better had
that liberalitie
bene exhibited
to theues
than to sacrilegious beasts
etc.

Gregorie a
good companion
on to traitors,
but an ill companion
to the
godlie.

It is impossible
(if you will
believe this
flattering papalitie)
to rehearse
Gregories works
etc.

The Wolfe is
dead, and the
sheepe want a
good shep-
heard.

How could the
pope need the
prayers of
men, with him-
selfe can for-
give sinnes?

Two things
made Grego-

courteouslie? Besides the seminaries and colleges, as well at Paule as here, the lectures, the stipends, with such & so manie things done to the behoufe of learning, and besides the books which he hath of himselfe written: and now that the bydle of his modestie doth no longer deteine, I hope, as my selfe haue seene them, so comming to light, all the world shall behold them, and in them perceiue as in himselfe whether were moze his holie writings or god maners. His loue of learning and holinesse of life he practised so diligentlie in himselfe, that thorough Gods grace, and the inspiration of the holie ghost, he was in respect of his vertues, knowledge, and holie life, elected pope, and his name from Hugh good Companion, was changed and called Gregorie the thirteenth. During his papalitie he liued so religiouslie and deuoutlie, that the whole life of a man were little enough to rehearse the same. But herein I repose my selfe upon that zeale which I perceiue in euerie one to commend him, whereby I maie shortly see so manie poeies, verses, and rimes, with such histories, so manie orations, and volumes to his honor, that all these things, as well such as I can not touch, as the rest which I mention and speake of, shall brieflie be deciphered and liuelie set forth.

For to rehearse all the holie works of our good shepheard, or to indouour to set forth that vertie patterne of a bishop which he hath expressed in himselfe, to saie truth, I thinke vnpossible, and much lesse to belue that the vertie summaries of those things that he hath done maie be drawne into anie annals or chronicle. Neither can I conceiue anie means to attaine thereto, vnlesse some one haue in forme of remembrances bene dailie collecting the course of his deeds and works. For my part in this short discourse that I haue to prosecute, as one not able to restraine the whole sea, I will go see if I maie gather the water at the riuers and brooks from whence this sea doth arise, that is, from his vertues, which in him haue wrought so manie holie works. Notwithstanding I might at once in generall words saie, that all vertues becoming a bishop, which saint Paule & others do speake of, were to be found in him.

Alas how this holie pastor burning in loue, made himselfe leane for you, O ye poore artificers, ladies, yong infants, and poore beggars! Alas ye all haue lost your father, the shepheard is dead, & the sheepe remaine a preie to the wolues. How sooner it is, hereof maie we plainlie see O Rome, that he bare the singular god will: and in deed (for I will not conceale thy commendation) it is euident that thou diddest answer his god will with reciprocal amitie, withnesse this thy assemblie: these sobbs & these teares do testifie thy acknowledging thereof, besides all other things, alas, too bitter and too sweet together; euen the night of his departure was to you and to me infortunate. O great, O great pittie, what could be seene moze worthy compassion and teares, than the fearefull stirre of the people? It seemed, when the most horrible sound of the bell called *Aue Maria*, that gaue notice of his death, to the end to praise to God for him, sent furies to all both men and women.

One ran here, an other there, some two together, others without order or reason: all wept, all cried, all howled out, saying: Ah, god God whereto are we brought? What shall become of vs? If the infection doth afflict vs, who shall praye for vs? Ah that we had not deserued it! Oh how God is worthy with vs! With manie other exclamations sufficient to haue rent the marble stones, and clouen the wals in sunder. He was a man of much prayer and reading, as euer was anie, and in priuat behauior had not his like. Two things there were that made him wonderfulle wise. The one, he would in all affaires heare

counsell. The other, he had still recourse vnto prayer. Cruelie he was as wise as helie. I confesse that in respect of his example onelie, I learned to vnderstand this place of saint Paule concerning his care of all the churches: *Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur & ego non eror?* Who is weake and I am not sicke? Who is offended and I burne not? And that which followeth.

To be briefe, toward the end of his daies, and being hoze haired, he conceiued two excellent imaginations. The one, concerning that great and wonderful college that is now at building in your Rome, for the teaching (a wonderfull matter) of all languages in the world. The other, the same which he propounded and began to put in execution touching the recouerie of the gods of the catholike apostolike Romish church. The same was it which he did so highlie commend to the clergie, yea to the christi-an princes, and vnto his successor, to the end that the Romane see might recouer the full brightnesse of his glorie, and to depriue the enemie of mankind of that innumerable gaine of soules, that through his subtiltie he doth dailie make. These were his last words when he left vs with the water in our eyes, and sorrow in our hearts, for the losse of a thing of so great value. Neuerthelesse, sith it is to no purpose to weep, it resteth that we do two things. The one, that so much as in vs lieth, we indouour to retein those notable institutions, and walke in that path which he hath prescribed for vs. The other, that we haue recourse to God with prayer, that he will send vs a successor worthy him: and that as Simplician succeeded saint Ambrose, so to this Ambrose an other Simplician in vertue and holinesse maie succeed.

This is that small matter, O blessed soule, which my foolish and vnmaie tong is able this day to bitter of thee in middell of these sighs and lamentations. Now shall it cease: howbeit, at time convenient, both this daie and euer, my heart shall discourse of thee. Oh wretch that I am! O ye Romane people, to whom happeneth still the contrarie of that which happened to the Romane souldiour, that was wounded and maimed vpon one of his legs, at a certaine victorie that he obtained. For he said, that at euerie step that he set, and vpon the least paine that he felt of his leg, he called to mind the most honorable blason of his glorie: but I contrariwise, in the least commendations that I may obtaine, shall thinke vpon my losses. For when sooner I shall boast, that I haue bene seruant to such a holinesse, and so great a personage, I must necessarilie with all remember what a god I am depriued of. Let vs therefore praye to our god God, that it may please him of his grace with his holie spirit to inspire the most reuerend cardinals, the electors of the holie apostolike and Romish see, to the end his holinesse successor, succeeding in the holie see, may likewise succeed in those vertues and holinesse, wherewith he was indued and replenished.

¶ This is the parasiticall and flattering sermon of a popeling, patched together like a beggers mantle of sundrie rotten rags diuerslie colored: wherein there is as much learning as wit; and as much of both as of truth and goodnesse in this praise and the holie ghost to speake otherwise than according to the motion of a good and sound conscience) an epigraph imprecatorie (as fit for him as a pudding for a friers mouth) is here placed as a conclusion of this his memorialis, and appliable vnto all and euerie one of that antichristian and diabollicall succession.

*Albus an ater (leſtor) cognoscere ſroin
Papa, ſibi dicam quaraſione licet;
Tu metamorphoſin lepidam ſpectabis: olorem*

the wife if you
will believe
the reporter.

Two images
nations in
Gregories
head toward
his death.

Some traitors
denie
for the persecu-
tion of the
gospell.

God rot out
all of that suc-
cession, & giue
his truth free
paſſage as
gainſt poperie.

Blasphemous
soule that haſt
lost thy ſolace
and comfort.

* Faithfullie
translated out
of the French
copie printed
at Paris ſet
at Peter Jabert
dwelling in
Barpe ſtreet,
with 5 kings
priviledge 1585

*Ecce papam, cuius protinus ater erit.
Et quocunque meat, fordes testudo relinquit,
Sic immundiciem linguit ubique suam.
Monstrum tale vorax absorbeat ergo barathrum,
Atque Deo penas tempus in omne laet.*

Sixtus quintus pope of Rome next after Gregorie the good fellow or bonam companion.

Excommunication a perilous bolt to shoot at princes.

When this Gregorie was deceased, shortly after (least the overlong vacancie of the sacred and apostolic see should prejudice the Romish prelacie and cleargie) the succession came to *Sixtus Quintus*, who according to the disposition of his predecessors intending to mainteine the title of his supremacie, and to beare rule ouer mens consciences, as though peremptorie authoritie had by priuilege passed vnto the bishops of that see to controll and giue the checke to all christendome; one tot minute whereof the beast now residing at Rome not meaning to relinquish, but rather to fortifie and aduance, undertooke to intermedle with princes of renowne, as proffering to bring them within the compasse of his iurisdiction: insomuch that falling to the extreame point of his antichristian power, he let slipe (but as paper-shot) his excommunications, thinking that if anie thing were able to daunt and appall the courages of mightie men, this were the waie. But herein *Sixtus Quintus* was sollied, for profe thereof behold an answer to the excommunication latelie denounced and published by the said *Sixtus Quintus*, pope of Rome so called, against two christian princes vndermined, and sent to Rome as followeth.

The answer of Henrie king of Nauarre,
and Henrie prince of Conde, to the excommunication of Sixtus Quintus,
now pope, &c.

The popes excommunications against foreign princes are to be esteemed but as paper bolt.

The king of Nauarre giueth the pope the lie.

The king of Nauarre denounceth peremptuall warre against the pope.

This their forgetfulness is wilfull, as agreeable to their ambitious humors.

Henrie by the grace of God king of Nauarre, prince of Bearne, chiefe pere and prince of France, opposeth himselfe against the excommunication of *Sixtus Quintus*, terming himselfe pope of Rome, aouching the same to be false, and appealeth to the court of peeres of France, of whome he hath the reputation to be the first in degre. And as concerning the crime of heresie, whereof he is falslie accused by the said excommunication, he auoweth and affirmeth, that my lord the pope, sauing his holinesse and reuerence, hath therein most falselie and wickedlie lied: and that the pope himselfe is an heretike, which he offereth to proue publikelie in a generall or common counsell lawfullie assembled. Where if he shall refuse to appeare and submit himselfe, as by his owne canons and decrees he is speciallie bound, the said king doth and will hold and repute him a verie antichrist, and in that qualitie of antichrist denounceth peremptuall warre against him: protesting in the meane time, the popes wicked sentence to be vnlawfull and insufficient, and to prosecute against him and his successors (for reparation of honor) reuenge of the iniurie thereby offered to him and all the princes of his blood, as the lewdnesse of the act and the present necessitie doe require. For if in times past, the princes and kings his progenitors haue bene able to chastise the insolencie and arrogancie of such companions as the pope is, when they forgot their duties, and exceeded the limits of their vocation and place, confounding and intermingling their spirituall iurisdiction with the temporall: the said king of Nauarre being in state nothing inferior to them, doth hope, that God will giue him the grace to reuenge the wrong and iniurie hereby done to his souereigne, his familie and blood, and to the supreme courts and seats of iustice and parlement in France, vpon the said pope and his successors: and to that end and pur-

pose he imploereth the aid, succour, and assistance of all true christian kings, princes, common-weales, whome this case doth concerne, together with the allies and confederats of the crowne of France, against the tyrannie and vsurpation of the said pope and of the associated conspirators against the state of their souereigne, enemies to God, France, and the common peace and quiet of christendome. The like protestation is also made by Henrie of Bourbon prince of Conde, vnto whome the excommunication likewise reacheth. ¶ Fired and set by vpon the Pasquile at Rome to the view of all men.

¶ Thus farre of two popes, who though they be but prophane priests, & mere foreigners to England both by birth and belase; yet sith they haue bene so uerbosely to busie themselves with the affaires not onelie of other christian princes, but also with the state of our nation, wherinto they haue had too far an insight, by the aid of certeine vnnaturall and degenerate people; manie of them being fugitiues, and carieng about them euen in their bosome a conscience bespotted with sinnes of erranding horroz and heinousnesse: in consideration hereof, as also of other practises tending to an vniuersall desolation of truth and louers of truth, as also to the dissolution of ciuill policie and destruction of our most gracious souereigne ladie queene Elisabeth, the lords annointed and lieutenant, principall within hir owne dominions: what faithfull subject can but note them; howbeit, none otherwise than the reports of them haue passed vnder manie eyes and through manie hands, printed euen in foreign speech, before the same were published in English. At which popes, meaning now to make a stop, we will come againe to matters of our owne.

¶ In this yeare 1585, euen in Aprill, at the pleasant pinn, sir Walter Raleigh knight, being incouraged by the reports of his men of the goodnesse of the soile and the fertilitie of the countrie, which they had discovered this yeare last past, and now by his maiestie called Virginia, with knightlie courage countervailing to his double desire of honour, by undertaking hard aduentures, furnished to his great charges eight shalles of all sortes, and immediatlie set them to the sea, ordeining sir Richard Grenfield his kinsman (a gentleman of verie good estimation both for his parentage and sundrie good vertues, who for loue he bare vnto sir Walter Raleigh, together with a disposition that he had to attempt honorable actions worthie of honour, was willing to hazard himselfe in this voyage) his lieutenant, inioining him either to carrie himselfe, or to leaue some gentleman of good worth with a competent number of soldiers in the countrie of Virginia, to begin an English colonie there. Who with the ships aforesaid, hauing in his companie sir John Arundell, Thomas Candish, Rafe Lane, Edward Cozges, John Stuklie, Edward Stafford, Philip Amadis, Arthur Barlow, Thomas Hertot, and diuerse other gentlemen with a competent number of souldiers, departed from London in Aprill aforesaid. But after they had sailed certeine numbers of leagues at the sea, by force and violence of fowle weather they were separated one from another, so that sir Richard Grenfield being singled from his fleet, all alone arrived in the Island of Hispaniola in the west Indies, about the middell of June following, where he determined resolute to remaine, vntill he had built a bote (for he had lost his owne bote in the tempest aforesaid.) Wherevpon immediatlie after his landing, finding a place to his liking, he esconced himselfe in despite of the Spaniards, who by all possible means did there best endeavour by proffering of sundrie skirmishes,

Abr. Flex chorographo D. G. milis.

Sir Walter Raleighs chargeable voyage to the foresaid land, which he discovered, and by the queenes maiestie named Virginia.

Sir Richard Grenfield lieutenant to sir Walter Raleigh for this voyage.

Gentlemen that associated with sir Richard Grenfield.

Sir Richard Grenfield singled from his companie by fowle weather, then arriveth in Hispaniola.

The valiant-
ness of Sir Ri-
chard Greene-
field against
the Spaniar-
ds.

A parlee ten-
ding to the
concluding of
an amitie be-
twene the
English and
Spanish.

what kind of
cattell for vit-
telling Sir Ri-
chard Greene-
field transpor-
ted to Virgi-
nia.

Sir Richard
Greene-
field meeteth with
the rest of his
fleet and is in
danger of
shipwracke.

Sir Richard
Greene-
field establisheth
an English
colonie in
Virginia by
commission.

Sir Richard
Greene-
field descrieth a
Spanish ship,
chaufeth and
surrendereth hir.

In other voi-
age resolved
upon by Sir
Walter Ra-
leigh for the
supplye of those
that were left
in Virginia.

Four thousand
men trained
by With
shot in the citie
of London.

Shir miff be-
fore the queens
maiestie at
Greenwich.

thes, to enforced him to retire to his ship; but he no-
thing appalled with their brags kept his ground.
Twelve daies after his arrivall there, after Thomas
Candish arrived at the same place, where Sir Richard
Greene-
field was enconfining of himselfe, to the great
reioicing both of themselves & their companies. The
Spaniards finding it too hard for them (notwith-
standing their multitudes) to remove these few re-
solute Englishmen by violence, came to a parlee, and
in the same concluded an amitie, that the one na-
tion might in safetie traffike with the other. ¹⁰ *How*
when Sir Richard Greene-
field had taried in that Is-
land almost a moneth, and had built his bote, reit-
telled himselfe, and laden his ships with hozles,
mares, kine, sheep, swine, &c: to transport with him
to Virginia (because these sorts of cattell heretofore
were not to be found in that countrie) he departed
thence; and in his waite he made discoverie of manie
Islands and haucns vpon the continent adjoining,
and arrived safelie in the new discovered countrie
(where he met with the rest of his fleet that attended
his comming thither) about the middell of Iulie
next ensuing, not without great danger of ship-
wracke. For at the verie entrance into the harbor-
rough, his ship strake on the ground, and did beat so
manie strokes vpon the sands, that if God had not
miraculouste deliuered him, there had bene no
waie to avoid present death. In this danger his ship
was so byrned, that the saltwater came so aboun-
dantlie into hir, that the most part of his corne, salt,
meale, rice, bisket, & other provisions that he should
haue left with them that remained behind him in
the countrie was spoiled.

After he had remained there certeine daies, accor-
ding to his commission from Sir Walter Raleigh,
he began to establish a colonie, appointing master
Rafe Lane (a gentleman of good account) generall
of those English which were to remaine there, being
in all to the number of an hundred and seauen per-
sons, amongst whom diuerse gentlemen remained;
namelie, Philip Amadis, Edward Stafford, Per-
vair, Kendall, Videaur, Atton, Heriot, and others.
When he had taken sufficient order for the establish-
ing of master Lane and his companie aforesaid, lea-
ving with them as much of all provisions as his
plentie would giue him leaue, he weighed anchor for
England. But in his returne, not hauing sailed manie
leagues from the coast of Virginia, he descried
a fall ship of foure hundred tuns or thereabouts, ma-
king the same course that he did, unto whom he gaue
chase, and in few houres by goodnesse of faile over-
tooke, and by violence wan, richlie laden with sugar,
hides, spices, and some quantitie of gold, silver, and
pearle: he was the viceadmirall of the fleet of *San-
to Domingo* that yere for Spaine. After this good for-
tune, hauing a merie gale, not manie daies after he
arrived at Plimmouth in October next ensuing;
where Sir Walter Raleigh meeting with him, did
presentlie resolve vpon another voyage, to supplie
Rafe Lane, and his companie that were left with
him in Virginia, the next spring following: which
accordinglie was performed with all expedition. ²⁰

In Aprill about the fourteenth daie, by command-
ment of hir maiesties most honorable priuie
councell, the citizens of London appointed out of the
companies of the same citie to the number of foure
thousand men, with armour, enignes, drums, fises,
and other furniture for the warres, the greater part
whereof (or almost all of them) were shot, the other
were pikes and halberds in faire cozzets: all those
to be trained by vnder expert captains, with serge-
ants of the bands, wisers, and other necessarie offi-
cers, mustered and skirminished daillie at the Aples
end, and in saint Georges field, and on the eighteenth

daie of Maie (hauing ouernight set forward out of
saint Georges field) mustered in the parke at Green-
wich, and skirminished before the queens maiestie,
who gaue to them great thanks for their actiuenesse
and paines: with hir maiestie might perceiue the ap-
pliablenesse of those hir people, even in pastime not
void of perill, to delight hir eies and reioice hir hart;
esteeming nothing too deere to part withall, so it
might anie waies concerne dutie to hir highnesse.
In discharge whereof as she hath no forwarder sub-
iects in hir land, so to discover, inquire, and persecute
the dissolall none readier, even to the hazard of their
liues, for the safetie of hir life, which is the life of the
whole land, and the prop of true religion: in respect
whereof we saie and praise with the well wishyng sob-
iect, that vpon seeing & hearing of hir highnesse, fell
into such an admiration of hir excellencie, that he leest
these verses among manie after his goodlie death:

*Incluye da longum dici, Deus, Elisabetha Est,
Elisabetha tua Est, religioque tua Est:
Da Deus haud unquam dici, Fuit Elisabetha,
Elisabetha Fuit, religioque Fuit.*

¶ On the nineteenth of Maie being Ascension
eue, Edward Wotton esquier, descended of a
worthy parentage, was ambassador into Scot-
land, to establish a league of amitie betwene the
two nations of England and Scotland: whome I
will now leaue in that countrie executing his com-
mission, and turne my pen to some persons of that
surname, who for their singularitye of wit & learning,
for their honour and gouernement in and of the
realme about the pynce, and elsewhere at home and
abroad, deserue such commendations, that they me-
rit *Nineo signari lapillo*. In treating of whome I will
neither make mention of the antiquitie of that wo-
thyfull familie from the first originall, nor yet treat
of Richard Wotton, lining in the time of Edward
the first, the father of John Wotton cozoner of
Dunstable an officer of great account in those daies
and father to an other John Wotton, &c: nor of Ri-
chard Wotton or Wotton, an officer of the exchequer
in the time of Edward the second, nor of Sir Nicho-
las Wotton knight, lining about the daies of Ri-
chard the second, nor of anie other Wottons wherof
this Edward Wotton is descended: but onelie of
such Wottons his ancestors, who of late time liued
within the compasse of my memorie, and were the
sonnes of Sir Robert Wotton of Wotton Palherbe
in Kent knight, deseruing not to be forgotten, in
that he was father to two such worthy sonnes, as I
doe not remember that euer England nourished at
one time for like honour, disposition of mind, fauour
and seruice to their countrie.

The sonnes of this Sir Robert Wotton, wherof
we intend to intreat, were Sir Edward Wotton
knight the eldest, and Nicholas Wotton doctor of
both lawes the yonger sonne. Whereof the first be-
ing a man of great estimation in the countrie for
his orderlie and wise managing of the priuat af-
faires of his countrie of Kent, was for his fidelitie
and good carriage in small things made lord and ru-
ler of great things. For king Henrie the eight, un-
derstanding the grauitie of the man, his rare wit,
deepe iudgement, great experience, and other parts
required in a sound counsellor, did admit this Sir Ed-
ward into his owne bosome, and made him of his
priuie counsell: whose modest mind being so farre
estranged from desire of honour, as that he would
not accept it by great inforcement (a vertue verie
rare, and such as declareth a noble mind iudiciallie
grounded vpon the truth of diuine philosophie) re-
fused the honorable place of the chancelorship of Eng-
land, accounting that the vertue of the mind made
a man honorable, and not the honorable place. For
as

The Londo-
ners commen-
ded.

Fr. Thin.

A league of as
mitie betwene
England and
Scotland;
established:
Edward
Wotton esqui-
er ambassador.

The Wottons
an an-
cient familie,
and of special
name in di-
uerse kings
reignes.

Sir Robert
Wotton of
Wotton Pal-
herbe in Kent,
a man of sin-
gular note.

Sir Edward
Wotton and
Nicholas
Wotton doc-
tor of both
lawes, the
rare sonnes of
a rare father.

Sir Edward
Wotton one of
king Henrie
the eightes pri-
uie counsell.

Sir Edward
Wotton refu-
sed to be lord
chancelor of
England.

Chrysostomus de
actione 147.

Emendat in ser.
c. 147.

Nicholas
Wootton doc-
tor of both
lawes refuſeth
to be archbi-
ſhop of Can-
terburie: a
rare note in
him (as alſo in
his brother)
of contentation
with their
ſtates.

Thomas
Wootton of
Bacon ſhal-
herbe (ſonne
to the ſaid ſir
Edward) a
great regard
of his progeni-
tors climatio.

Epitaphium ce-
lebre Nicholai
Woottoni primi
poſt monaſterio
diſſolutionem
Cantuar. decani.

Annus ætatis
cum è vita ex-
ceſſiſſet.

Homo ſumma
laude dignus
Woottonus vel
iſta inuidia in-
dice.

Dignitatis gra-
dus quibus
Woottonus iſte
eſt inſignitus
regnantibus
diuerſis princi-
pibus.

ſaith ſaint Chryſoſtome; Honor verus virtutis animi
eſt, hic honor nec a Caſaribus præſtatur, neque adulatione
conquiritur, neque pecunia præparatur; nihil ſuſcipi in ſe
habet, nihil ſimulari, nihil occultis huius honoris ſucceſſor eſt,
nullus eſt accuſator: nullus ingratus.

Therefore not being ambitious of honour (after
which the beſt do often hunt, although ſuch greedie
deſire of honour and ambition be, as ſaith Barnard,
Futile malum, ſecretum vitium, peſtis occulta, doli artifice, ma-
ter hypocriſis, luorum parens, vitiorum origo, tinea ſanctitatis,
exceſſatrix cordium, ex remedij morbos creans, ex medicina
languorem generans) did further increaſe his honour
and advance him to greater credit; as appeareth by
this, that king Henrie the eight, whom this man had
long and faithfullie ſerved in his life time, made
him one of his executors, and the diſpoſer of his teſ-
tament at the time of his death; with whom alſo in
the ſame authoritie he iointed his brother doctor Ni-
cholas Wootton, a man of no leſſe merit than the
other, and rightlie deſerving to be here iointed in re-
membrance with his brother after their deaths, ſince
almoſt equall honoz, like loue, the ſame authoritie in
the common-weale, one blood, and one Chriſt did
ioine them together in perfect amitie during their
lives: of which Nicholas Wootton I will not ſpeake
anie more (except that as his brother refuſed the
chancellorſhip, ſo he in the beginning of the reigne
of this queene refuſed the biſhoppe of Canturbu-
rie) but that which this worthy gentleman Thomas
Wootton of Bacon ſhalherbe eſquire now living
(ſonne to the ſaid ſir Edward, and nephew to the
ſaid Nicholas, this Thomas being a great and faſt
fauoror of his countrie, not withſtandfull unto him
therefore) hath ſet downe in a ſtatelie and rich ſto-
me of curious workmanſhip, formed after the order
of a pyramis, and placed in the church of Canturbu-
rie, on which is ingraued in a faire ſtone of marble
this epitaph following: wherein his birth, his parents,
his honozs at home, his ambadaiges abroad, and o-
ther things neceſſarie the knowledge are faithfullie
ſet downe.

Nicholaus Woottonus Roberti Woottoni equitis aurati ex
Anna Belknapp filius, vtriuſque iuris doctor, eccleſie huius
primus itemq; metropolitane eccleſie diui Petri Eboracenſis
decanus, Henrico 8. Eduardo 6. Maria & Eliſabetha An-
glie regibus à ſecretis conciliij, ad Carolum 5. Caſarem bis, ad
Philippum Hiſpaniarum regem ſemel, ad Franciſcum primum
Francorum regem ſemel, ad Henricum ſecundum eius filium
ter, ad Mariam Hungarie reginam Belgarum præſidem ſemel,
ad Gulielmum Cleuſenſem ducem bis, legatione functus. Re-
nouata pacis inter Anglos, Francos, & Scotos, inter Guinas
& Arderam anno. 1540. ſimiliter, & ad caſtrum Camera-
cenſe anno. 1559. Deniq; Edinburgi Scotie anno 1560. ora-
torum vnus, hic tandem ſeuē ſeptuagenarius requieſcit. Hæc
ille ante mortem & ante morbum quaſi fatalem diem præſen-
tiens, & cygneam cantionem prophetice canens, ſua manu in
miſeo ſcripta reliquit.

Qui apud tales principes (diuina providentia gubernante)
laudabiliter, & in tot ac tantis cauſis (quarum magnitudo
graviſſima, vtilitas publica fuit) feliciter bonam vitam ſue
partem conſumpſit; eum virum ſapientem & experientiſſi-
mum ipſa inuidia iudicare debet. Quam ſemper ab omni con-
tentione honorum fuerit alienus, illud decalarat, quod ad hanc
eccleſiaſticam dignitatem non ambitione vlla ſua inflamma-
tus, nec amicorum opera uſus, aſpirauit: ſed eam vtramq;
Honoris & Virtutis (hominis merito & virtute promeritis)
vltro detulit. Cumq; idem rex illuſtriſſimus morbum lethali-
tem ingreſcere perſentiret, & Eduardus principis ſane excel-
lentisſimi, adhuc tandem pueri & reipublice adminiſtranda
impari, imbecillam ætatem ſenilis prudentia ſecretioris con-
ciliij ſui, regendum exiſtimaret, illis inſtituit hunc Nichola-
um (abſentem tunc in Francia legatum) vnum eſſe voluit.
Eduardus regi iam medio regni curriculo propè conſectus, vnus è
primarijs ſecretarijs fuit, quem locum tenere potuiſſet, niſi &

ſuis & aſſidujs amicorum precibus abſcendiſſet veniam impe-
traſſet. Corpus illi erat gracile quidem & paruum ſed erectum,
habitus ſana, vultus liberalis, vultus exquiſitus, quem ſemel
tantum in die capere conſueuerat: valitudo adeo ſirma vi ra-
ro morbum aliquem ſentiret: animus vero totus libris ac literis
dicatus: artium medicina, iuriſprudentia, & theologia ſu-
dore intentus: linguarum Romane, Italice, Gallice, & Ger-
manice inferiori cognitione pulchre exornatus. Ita vir iſte
genere clarus, legationibus clarior, domi ac foris clarisſimus, ho-
nore ſorens, labore fractus, ætate conſectus; poſtquam decanus
huius eccleſie annis 25. dies 293. præſuiſſet, Londini 1 Ianuarij
26. anno noſtræ ſalutis 1556. pie & ſuauiter in Domino ob-
dormiuit. Thomas Wootton nepote herede relictus, qui ei hoc
monumentum non honoris ergo quo abundauit vnus & ſor-
reſcit mortuus, ſed amoris cauſa quem memoria colet ut debet
ſempiterna conſecrauit.

In which epitaph it appeareth what he was, & how
greatlie learned and reuerenced for the ſame. Where-
fore needing not to ſpeake anie more of him, ſith, I
ſhall not be able with due maiestie of ſtile to expreſſe
his worthineſſe; I will yet, leauing what other wiſe
his merit might challenge to be ſpoken, note one
ſtrange and rare thing, which to my remembrance
neuer happened to anie one before the ſame, be-
ing this that he had not onelie bene counſelloz to
ſoure kings and queenes of England following in
ſucceſſion of time, ſo he in the beginning of the reigne
ſeueral times ambadaioz and oratoz to diuerſe
princes for the affaires of the publike wealt, and the
princes honoz. Thus leauing this worthy doctor
with his nephew Thomas Wootton, father to Ed-
ward Wootton ſent ambadaioz to Scotland, which
occationed me to treat thus much of the Woottons,
I conclude, that it is a ſingular bleſſing of God, not
commonlie giuen to euerie race, to be beautified
with ſuch great and ſucceeding honoz in the deſcents
of the familie. Whereof this Edward Wootton now
living, hath in the life of his father giuen great proſe
of continuance to deſcend to their poſteritie, in that
he in theſe his yong yeares, hath bene (after his tra-
uell ouer the moſt part of Europe) twice imploied in
ambadaiges for the ſeruiſe of his countrie; firſt to
the king of Boxtingall, & now to the king of Scots:
with whom I will at this time ſet end to this diſ-
courſe of the Woottons.]

On the one and twentieth daie of June, Henrie
Perſie earle of Northumberland, priſoner in the
Tower of London vpon vehement ſuſpicion of
high treaſon, was there found dead, and alſo of his
owne duelliſh intent, and of his malice beſore pre-
tended to haue murdered himſelfe, as more mani-
feſtie and at large may appeare, by an inquisition
made by a ſubſtantiall iurie, taken beſore the cor-
oner as followeth verbatim with the record.

¶ A copie of the ſaid inquisition.

As inquisition taken at the citie of London, that
his within the tower of London, in the pariſh of
Alhallowes Warking, in the ward of the Tower of
London, on Monday being the one and twentieth
daie of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our ſoue-
reigne ladie Eliſabeth by the grace of God queene of
England, France, and Ireland, defendoꝝ of the faith
&c, the ſeuē and twentieth: beſore William Squier
gentleman coroner to our ſaid ſouereigne ladie
the queene within the citie of London and the liber-
ties of the ſame, vpon the view of the bodie of Hen-
rie Perſie knight, late earle of Northumberland,
late priſoner there within the Tower of London a-
foꝛeſaid, for ſuſpicion of high treaſon by him ſuppo-
ſed to be done, there lieng dead, and ſaine: by the
othes of Nicholas Wheeler, Simon Hoſſepole,
Thomas Gardener, William Leauſon, Owen
Bozgan, Henrie Lodge, William Abraham, Wil-
liam Poine, Thomas Kuſſell, John Poſter, Robert
Dolwe,

Retum quarun-
dum in iſto Woot-
tono ueritatem ab-
ſolue lucidius a
deſcriptio.

Fideles eccleſie
chriſti Canua-
rienſis.

Monumentum
in memoriam
memoriam amo-
ris ergo extructu

This is tou-
ched in the
former epitaph
among other
his prefer-
ments.

Commendati-
on of Edward
Wootton, in
reſpect of his
great traui-
ling ouer the
moſt part of
Europe and
his imple-
ments in
ambadaiges &c.

Earle of
Northumber-
land found to
haue murder-
ed himſelfe
in the tower
of London.

A queſt of
inquire vpon
his violent
& voluntarie
death.

Dowe, Anthonie Hall, William Curtis, Thomas Wood, Mathew Wolman, Thomas Martin, Richard Sleford, John Trot, Philip Smith, Thomas Tallo, and Henrie Bowdler, of good and lawfull men of the same ward, and of three other wards to the same ward next adjoining, as the maner and custome is in the citie aforesaid, to inquire how, in what maner, and when the said Henrie Persie late earle of Northumberland came to his death.

The verdict of the iurie deliuered vpon their oths.

Which iurie do saie vpon their oths, that on the one & twentieth daie of this instant moneth of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our soueraigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendoꝝ of the faith, &c: the seuen and twentieth aforesaid, and long before the foresaid Henrie late earle of Northumberland prisoner in the Tower of London situate in the parish of Alhallows Warking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London, aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason aforesaid, by him against our soueraigne ladie the queene supposed to be committed; and the foresaid earle so remaining prisoner, and being placed in a certaine chamber within the Tower of London aforesaid, there prisoner remaining, imagining and intending himselfe duellishlie and feloniouslie to kill and murder before the foresaid one & twentieth daie of June: that is to saie, the sixteenth daie of June in the seuen and twentieth yeare aforesaid, did prepare a certaine bag of iron and Steele of the value of ten shillings: and also certaine bullets of lead, and a certaine quantitie of gunpowder, contained in a certaine small box, and caused the foresaid gun, the bullets of lead and the gunpowder to be brought into the foresaid chamber unto him the same earle of Northumberland, and to be deliuered to the same earle then and there by the hands of James a Price peoman, to execute his duellish and felonious purpose and intention.

The meanes that the earle made and prepared to destroy himselfe.

Which day aforesaid, the foresaid earle caused secretlie to be hidde in a certaine matris vnder the bolster of his bed in the chamber aforesaid, and then and there, the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June in the seuen and twentieth yeare aforesaid, betwene the houres of twelue and one in the night of the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June, thinking and intending to prosecute and follow his duellish intention and purpose aforesaid, did bolt the doore of the foresaid chamber, and the inner part of his said chamber towards himselfe, least any man should foese or withstand his duellish, felonious, and malicious intent: and the said doore of his foresaid chamber, being so bolted; the same earle then and there into his bed himselfe did laie; and vpon this afterward, that is to saie, the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June, in the seuen & twentieth yeare aforesaid, about the houres aforesaid, within the Tower of London aforesaid, situate and being in the parish of Alhallows Warking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London aforesaid, not hauing the almighty God or his feare before his eyes, but being moued and seduced by the instigation of the duell, of his mallice afore pretended; did take vp into his hands the foresaid bag of iron and Steele, then and there made readie, charged with gunpowder, and three bullets of lead, and the foresaid bag to the left part of his breast nere unto the pappe of the same part of his best, then and there feloniouslie and duellishlie did put, and vpon the same part of his best the foresaid bag did discharge.

The order of the action that was the earls destruction.

By reason of the violence of which gunpowder, and of the foresaid three bullets of lead, the foresaid earle into his bodie and heart, and through his chine bone, euen into his right shoulder, himselfe then and there with the foresaid bullets of lead feloniouslie and

voluntarie did strike; giuing vnto himselfe then and there one mortall wound, of the depth of twelue inches, and of the bredth of two inches: of which mortall wound aforesaid, the foresaid earle within the Tower of London aforesaid, the daie, yeare, parish, and ward aforesaid, instantlie died. And so the iurie doth saie vpon their oths aforesaid, that the foresaid earle, the daie, yeare, and place aboue written, of his duellish intent aforesaid, and of his mallice before pretended, feloniouslie and voluntarie himselfe did kill and murder in maner and forme aforesaid, against the peace of our soueraigne ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. But what goods and cattels the foresaid earle in the time of the felonie and murder to himselfe aforesaid committed, had, or as yet hath, the iurie knew not, &c: in witness whereof, &c. This was the verdict of the iurors, wher by the maner how, and the matter whereby the earle dispatched himselfe is trulie declared: which being taken for truth (as deseruing no lesse, the parties trustworthie of credit) it remained to provide for the bestowing of his wretched carcase, which on the three and twentieth daie of June was buried in saint Peters church within the said Tower of London. This was the end of that gracelesse earle, the maner of whose murder, and part of his treasons are here dilated, as the same was publikelie deliuered in the Star-chamber, and after published in a booke intituled;

The breadth and depth of his wound.

Henrie earle of Northumberland buried in the Tower.

30 A true and summarie report of the declaration of some part of the earle of Northumberland's treasons, deliuered publikelie in the court at the Star-chamber by the lord Chancellor and others of hir maiesties most honorable priue counsell, & counsell learned, by hir maiesties speciall commandement, together with the examinations & depositions of sundrie persons touching the manner of his most wicked and violent murder committed vpon himselfe with his owne hand, in the Tower of London, the 20 daie of June, 1585.



40 Alice, among other essentiall properties pertaining to hir ouglie nature, hath this one not inferior to the rest and the worst, incredulitie, wherewith the commonlie possessed the minds and affections of all those that are infected with hir, so blinding the eyes & iudgement of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see or perceiue the bright beames of the truth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great puritie, profe, circumstance and probabilitie. It is said that no truely pasteth abroad vnaccompanied with hir contrarie; and as they go, truth is euer constrained to yeld the precedence and preeminence to hir yokefellow falshood, whose lodging is alwaies first made and prepared without a harbinger in the corrupt nature of mankind, by whome she is first received, interteined and harbored at all times: wherof in our dailie experience there happen manie and dangerous demonstrations, especiallie in matters of the highest moment, tending to excuse or accuse the actions of the greatest personages.

Incredulitie an essentiall property of malice.

Truth and falshood commonly are opposites.

There was of late deliuered in publick by persons of honour, credit, and reputation, a large declaration of certaine treasons practised by the late earle of Northumberland, of the maner of his vntimelie death, being with his owne hand murdered in the Tower, and of the causes that wrought him thereto. The particularities whereof are such and so manie, as for the helpe of my memozie (comming then to the Star-chamber by occasion, and not looking for any such presence of the nobilitie and priue counsell as I found there at that time, and not looking for any such cause of that nature to haue bene handled there that daie) I toke notes of the severall mat-

An ingredience into the history of Northumberland.

ters declared by the lord chancellor, maister attourneie, and solicitor generall, the lord chiefe baron, and maister vicechamberlaine: for (as I remember) they spake in order as they are here marshalled, and therefore I place them in this sort, and not according to their precedence in dignitie.

The manner of the earles making aware of himselfe not generally be-layed.

The cause which the collection of Northumberland's treasons and self-murder was published.

Persons of honour and worship assembled in the Star-chamber, in whose audience Northumberland's case was called.

Upon the hearing of the treasons with their proofs and circumstances, and the desperat manner of the earles destruction deliuered in that place, and by persons of that qualitie, I supposed no man to haue bene so void of iudgement or the use of common reason, that would haue doubted of anie one point or particle thereof, vntill it was my chance (falling in companie with diuerse persons at sundrie times, as well about the citie of London as abroad) to heare manie men report variable and corruptible of the manner and matter of this publike declaration, possessing the minds and opinions of the people with manifest vntruths: as, that the earle had bene vnjustly detained in prison without proofe or iust cause of suspicion of treason: and that he had bene murdered by beuile and practise of some great enemies, and not destroyed by himselfe. These slanderous reports haue ministred vnto me this occasion to set forth vnto thy view and consideration (gentle reader) this short collection of the said treasons and murder, as nere vnto the truth as my notes taken may lead and permit me, with the view of some of the examinations them selues concerning this cause for my better satisfaction since obtained. Which I haue undertaken for two respects: the one, to conuince the false and malicious impressions and constructions receiued and made of these actions, by such as are in heart enemies to the happy estate of hir maiesties present gouernement: the other, because it may be thought necessarie for the preventing of a further contagion like to grow (by this creeping infection) in the minds of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these and the like rumors, to receiue the bad as the good, and they the most in number. Wherein if I haue seemed more bold than wise, or intermedled my selfe in matters aboue my reach, and not appertaining vnto me, I craue pardon where it is to be asked, and commit my selfe to thy friendlie interpretation to be made of my simple trauell and dutifull meaning herein.

Upon the three and twentieth date of June last, assembled in the court of Star-chamber, sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chancellor of England, William lord Burleigh lord treasurer of England, George earle of Shrewsburie lord marshall of England, Henrie earle of Derby, Robert earle of Leicester, Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord chamberlaine, Henrie lord Hunsdon lord gouernor of Berwicke, sir Francis Knollis knight treasurer, sir James Croft knight comptroller of hir maiesties household, sir Christopher Hatton knight vice-chamberlaine to the quenes maiestie, the lord chiefe iustice of hir maiesties bench, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, and others. The audience verie great of knights, esquires, and men of other qualitie, the lord chancellor began briefly and summarilie to declare, that whereas Henrie late earle of Northumberland, for diuerse notable treasons and practises by him taken in hand, to the danger not onelie of hir maiesties roiall person, but to the perill of the whole realme, had bene long detained in prison, and looking into the guilt of his owne conscience, and perceiving by such meanes of intelligence, as he by corrupting of his keepers and other like deuises had obtained, that his treasons were by sundrie examinations and confessions discovered, grew thereby into such a desperat estate, as that thereupon he had most wickedly

destroyed & murdered himselfe. Which being made known to the lords of hir maiesties priue counsell, order was thereupon taken, and direction given to the lord chiefe iustice of England, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, to examine the maner and circumstances of his death, which they with all good induer and diligence had accordingly performed. And least through the sinister meanes of such persons as be euill affected to the present estate of hir maiesties gouernement, some bad and vntrue conceits might be had as well of the cause of the earles deteinment, as of the manner of his death: it was therefore thought necessarie to haue the truth thereof made known in that presence: and then he required hir maiesties learned counsell there present to deliuer at large the particularities both of the treasons, and in what sort the earle had murdered himselfe. Then began John Popham esquier, hir maiesties attourneie generall, as followeth.

Examinants appointed for and about the manner of Northumberland's selfe murder.

The earle of Northumberland about the time of the last rebellion in the north, in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne (then called by the title of Henrie Perrie knight) had undertaken the conuincing alwaie of the Scottish quene: for the which (as appeareth by a record of the fourteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne) in the court of hir maiesties bench he was indicted, he confessed the offense, and put himselfe to hir maiesties mercies. At which time, vpon his said confession, submission, and faithfull promise of his dutie and allegiance to hir highnesse from thenceforth, the quenes maiestie of hir mercifull nature was pleased, not to loke into his offense with the extremitie of hir lawes; but dealt therein as by waie of contempt onelie, as may appeare by the record: the effect whereof was then shewed in the court, vnder the hand of one of the clerkes of hir maiesties said bench, *In hac verba.*

Maister atturnie, named by John Popham discouereth the earles treasonable practises.

40 An extract of the said record containing the said earles indictment.



Memorandum, that Henrie Perrie late of Linnouth in the countie of Northumberland knight, was indicted in the terme of Easter, in the fourteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for that hee with diuers others did conspire for the deliuering of the quene of Scots out of the custodie of the erle of Shrewsburie. vpon which indictment the same Henrie Perrie did confesse the offense, and did put himselfe to the quenes mercie: and thereupon iudgement was after giuen by the court, that the said Henrie should paie to the quene for a fine for his said offense, five thousand marks, as appeareth by the record thereof in court.

The erle confessed his offense, and is put to 5000 marks fine.

Per Micha. 14. & 15. Elisabetha regina, rotulo quinto inter placita regina. Concordat cum recordo.

Per Io. Iue.

By this record it maie appeare that the earle had his hand in that rebellion. But for a further proofe thereof, it is most manifestlie discovered in a certaine tract written by the bishop of Ross (wherein he sheweth how faithfullie he behaued himselfe in the managing of those treasons, at and about the time of that rebellion) that the said earle was infected as farre plunged into the same, as the late earle his brother, howsoever he wound himselfe out of the danger thereof at that time. Notwithstanding these traitorous practises, the quenes maiestie was contented to remit all within a short time, and then accepted.

The earle a dealer in rebellion as his brother (therefore executed) was.

Summe of
the traitorous
purposes
whereunto the
earle was en-
tered with a
gracelesse re-
solution.

cepted most graciously of him both in honoꝝ and fa-
uor, though unworthilie bestowed vpon him, for that
he utterly forgetting those graces and fauors recei-
ued at hir maiesties mercifull hands, with a grace-
lesse resolution was contented to enter into a new
plot now latelie conceived, not onelie for the deli-
uering of the Scottish queene, but for the invading
of the whole realme, the overthrow of the govern-
ment, aswell concerning the state of religion, as o-
therwise, the danger of hir maiesties sacred per-
son, and aduancing of the said Scottish queene to the
regall crowne and scepter of this realme, wherein
to hir maiestie is lineallie and lawfullie borne and
descended, and wherein God of his mercie conti-
nue hir long in happie state of gouernement, to the
increase of hir owne glorie, and the comfort of hir
louing and obedient subjects.

The treasons
of Throck-
morton com-
municable
with the earle.

Then did maister Attorneie enter into the parti-
cularities of the treasons, leauing manie parts
thereof vntouched, because the case stood so as it was
not then conuenient to reueale them (as he said) in
respect that they touched some other persons undealt
withall at that time, shewing that Throckmorton
treasons were not old, but fresh in euery mans me-
morie, and how far forth they reached vnto the earle,
he declared. And for that the treasons of Throck-
morton tended especiallie to the invading of the
realme with foren forces, the purpose of that in-
uasion long before intended, is proued by sundrie
examinations and confessions taken here within
the realme, aswell of hir maiesties owne subjects as
others, by letters intercepted, written from and to
the conspirators abroad and at home, and by other
good aduertisements and intelligences had from
foren parts discouering the same. He declared that
in a letter written from doctor Sanders to doctor
Allen out of Spaine, in the yeare 1577, it is set
downe among other things, that the state of Chris-
tendom stood vpon the stout assailing of England.

In inuasion
of this land by
twentie thou-
sand men con-
cluded vpon.

That in a letter sent to the said Allen from Rome,
touching audience giuen by the pope to the ambal-
sadors of certeine foren princes, betwene the pope
whom a league was agreed on against the queenes
maiestie, there were inclosed certeine articles con-
teining in effect, that the realme should be invaded
with twentie thousand men at the charge of the said
pope and princes, that hir maiestie should be depo-
sed, and some English catholike elected king. That
it was confessed that the comming ouer of so ma-
nie priests into the realme, was to win great num-
bers to the catholike partie, to loine (if opportunitie
serued) either with foren inuasion, or with tumult
at home. That at Parbonne in Province, there
was met an Englishman, being the head preacher
there, who gaue intelligence to one of hir maiesties
subjects, that the realme should shortly be innaded
by a foren king, and the popish religion restored;
and said further, that priests came into England and
dispersed themselves in countries, to make their
partie strong. A message was sent in November
1581, to doctor Allen from a subject of this realme,
by a seminarie priest then returning beyond the
seas: that whereas he had receiued word from Al-
len at Alhallontide before, that men and all things
were in a readinesse, if the place of landing might
be knowne: that Allen should forthwith send word
whether things were in such readinesse or not: and if
they were, he would then send him such perfect in-
structions as he could. One Waine executed for
treason, confessed that this realme could not conti-
nue in the state wherein it was, for that the pope
had a speciall care thereof, and would in short time
either by foren princes, or by some other meanes
wooke a change of things here.

Waine with
all of his ac-
curst flamp
shall (I hope
in God) be
found false
prophets.

From hence, maister Attorneie fell into the
treasons confessed by Francis Throckmorton,
shewing that the state of this realme had bene of-
ten presented to the consideration of a foren prince,
who after long hearkening to the motion, had resol-
ued to yeld what furtherance he might, and to giue
all aids necessarie for the refoꝝming of religion, so
they might be backed by such as were well affected
within this countrie. That the duke of Guise had
solicited for two yeares together the pope and other
princes, to supplie him with forces: but being crof-
sed by the death of a great personage, it was now
grovne to this passe, if there could be a partie found
in England to loine in that action, and conuenient
places and meanes for landing, and other things
necessarie, there should be a supplie for Guise of fo-
ren strength. Francis Throckmorton was recom-
mended from beyond the sea to Don Barnardino
de Mendoza, ambassadoꝝ resident for the Spanishe
king here in England, who acquainted Throck-
morton that plot was laid for the enterpryse of the
duke of Guise, and that he was willed to confere
with Throckmorton in the matter, who therevpon
acquainted the said ambassadoꝝ with the plot of the
hauens, and with the noble men and gentlemen
that he had set downe as fit to be dealt withall in
that cause. Throckmorton said, that the bottom
of this enterpryse (which was not to be knowne to
manie) was, that if a toleration of religion might
not be obtained without alteration of the gouerne-
ment, that then the gouernment should be altered,
the queene remoued. That the Scottish queene was
made acquainted from the duke of Guise with the
intention to relieue hir by these forces.

Francis
Throckmorton re-
commended to
Don Barnardi-
no de Mendoza & made
acquainted
with that
which cost him
his life.

It was in debate betwene Throckmorton and
the Spanishe ambassadoꝝ, how the Scottish queene
might be deliuered, as by an enterpryse to be made
with a certeine number of hoꝝles: and it was told
Francis Throckmorton by his brother Thomas
Throckmorton, that it was a principall matter in
debate beyond the seas, how the might be deliuered
with safetie: the lacke of resolution wherein, was the
principall state of the execution of the attempt of
invasion. Mendoza told Francis Throckmorton
about Bartholomewtide 1583, that one Pope
was come into England to sound the earle of Noꝝ-
thumberland, and other principall men in Suffeꝝ:
and about the end of September following, the
same Mendoza told him, that Pope was Charles
Paget, and that he came not onelie to sound the
men, but to view the places, the hauens, the prouisi-
ons and meanes, and nereenesse and commoditie of
mens abidings that should loine with the foren
forces. It was deuised, that such noble men and o-
thers, as would be contented to assist the foren fo-
ces (being iudges of peace & of credit in their coun-
tries) might by colour of their authoritie leue men
as for hir maiesties defense, and yet emploie them
to assist the foren forces. The lord Paget was
made acquainted with this deuise, and answered,
that it was a good course, and that he had thought
vpon it before. Mendoza told Throckmorton, that
Charles Paget had bene in Suffeꝝ, and had spoken
with those that were there, and that he came to
moue the earle of Noꝝthumberland and others. The
night before Throckmorton was apprehended, he
came to the lord Paget, and desired him that he
would not acquaint the earle of Noꝝthumberland
and certeine others (whome he named) with such
matters as had passed betwene them two, touching
the practise of this invasion: and the lord Paget wil-
led him to deale as wiselie for his part as he would
do for himselfe, and all should be well: but (quoth
the lord Paget) the earle of Noꝝthumberland
knoweth

Francis
Throckmorton
owns owne
confessions to
conferre the
report of these
practises, for
pa. 1374, 1375.

Francis
Throckmorton
desireth
the lord Pa-
get not to
make the earle
prone to the
consultations
of them two.

knoweth you well enough. It was once agreed among the confederats, that the duke of Gulse should land in Sussex, being over against Depe and Romney: which after was misliked, because those parts late too nere to his maiesties greatest force and store, and that the people thereabout for the most part were protestants.

In the North parts should the purpose of this land have bene made.

Maister attorneie shewed further, that in summer last, there was taken vpon the seas, sailing towards Scotland, a Scottish Jesuit, about whome there was found a discourse written in Italian of a like enterprize to be attempted against England, which should have bene executed in September or October then last past: wherein assurance is made that the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Dacres that is dead, whom they termed lord Dacres, and of all the catholike lords and gentlemen in the north parts (where the inuasion should haue bene attempted) setting it downe, that it is not said by coniection that these men are assured, but that it is certeinly knowne that they will ioyne with the foreen forces. In the said discourse it is also affirmed that the priests dispersed in the realme, can dispose of the other catholikes of the realme, as they shall be ordered: and that the popes excommunication should be renewed and pronounced against his maiestie, and all those that shall take his part: and that all such should be holden traitors that did not ioyne with that armie by a daie.

Charles Paget concerning the purpose of the inuasion of this land.

When maister attorneie had thus proued the purpose of inuasion, he proceeded to the proofe of Charles Pagets comming ouer about the practise and prosecution of that enterprize. And first, that Paget came to Petworth in September 1583, was secretly receiued, and brought in the night late to the earle of Northumberland into his gallerie at Petworth, by one of the earles seruants: where the earle and he had secret conference together by the space of a large houre: from thence Paget was likewise conueied backe into the towne by the same seruant, and there lodged all that night, and the next night following was conueied secretly to a lodge in the earles park at Petworth, called Comignar lodge, where he was kept with like secrecy by the space of eight daies or thereabouts: and the seruant by whose Paget was thus conueied, was by the said earle instructed and commanded in no wise to discover Pagets being there. The earle of Northumberland, upon the arrival of Charles Paget, sent for the lord Paget with the promise of his seruant, who was made before that Charles came ouer to let things in order, and to packe certaine bands and commodities betwixt the lord Paget and him. The lord Paget came to Petworth, staid there two nights, lodged in the earles house, conferred with Charles Paget, and with the earle together many times.

The earle of Northumberland being at several times examined what causes or affairs had passed betwixt the lord Paget and Charles his seruant, when they came together at Petworth, answered one while, that they passed certaine bands and commodities; and another while, that there was made a bill of indictment signed and sealed betwixt them: he confessed that he let his seruant take the bill, but knew not what the same contained. All which appeared to be false, for that it hath fallen out by occasion of some of the earles and friends of the lord Paget (after his departure out of the realme) that he had disposed of his lands and goods by an other course of assurance executed in London: and therefore their protestations of the selling of lands should at Petworth, were but a device, to hide their treasonous conspiracies.

And for better proofe thereof, it was alleged by maister attorneie, that Charles Paget returning from Petworth to the house of one William Danies, nere to the place where Paget had landed in Sussex, and take shipping againe at his departure beyond the seas, sent to William Schelleie esquire, residing then at his house at Michelgrove, distant about a mile from the house of William Danies, to come vnto him (who within few daies before had bene at the lodge at Petworth with the said Paget) and now at their meeting in a coppie were to Danies house, Paget entred into speech and discourse with him of diuers matters, and at the last among other things, he began to be inquisitiue of the strength and fortification of Portsmouth, and what forces and strength his maiestie had in the other parts westward.

William Schelleie an out of this purpose transacted, a whole consultation with him and Charles Paget.

Paget brake out and declared vnto him that foraine princes would seeke reuenge against his maiestie of the wrongs by him done vnto them, & would take such time and opportunitie as might best serue them for that purpose, and said that those princes desired to see the Scottish queene kept a while here as she was, and would vse all their forces for his seruice: that the duke of Gulse would be a dealer therein, and that the earle of Northumberland would be an assistant vnto them, willing Schelleie whatsoeuer should happen, to follow the earle of Northumberland, affirming that there was not a noble man in England of conda and government like to the said earle; saying further, that the earle of Northumberland was affected to the Scottish queene, & would do what he could for his advancement: that the duke of Gulse had forces in a readinesse to be employed for the altering of the state of religion here in England, and to set the forenamed Scottish queene at libertie.

God presented to this plot by the fault and of the earle as he was in time to say, point all the conspiracies.

Schelleie gathered by these and other speeches which passed betwixt him & Paget, that Paget had dealt with the earle as a chiefe partie, and a man set vpon in these actions: and Paget confessed that he came ouer to breake and deale in these matters. Paget desired further, that the catholikes would all ioyne for to good a purpose, for that it would be a means to restore religion. He said, the earle should be in the North parts, because Sussex was not convenient, as well for that there were no safe landing places, as for that it was so nere London, where the queenes watchfulnes would be ready to resist the same, and that wherefore more the earle of Northumberland would not staid in Sussex, but would take the North parts.

The north parts appointed to be the receptacle of all the treasonous troops.

When maister attorneie generall had in this sort laid downe the particularities of the treasons and treasonous practices of the confederates for this purpose: then Thomas Cogerton esquire, his maiesties solicitor, to proue the earles guilt of these treasons by the circumstances of his own proceedings, shewed that the earle knowing how the same should be troubled with the lord Paget, & to what degree of danger he stood if they should hear his treason, sought his chief hope of safety to consist in the cunning concealing of them, & therefore he laboured to cover them by all the possible means he could devise. And first by concealing some of the lord Paget, a secret and secret place to the practices and meetings handled by Francis & John, & also to the meetings of his brother Charles, whom in the earle and the lord Paget were acquainted with confederates with Charles, made acquainted by him with the causes of his comming over, as principall men with whom he dealt in these matters at Petworth.

The lord Paget comming over secretly by the earles means.

The occasion that prouoked the earle to commit these treasons.

alwaie the lord Paget, grew vpon the apprehension of Throckmorton, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be delt withall by waie of extremitie to be made to confesse the treasons charged vpon him; in reuealing whereof, Charles Pagets comming to Petworth, and the cause of his repaire thither could not be concealed. No man at this time within the realme could accuse the earle of these confederacies, but the lord Paget onlie, who stood in danger to be discovered by Francis Throckmorton: the safetie therefore of the earle rested altogether vpon the lord Pagets departing out of the realme. Which was procured by the earle with so great expedition, as that Throckmorton being committed to the Tower about the seventh daie of Nouember 1583, the earle made meanes the twelue daie to haue the lord Paget provided of shipping in all hast by William Shelleie, wherein the earle vsed such importunat intreatie, & sent so often to hasten the preparation of the ship, that the same was provided, and the lord Paget imbarcked by the 14. of the same moneth following, or thereabout.

The departure of the lord Paget some after discovered, and how, and by whom he was conueied away: his maiestie vpon good cause taking offense thereat, the earle being then at London had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckmorton (who began to discover the treasons) came presentlie down to Petworth, sent immediatlie for William Shelleie, who comming to him to Petworth the next morning about dinner time, met the earle in a dining parlour readie to go to his dinner. The earle toke Shelleie aside into a chamber, and as a man greatly distracted and troubled in mind, entred into these speeches: Alas I am a man cast awaie! And Shelleie demanding what he ment by those speeches, the earle answered: The actions I haue entred into, I feare will be my vtter vndoeing, and ther vpon desired Shelleie to keepe his counsell, and to discover no more of him than he must needs. The earle moreouer at this meeting intreated William Shelleie to conueie away all such as he knew to haue bene employed and were priuie of the lord Pagets going away, and of Charles Pagets comming ouer, which was accordingly performed by Shelleie: and the earle for his part conueied awaie a principall man of his owne, whom he had often vsed in messages into France, and had bene of trust appointed by the earle, to attend on Charles Paget, all the time of his staie at Connigar lodge.

Maister solicitor pursuing the matters that made the earles practises and deuises for the concealing of his treasons manifest, declared further: that after the earle and Shelleie had obtained some libertie in the Tower after their first restraint: the earle found meanes to haue intelligence with Shelleie, & was aduertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations, taken before they were last restrained: since which time, the earle by corrupting of his keeper hath practised to haue continuall aduertisements as before, as well of things done within the Tower as abroad: in so much as by his said keeper he had sent and conueied twelue seuerall letters out of the Tower within the space of nine or ten weekes; and one of those on sundaie the twentieth daie of June in the morning, when he murdered himselfe the night following.

By the same corruption of his keepers he sent also a message to William Shelleie by a maidseruant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should keepe himselfe out of danger. Wherevnto Shelleie returned answer by the same messenger, that he could hold

out no longer, that he had concealed the matters as long as he could, and willed the earle to consider that there was a great difference betwene the earles estate and his: for that the earle in respect of his nobilitie was not in danger to be dealt withall in such sort as he the said Shelleie was like to be, being but a priuat gentleman, and therefore to be vsed with all extremitie to be made confesse the truth: wherefore he aduised the earle to deale plainlie, and to remember what speeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when Charles Paget came last thither.

James Price by the same corruption of the earles keeper came to William Shelleie on the fridaie or saturday before Trinitie sundaie last, and told him that the earle was verie desirous to vnderstand how farre he had gone in his confessions: and at Prices instance, Shelleie did set downe in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said earle: who vpon the sight thereof, perceiving the treasons reuealed and discovered, and knowing thereby how heinous his offenses were, fearing the iudice and seueritie of the lawes, and so the ruine and overthrow of his house, fell into desperation, & so to the destruction of himselfe. For confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one Iaques Pantins, a grome of the earles chamber, who had attended on the earle in the Tower by the space of ten weekes before his death, that he had heard the earle often saie, that maister Shelleie was no faithfull friend vnto him, and that he had confessed such things as were sufficient to overthrow them both: that he was vndone by Shelleies accusations, affirming that the earle began to despair of himselfe, often with teares lamenting his cause, which the earle said to proceed onlie of the remembrance of his wife and children, fearing further, that such matters were laid vnto his charge, that he expected no fauour, but to be brought to his trial, and then he was but a lost man: repeating often that Shelleie had vndone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

Herewith maister solicitor concluded, and then Sir Roger Panwood knight, lord chiefe baron of his maiesties exchequer, entered into the description of the earles death, and in what sort he had murdered himselfe: shewing first how the same had bene found by a verie substantiall iurie chosen among the best commoners of the citie, impanelled by the cozoner vpon the view of the bodie, and diligent inquirie by all due meanes had according to the law, and declared, that vpon the discoverie of the intelligence conueied betwene the earle and Shelleie, it was thought necessarie for the benefit of his maiesties seruice, by such of his highnesse most honourable priuie counsell, as were appointed commissioners to examine the course of these treasons, that Iaques Pantins attending vpon the earle, and the earles corrupt keepers should be removed.

Wherevpon Thomas Bailiffe gentleman, sent to attend on the earle of Northumberland, vpon the removing of Palmer and Iaques Pantins from about the said earle (who from the beginning of his last restraint attended on him) for the reasons last lie before mentioned, was by the lieutenant of the Tower on the sunday about two of the clocke in the after none (being the twentieth of June) shut vp with the earle, as appointed to remaine with him, and serue him in the prison for a time, vntill Palmer, Pantins, and Price, then committed close prisoners, might be examined, how the earle came by such intelligences as were discovered to haue passed betwene the earle and Shelleie, and betwene the earle and others. Bailiffe serued the earle at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clocke, and after some seruices done by the earles commandement,

This was a shift but yet faccourte, as appeareth by the sequels.

The earle and Shelleie confere, and as men dismaied for the discoverie of their dealings are extreme pained.

What desired the keeper that would be corrupted by an offender so malicious?

The earle and Shelleie communicate their minds by message.

James Price a messenger to and from betwene the earle & Shelleie.

The earle doeth commonly lament and feareth not to desire his selfe.

Sir Roger Panwood described the manner how the earle murdered himselfe.

Thomas Bailiffe the one & twentieth of June 1585, deposed.

Palmer, Pantins and Price committed close prisoners. This Price is supposed to be mistaken for Edward Price.

*Desperate
dissimulation!*

*He could not
answer having
discharged the
dag into his
bosom.*

*Sir Owen
Dighton
knight, lieuten-
ant of the
Tower, 1585.*

*The warders
with their hal-
berds went
and looking at
the earles
chamber doze.*

*The place of
the bodie
where the
earle had
wounded him-
self.*

*The dag
found in the
dore, and*

mandement, departed from the earle to an utter chamber, where he laie part of that night: and being come into his chamber, the earle rose out of his bed and came to his chamber doze, and bolted the same into him in the inner side, saieing to Bailiffe, he could not sleepe unless his doze were fast.

About twelue of the clocke at midnight, Bailiffe being in a slumber, heard a great noise, seeming unto him to be the falling of some doze, or rather a piece of the house: the noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crieng bnto the earle with a loud voice, said: *My lord, know you what this is?* The earle not answering, Bailiffe cried and knocked still at the earles doze, saieing, *My lord, how do you?* But finding that the earle made no answer, continued his crieng and calling, untill an old man that laie without, spake unto him, saieing, Gentleman, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speake? *Yea* (quoth Bailiffe) for Gods sake. Then did the old man rise, & called one of the watch, to whom Bailiffe intreated with all possible speed to call maister lieutenant unto him. In the meane time Bailiffe heard the earle giue a long and most greuous grone, and after that, gaue a second grone: and then the lieutenant (being come) called unto the earle, who not answering, Bailiffe cried unto the lieutenant to breake open the earles chamber doze bolted unto him in the inner side, which was done, and then they found the earle dead in his bed, and by his bed side a dag, wherewith he had killed him- selfe.

Sir Owen Dighton knight, examined upon his oth, affirmed that on sundaie last at night, lesse than a quarter of an houre before one of the clocke after midnight, he was called by the watch to come to the earle of Northumberland, who had bene called unto by maister Bailiffe his keeper, and would not speake as the watch told him. Whereupon the said sir Owen went presentlie to the earles lodging, opened the utter dozes, till he came unto the chamber where maister Bailiffe laie, which was next to the earles bedchamber. Bailiffe said to this examinats as he came in, that he was wakened with a noise as it were of a doze or some great thing falling, & that he had called on the earle, and could haue no answer. And this examinats going to the earles chamber doze, finding the same bolted fast on the other side within the earles lodging, so as he could not go into the earle, this examinats called on the earle, telling him the lieutenant was there, and praised his lordship to open the doze.

But this examinats having no answer made bnto him, and finding the doze fast bolted in the inner side of the earles chamber with a strong iron bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said Bailiffe laie, without breaking by the chamber doze, caused the warders which were with this examinats, to thrust in their halberds, and to wrest the doze thereby, as much as they could, and withall to run at the doze with their feet, & with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordingly. And when this examinats came into the chamber, in turning by the sheets, he perceiued them to be bloudied: and then searching further, found the wound, which was verie nere the pap, not thinking at the first sight, but that it had bene done with a knife.

This examinats went thereupon presentlie to write to the court, and toke the warders into the utter chamber, & left them there untill he returned, bolting the doze of the earles bedchamber on the outside. And as sone as this examinats returned from writing of his letter to the court, he searched about the chamber, and found the dag in the dore, about

three foot from the bed, nere into a table that had a greene cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the dag: and after, turning downe the bed cloths, found the bot in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed vnder the couerlet; and saith, that the chamber where the earle laie, hath no other doze but that one doze which was broken open as aforesaid, saue one doze that went into a priue, which hath no maner of passage out of it: and that the earles lodging chamber, and the entering to the priue, are both walled round about with a stone wall, and a bricke wall, and that there is no doze or passage out of or from the said earles bedchamber or priue, but that onelic doze which was broken open by the appointment of this examinats. The warders that were with this examinats at the entrie into the prison, and the breaking by of the earles chamber doze, and the doing of the other things aforesaid, were Spichaell Sibleie, Anthonic Davies, William Kiland, and John Potter, and one John Pinner this examinats seruant was there also.

For the profe and confirmation of the severall parts and points of this deposition, Sibleie, Davies, Kiland, Potter and Pinner were depofed, and they *Pria voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the lieutenant, concerning the comming of the lieutenant unto the earles chamber, the breaking by of the doze being bolted with a strong bolt on the inner side, the finding of the earle dead upon his bed, the dag lying on the ground, the powder and pellets in a bot on the bed vnder the couerlet, with the rest of the circumstances thereunto appertaining. They affirmed also, that there was but one doze in the earles chamber, saueing the doze of the priue, which together with the chamber was stronglie walled about with stone and bricke: and further (as I remember) the lord chiefe baron confirmed the same, having viewed the chamber himselfe where the earle lodged, and was found dead.

Jaques Pantins in his examination of the one and twentieth of June confelleth, that James Price deliuered the dag to the earle his maister in this examinats presence: whereupon he presentlie suspected that the earle meant mischief to himselfe, and therefore did his induour to persuade the earle to send awaie the dag, and told the earle that he knew not how the diuell might tempt his lordship, & that the diuell was great; but could by no meanes persuade with the earle in that behalfe: and saith moreover, that the earle required him to hie the dag, and he thereupon hanged the same on a nail within the chimneie in the earles bedchamber, where the earle thinking the same not to be sufficientlie safe in that place, it was by the earles appointment taken from thence, and put into a slit in the side of a mattrasse that laie vnder the earles bed, nere to the beds head, and that the same sundaie morning that the earle murdered himselfe at night, he saw the dag lying vnder the earles beds head. The dag was bought not manie daies before of one Adrian Spulan a dag maker, dwelling in east Smithfield, as by the said Spulan was testified *Pria voce* upon his oth, in the open court, at the time of the publike declaration made of these matters in the Star chamber.

All these particularities considered, with the depofitions and profs of the witnesse concerning the earles death; first, how he came by the dag; secondlie, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret maner; thirdlie, the earles bolting of his chamber doze in the inside; fourthlie, the blow of the dag; fifthlie, the breaking by of the earles chamber doze by the lieutenant of the Tower; and lastlie, the finding of the earle dead as aforesaid: What is he to

the bot and pellets in the bed.

This is a manifest profe and full of sufficient credit, that none could come at him to do him violence.

*Deponents
Pria voce, confirm-
ing the
lieutenants
deposition
on his exami-
nation.*

*Of whom the
dag was
bought.*

Attstly. simple

simple that will thinke or imagine, or so impudent and malicious that will anonch and report, that the earle of Northumberland should haue bene murdered of purpose, by practise or deuise of anie person, affecting his destruction in that manner: If men consider the inconuenience happened thereby, as well in matter of state, as commoditie to the queenes maiestie, lost by the p̄uention of his triall, who can in reason coniecture the earle to haue bene murdered of policie or set purpose, as the enill affected seeme to conceiue?

The principall cause that made the earle take hands vpon himselfe.

If the earle had liued to haue receiued the censure of the law for his offenses, all letwd and frivoulous objections had then bene answered, and all his goods, cattels and lands by his atteindor had come vnto hir maiestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie vnto hir maiestie: the consideration and feare whereof appeareth without all doubt to haue bene the principall and onelie cause that made him late violent hands vpon himselfe. If objections be made, that to murder him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enemies, who could be pacified by no meanes but with his blood: that seemeth to be as improbable, for that it is commonlie discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to seeke the death of our enimie, we imagine and wish his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamie that can be deuised: thinke you not then, that if the earle of Northumberland had anie such enimie that knewe the danger wherein he stood, and that his triall and condempnation by law would draw vpon him the losse of his life, lands and goods, fame, honoz, and the utter subuersion of his house, would be so kindharted vnto him, as to helpe to take awaye his life onelie, & saue him all the rest? I suppose there is no man of iudgement will beleue it.

The lord of Hunsdon declared how the dag was more than ordinary charged: and how the earle himselfe patched him selfe.

But to returne to the manner of the earles death. It was declared by the lord Hunsdon, and the lord chiefe baron, that the dag wherewith the earle murdered himselfe, was charged with three bullets, and so of necessitie with more than an ordinarie charge of powder, to force that weight of bullets to worke their effect. The earle lieng vpon his backe on the left side of his bed, toke the dag charged in his left hand (by all likelihood) laid the mouth of the dag vpon his left pap (having first put aside his wastecote) and his thirt being onelie betwene the dag and his bodie (which was burnt alwaie the breadth of a large hand) discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wound in his said pap, his heart pearled and tozme in diuerse lobes or peces, three of his ribs broken, the chinebone of his backe cut almost in sunder, and vnder the point of the shoulder blade on the right side within the skin, the three bullets were found by the lord Hunsdon, which he caused the surgeon in his presence to cut out, lieng all three close together within the breadth and compasse of an inch or thereabout: the bullets were shewed by his lordship at the time of the publication made in the court at the Starchamber.

Three bullets found vnder the point of the earls shoulder blade.

A slanderous report of the queenes enemies and the earles fauours answered.

And whereas it hath bene slanderouslie giuen out to the advantage of the earle, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned & kept in so streit, narrow and close rōme, with such penurie of aire and breath, that thereby he grew sickelie and wearie of his life, and that to haue bene the cause chiefly why he murdered himselfe; if it were so that he died by the violence of his owne hand which they hardlie beleue. To answer that p̄uently and senselieslie slander, there was much spoken by the lord chiefe baron, who had viewed the chambers and rōmes within the prison where the earle laie, being part of his

maiesties owne lodging in the Tower. The particular length and breadth of the said chambers & rōms, and the qualitie of the lights and windōws, expressed by the said lord chiefe baron, I can not repeat: but well I do remember it was declared, that all the daie time, the earle had the libertie of five large chambers, and two long entries within the utter boze of his prison: three of which chambers, and one of the entries laie vpon two faire gardens within the Tower wall, and vpon the Tower wharfe, with a pleasant p̄spective to the Thames, and to the countrie, more than five miles beyond. The windōws were of a verie large proportion, yielding so much aire and light, as more cannot be desired in anie house. Note therefore how maliciouslie those that fauour traitors and treasons, can deliuer out these and the like slanderous speeches, to the dishonoz of hir maiestie, noting hir counsellors and ministers with inhumanitie and vncharitable seueritie, contrary to all truth and honestie.

When the lord chiefe baron had finished this discourse of the manner of the earles death, with the circumstances, and had satisfied the court and auditoz concerning the qualitie of the prison where the earle had remained, sir Christopher Watton knight hir maiesties vicechamberlaine, who (as it seemed) had bene speciallie imploied by hir maiestie among others of hir priuie counsell in the looking into and examining of the treasons aforesaid, as well in the person of the earle as of others, and at the time of the earles commitment from his house in St. Martins to the Tower of London, sent vnto him from hir maiestie to put the earle in mind of hir maiesties manifold graces and fauours in former times conferred vpon him, proceeding from the spying of hir maiesties princelie and bountifull nature, and not of his deservings, and to aduise him to deliuer the truth of the matters so clarelie appearing against him, either by his letters priuatie to hir maiestie, or by speech to maister vicechamberlaine, who signified also vnto him, that if he would determine to take that course, he should not onlie not be committed to the Tower, but should find grace & fauor at hir maiesties hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the law might laie vpon him.

And here Mr. vicechamberlaine repeated at length the effect of hir maiesties message at that time sent to the earle, beginning first with the remembrance of his practise vnderaken for the conuincing awaye of the Scottish queene about the time of the last rebellion (as hath bene declared in the beginning of this tract) and that he confessing the offense being capitall, hir maiestie neuertheless was pleased to alter the course of his triall by the iustice of hir lawes, and suffered the same to receiue a slight and easie punishment by waie of mulct or fine of five thousand marks, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is crediblie reported) there was not one penie paid, or his land touched with anie extent for the payment thereof, which offense was by hir maiestie not onelie most gracionslie forgiven, but also most chrestianlie forgotten, retaining him not long after to the place of honoz that his ancestors had intioied for manie yeares before him, and gaue him such entrance into hir princelie fauour and good opinion, that no man of his qualitie receiued greater countenance and comfort at hir maiesties hands than he; inso much that in all exercises of recreation, vsed by hir maiestie, the earle was alwaies called to be one: and whensoever hir maiestie shewed hir selfe abroad in publike, she gaue to him the honoz of the best and highest seruices about hir person, more often than to all the noble men of the court.

But the remembrance of these most grations and

The earle wanted no p̄spective or pleasure nor walks of conuement libertie.

Sir Christopher Watton receiued to the court and auditoz the gracions dealing of hir maiestie with the said earle, no such fauour becoming.

The queenes maiestie misgareth the punishment which the law would haue awarded against the earle.

The queenes maiesties nature is to love her enemies, so that they could charge their nature, and loue hir highnesse as gaime!

The earle
Stanbery upon
termes of his
innocencie, all
the world see-
ing the cause
w^o contrarie.

To this pe-
tion let all
true hearted
Englishmen
say, Amen.

The arrivall
and intertein-
ment of the de-
puties for the
clarkes of the
low countries.

The names of
the said depu-
ties for the
clarkes.

more than extraordinary fauours and benefites re-
ceiued, no the hope giuen vnto him by maister vice-
chamberlaine of hir maiesties disposition of mercie
towards him, no the consideration of the depth and
weight of his treasons against hir maiestie, hir
estate, hir crowne and dignitie, with the danger
thereby like to fall vpon him by the course of hir
highnes lawes, to the vtter ruine and subuersion of
him and his house (standing now at hir maiesties
mercie) could once moue his heart to that naturall
and dutifull care of hir maiesties safetie that he
ought to haue borne towards hir, and the most wo-
thilie had merited at his hands, or anie remorse or
compassion of himselfe and his posteritie : but res-
ting vpon termes of his innocencie, hauing (as you
maie perceiue) conuicted awaie all those that he
thought could or would anie waie accuse him, he
made choise rather to go to the Tower, abide the ha-
zard of hir maiesties high indignation, and the ex-
tremitie of the law for his offenses.

All which was a notable augur of his fall, and that
God by his iust iudgement had for his sinnes and
ingratitude taken from him his spirit of grace, and
deliuered him ouer to the enimie of his soule, who
brought him to that most dreadfull & horrible end,
wherevnto he is come : * from the which, God of his
mercie defend all christian people, and preserve the
quenes maiestie from the treasons of hir subiects,
that the maie liue in all happinesse, to see the ruine of
hir enimies abroad and at home, and that she, and
we hir true and louing subiects, maie be alwaies
thankfull to God for all his blessings bestowed vpon
vs by hir, the onlie maintainer of his holie gos-
pell among vs.

On the six & twentieth of June arrived at London
deputies for the estates of the netherlands, or low
countries, who were lodged about the Tower street,
& had their diet for the time of their abode here, be-
re worthipfullie appointed (all at the charges of hir
maiestie) in the Clothworkers hall in Spichenlane,
nere to the said Tower street. These on the nine &
twentieth of June, being the feast of the apostles Pe-
ter & Paule repaired to the court, then at Grene-
wich, where by vertue of their commissions from
the united countries, they presented to hir maiestie
the souereintie of those countries, to wit of Bra-
bant, but the commission (for the siege) of Antuerpe
not full authorized, of Guelder, of Flanders, of Hol-
land, of Zeland, of Utrecht, and of Friseland. For
Brabant, Jacques de Grise great bailie of Brab-
ges counsellour of the Franks. For Guelderr, Rut-
ger of Barfold, gentleman. For Flanders, Roell
de Garlic lord of Schonevalle. For Holland, John
Wanderdoest, lord of Poortwiche, Jolle de Penin
pensionarie of Dordrecht, John of old Barnevelt
pensionarie of Rotterdam, and D. Francis
Paolso. For Zeland, Jacob Dales counsellor and
pensionarie of Tergoest. For Utrecht, Paulus
Buis doctor of the lawes. For Friseland, J. Fritz-
ma, gentleman : W. Ansona president of Friseland:
and Lads Jangema, gentleman. All these falling
on their knees tosoze hir maiestie, and so remaining
for a long space, one of them, to wit, Jolle de Penin
counsellor and pensionarie of Dordrecht, one of the
commissioners for Holland, made to hir maiestie
this oration in French as followeth.

The said deputies oration in French to
hir maiestie at Greenwich.



Adame, les estats des provinces vnies
des pais bas, remercient tres humble-
ment vostre maiesté de la bonne affecti-
on & faueur, quel à pleu de monstrier au-

diets pais en leur necessites, & confermer per tant de
tesmoignaiges euidens ; & encores dernièrement,
quand apres l'execrable assassinat comme en la per-
sonne de feu monsr le prince d'Orenge, il à pleu
a vostre maiesté faire entendre audits estats per son
ambassadeur le sire Dauison, le soing qu'icelle auoit
a nostre defense & obseruation, & aussy par le sire de
Grise, le grand desplaisir que vostre maiesté auoit
conceu, de voir l'edits estats frustres de l'esperance
quelle auoient fondée sur le traicte de France. Mais
que le soin que vostre maiesté a tousiours en de no-
stre bien & conseruation n'estoit pour cela en rien
diminué, aine quel l'augmentoit, plustost a mesure
quella necessité de nos affaires le requiert, dont le-
dits pais en general, & chacun d'eulx en particulier
demeurerent perpetuellement tresobliges a vostre
maiesté, pour le recognoistre avec tout fidelité & o-
beissance.

Et comme ledits estats considerent Madame, que
depues le deces endit sire prince d'Orenge, ils ont
faict perte de plusieurs de leurs places & bonne vil-
les ; & que pour la conseruation desdits pais il leur est
besoing d'vng prince & sire souverain, qui les puisse
garentir & defendre contre la tyranné & inique o-
pression des Espaignols & leurs adherés, qui s'effor-
cent de plus en plus par leurs sinistres armes & tous
autres moyens, de destruire & ruiner lesdits pais, de
fonds en comble & reduire ce pouure peuple en vne
seruitude perpetuelle, pire que des Indies sould'in-
supportable ioug de la detestable inquisition d'Es-
paigne. Considerans aussy que les corps des villes &
communaites desdits pais ont vne fermé aïence,
que vostre maiesté ne les vouldra veoir perir au gre
de leurs ennemis, qui leur font ceste lógue & cruelle
guerre, a toute oultrance laquelle les estats desdits
pais bas (ensuiuant leur deuoir & obligation quels
ont a leurs bourgeois & ycitogens) ont estes con-
traincts de soutenir, repousser, & destourner, pour la
tyranné & seruitude manifest qu'on raschat d'intro-
duire & imposer au pouure peuple, & pour conser-
uer leur liberté, droits, priuileges, & franchises, avec
l'exercice de la vray religion chrestienne, dont vos-
tre maiesté porte a bon droit le tiltre de protectrice
& defenderesse, contre laquelle lesdits ennemis &
leurs associes, ont & faict tant deligues, dresse tant
de cauteleuzes, embushes, & trahisons, & ne cessent
encore tout les iours de praticquer & machiner con-
tre la personne de vostre maiesté, & au preiudice du
reque & tranquillite de ses royaumes & estats, la-
quelle le bon Dieu a preserve iusques a present, pour
le bien de la chrestienté, & sustentation de ses
eglises.

Sy est ce Madame, que pour ces causes, & raisons,
& autres bonnes considerations, lesdits estats ont
pris par ensemble vne bonné & fermé resolution, de
prendre leurs recours a vostre maiesté, veu que cest
vne chose ordinaire a tous peuples & nations op-
pressées, de recourir en leurs calamites & oppressi-
ons, pour support & faueur contre leurs ennemis,
aux roys & princes voisine, & singulierement a ceulx
qui sont douez a magnanimité, pieté, iustice, & au-
tres vertus royales, & a cest effect nous ont lesdits
estats depute vers vostre maiesté, pour presenter a
icelle la principaulté, souveraineté, & iuste domini-
on desdits provinces, soulds certaines bonnes & equi-
tables condicions, concernantes principalement la
conseruation de l'exercice de la religion reformée, &
de leurs ancienne priuileges, libertes, franchises & v-
fances, & l'administration du faict de la guerre, po-
lice, & iustice esdits pais.

Et combien que lesdits pais ayent beaucoup
souffert par ces longues & continuelles guerres, &
que l'ennemy se soit empare de plusieurs villes &
places fortes esdits pais, toutes fois, oultre ce qu'es

païs de Brabant, Gueldre, Flandre, Malins, & Ouerf-
 sel, se maintenant encores maintes bonnes villes &
 places contre l'effort de l'ennemy, sy est ce que les
 païs d'Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Frise sont en-
 cores, graces a Dieu, en leur entier, ou il y a beaucoup
 de grandes & fortes villes, & places belles, riuieres,
 profondes, ports & haures de mer, desquelles vostre
 maiesté & ses successeurs pourront tirer plusieurs
 bons seruitices, fruits, & commodites dont il n'est
 de faire yci plus long recit. Seulement que ceste cy
 entre autres merite bien vne consideration speciale
 que la coniunction desdits païs d'Holland, Zeeland,
 Frise, & des villes de l'Escluze, & Osteynd en Flâdres
 avec les royaumes de vostre maiesté, emporte quant
 & soy l'empire absolu de la grand mer oceane, &
 par consequence vne assurance & felicité perpetu-
 elle pour les subiects de vostre serenissime maiesté.
 La quelle nous supplions tres humblement que son bon
 plaisir soit de nous accorder lesdits points ou condi-
 tions, & ce en suiuant, vouloir accepter pour soy &
 ses successeurs legitimes en la couronne d'Angle-
 terre protecteurs de la religion reformée, la iustice
 principaute & seigneurie souveraine desdits païs &
 consequemment du recepuoir les peuples desdits
 païs, comme vous tres humbles & treisobeissants sub-
 iects sous la protection & sauuegarde perpetuelle
 de vostre maiesté, peuples certainement autant fi-
 delles, ayant leurs princes & seigneurs (a parler &
 sans iactance) que nul autre de la chrestienté.

Ce faisant Madame, vous conserueres tant de
 belles eglises, qu'il a pleu a Dieu en ce dernier temps
 assembler esdits païs a present en beaucoup de lieux
 fort affliges, & esbranles & deliureres lesdits païs &
 peuples (nagueres auant l'inique maison des Espaig-
 nols) tant riches & florissans, pour la grande commo-
 dité de la mer, ports, haures, riuieres, traffiqs, & ma-
 nufactures dont ils sont doues de nature. Vous les
 deliureres (dis ie Madame) de ruine & perpetuelle
 seruitude de corps & ame, qui sera vng ceure vraye-
 ment roial & tres excellent, agreable a Dieu, profita-
 ble a toute chrestienté, digne de louange immor-
 telle, correspondant a la magnanimité & vertus he-
 roïques de vostre maiesté, & conioinct avec l'asseu-
 rance & prosperites des royaumes & subiects d'icelle.
 Et surce presentons a vostre maiesté lesdits articles
 ou conditions, en reuerence, prians le grand Roy
 des roys de preferuer vostre maiesté de ses ennemis,
 l'accroistre en gloire & felicité, & l'auoir en sa sainte
 garde a perpetuité.

*Fait par Iosse de Menin, concelier & pensionnaire de
 Dordrecht, An. 1585. 29 de Iune, A Greenwich.*

The foresaid oration in English.

MAdam, the states of the vnited prouin-
 ces of the low countries most humble
 thanke your maiestie for the good affecti-
 on & fauor, which it pleased you to shew to
 the said countries in their necessitie, & to confirme
 the same with so manie euident testimonies; & that
 lastlie, after the execrable assault committed vpon
 the person of the late prince of Orange, at what
 time it pleased your maiestie to let the said states
 vnderstand by your ambassado: maister Dauidson,
 what care you had of our defense and preservation,
 and also by seigneur de Criff, the great displeasure
 which your maiestie conceived, to see the states fru-
 strated of the hope which they had founded vpon the
 treatie of France. But since the care which your
 maiestie hath alwaies had ouer our good and con-
 seruation is not thereby anie whit diminished, but
 hath moze plentifullie increased, according as the
 necessitie of our affaires required, for which the said

The queenes
 maiesties most
 gracious fauor
 acknow-
 ledged.

countrie in generall, and euerie of vs in particular
 remaine perpetuallie bound to your maiestie, and
 acknowledge the same with all fidelitie and obedi-
 sance.

And as the said states (Madam) do consider that
 since the decease of the prince of Orange they
 haue susteyned the losse of diuerse of their holds and
 good towne; and that for the preservation of the
 said countrie it is needfull for them to haue a prince
 and soueraigne ruler, which may warrant and defend
 them against the tyrannie and vniust oppression of
 the Spaniards and their adherents, which daile
 moze and moze inforce themselves by their sinister
 power and all other meanes to destruye and ouer-
 throw the said countries, and reduce this poze peo-
 ple in perpetuall seruitude, worse than that of the
 Indians vnder the importable yoke of the detesta-
 ble inquisition of Spaine. Considering also that
 the bodie of the towne and communalities of the a-
 foresaid countries haue a firme hope, that your ma-
 iestie will not see them perishe according to the desire
 of their enimies, which make this long and cruell
 warre, all which outrages the states of the said
 low countries (following the diligence and band
 which they owe to their burgeses and citizens) are to
 susteine, repell, and to turne from them, by reason
 of the manifest tyrannie & seruitude which the Spa-
 niards attempt to bring in & to lase vpon the poze
 people) thereby to preserve their liberties, rights,
 priuileges, and franchises, with the exercise of the
 true christian religion, whereof your maiestie by god
 right carrieth the title of protectrice and defendresse,
 against which the said enimies and their associates al-
 ready haue and still do make manie leagues, deuise
 manie subtilties, treasons, and ambushes, not cea-
 sing daile to practise and imagine them against the
 person of your maiestie, and to the prejudice of the
 rest of your realme and states, whome the good God
 hath preserved untill this present, for the wealth of
 the christians, and sustentation of their churches.

Wherefore (Madam) it is so, that for these causes,
 reasons, & other considerations, the said states haue
 assembled and concluded vpon a good and firme reso-
 lution to haue recourse vnto your maiestie, sith it
 is an ordinarie matter amongst all people and op-
 pressed nations, in their calamities and oppressions
 to craue support and fauour against their enimies, of
 kings and princes nere vnto them, but especiallie
 of those who be indued with magnanimitie, pietie,
 iustice, and other princelie vertues, to which effect the
 states haue appointed vs to come vnto your maiestie
 to present vnto the same the principallitie, soue-
 reigntie, and iust gouernment of the said prouinces
 vnder certeine good and equall conditions, chiefie
 concerning the preservation of the exercise of the re-
 formed religion, and of the ancient priuileges, li-
 berties, franchises, and customs, and next of the ad-
 ministracion of the affaires, policie, and iustice of
 the warres in the said countrie.

And although that these countries haue suffe-
 red much hurt by these long and continuall warres,
 and that the enimie hath taken diuers strong places
 and forts in the same countries: yet there is besides
 the same in the countries of Brabant, Gelderland,
 Flanders, Walines, & Ouerfet, manie good towne
 and places, which defend themselves against the
 force of the enimie, and the countries of Holland,
 Zeland, Vtrecht, and Frise be yet (thanks be to
 God) entire and whole: in which there be manie great
 and strong towne and places, faire riuers, and
 deepe ports and hauens of the sea, out of which your
 maiestie and your successors may receiue diuerse
 good seruices, fruits, and commodities, whereof it is
 needlesse here to make anie long recitall. Whiche
 this

The distress
 state of the
 countrie
 after the death
 of the prince of
 Orange.

The hope that
 the low coun-
 trie people had
 in hir highnes
 helpe.

Spaniards ser-
 uitude impo-
 table.

The cause
 whiche the de-
 puties for the
 states came
 into England,
 and their sute
 vnto hir high-
 nesse oppressed.

The gouern-
 ment & princi-
 palitie of the
 low countries
 presented to
 the queenes
 maiestie.

Manie good
 towne and
 places yet re-
 maining in the
 low countries
 defendible a-
 gainst the ene-
 mie.

The bringing
of the low
counties to
the realmes of
England, &c:
how benefit-
full.

Protection of
the reformed
religion a part
of this state.

The loialtie
and faithful-
nesse of the
low countie
people com-
mended.
Souldiers like
to misse upon
the said pro-
tection under-
taken of hir
highnesse.

The said de-
puties doe pre-
sent certaine
articles and
conditions to
hir maiestie
concerning
their state.

Infant and
scholar hang-
ed for publi-
shing of sediti-
ous words.

Five or rather
six people slain
by the fall of a
ball in Lon-
don were burnt
Downgate.

This amongst other matters deserueth good and es-
peciall consideration, that the bringing of those coun-
tries of Holland, Zealand, Frisie, and the townes of
Sluze and Ostend in Flanders, vnto the realmes
of your maiestie importeth so much as the absolute
gouernement of the great ocean sea, and by conse-
quence, an assurance and perpetuall felicitie for the
subjects of your most high maiestie. Which we most
humble beseech, that it will please the same to con-
descend vnto vs in the said points and conditions, 10
and in that which followeth, which is, that you will
for you and your lawfull successors in the crowne of
England be protectors of the reformed religion, as
the principall iusticer and sueraigne gouernor of
the said countries: and consequente to receiue the
people of the same, as your most humble and most
obedient subjects vnder the protection and continu-
all safegard of your maiestie; they being a people af-
furedlie so faithfull and loving to their princes and
lords (be it spoken without vaunting) as anie other 20
nation is throughout christendome.

In doing whereof (O Adam) you shall preserve
manie goodlie churches, which it hath pleased God to
assemble in these latter times in the same coun-
tries, at this present in manie places greivoully af-
flicted, and you shall deliuer the same countie and
people (of late before the vniuersal deeds of the house of
Spaine) verie rich and flourishing, through the great
commoditie of the sea, ports, hauens, riuers, traf-
fike, and merchandize, whereof they be naturallie in-
dued. You shall I saie (O Adam) deliuer them from
ruine and perpetuall bondage of bodie and soule,
being a worke right roiall and most magnificent,
acceptable to God, profitable to all christianitie,
worthie immortall commendation, answerable to
the magnanimitie, and hercollel vertues of your
maiestie, and ioined with the assurance and prosper-
ritie of your dominions and subjects. Whereupon
we present vnto your maiestie the said articles and
conditions, reuerentlie praising the King of kings 40
to preserve your maiestie from your enemies, to in-
crease your glorie and felicitie, and for cuer to keepe
you in his holie protection.

This oration ended and the summe thereof con-
sidered, it pleased the queenes maiestie, by direction
of hir wise and politike counsell, to incline hir hart
(alwaies pitifull and replenished with commiserati-
on) to the ease and reliefe of the said oppressed people.
And because hir owne subjects should not be utter-
lie vnacquainted with hir highnesse doings in that
case, there was published by authoritie a booke
thereof as in due place hereafter followeth.

On sundaie the fourth of Iulie, Charles lord Ho-
ward, late lord chamberleine was made lord ad-
mirall, and Henrie lord Hunsdon was made lord
chamberleine of household. On the fift daie of Iulie
Thomas Awfeld a seminarie priest, and Thomas
Webbie diar, were arraigned at the sessions hall in
the Old baillie, found guiltie, condemned, and had
indgement as felons to be hanged: for publishing
of bookes containing false, seditious, and slanderous
matter, to the defamaton of our soueraigne ladie
the queene, and to the excitation of insurrection and
rebellion, as more at large appeareth in their indict-
ments. These were on the next morrow, to wit, the
firt of Iulie, executed at Tyborne accordinglie. On
thursdaie the sixteenth of Iulie, by the sudden fall of
a bricke wall in Thames street of London, nere vn-
to Downgate, five persons were overwhelmed
and slaine, to wit, a man & his wife (the wife being
great with child) and two children, the one their own,
the other a nurse child, and a poore man that liued by
charitie, hauing no knowne dwelling place. On the

same sixteenth of Iulie was sir Francis Russell
knight, lord Russell, third sonne to Francis Russell
earle of Bedford, slaine with a dag in the borders of
Scotland beside Berwik, by a Scot boine in those
parts, as they met vpon a true daie, as more at
large appeareth in the historie of Scotland. On the
next morrow, to wit, the seuententh of Iulie, Fran-
cis Russell earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and one of hir maiesties priue counsell, father to the
late named sir Francis, lord Russell slaine on the
borders of Scotland, deceased, and was honozable
buried at Cheimies in Bedfordshyre on the eight of
September next following.

On the thre and twentieth of Iulie certeine soul-
diers were pressed in the seuerall wards of the citie
of London, which souldiers being furnished for the
warres, and clothed in red cotes, all at the charges
of the companies and citizens, set forth toward the
seas on the thirtenth of August, and were transpor-
ted ouer into Holland, Zealand, &c: as other the like
souldiers out of other parts of the realme before had
bene, to serue for the defense of the low countries
vnder generall Foris, and other approued cap-
teins. On the fourth daie of August, betwixt the
hours of foure and five of the clocke in the morning,
at the end of the towne called Spotingham in Kent,
eight miles from London, in a lane not farre from
the houses, the ground began to sinke, thre great
elmes being swallowed by, the tops falling down-
ward into a hole with the rootes upward, turning
round in the falling, and diuen into the earth past
mans sight, to the wonderfull amazement of manie
honest men of the same towne, being beholders of
this strange sight: and before ten of the clocke that
present day, the ground & trees were sunke so low,
that neither the one or other might be discerned, the
hole or vauit being sometimes filled with water, and
otherwhiles neither bottome, trees, or water maie be
perceiued: the compasse of this hole is about foure
score yards, and being sounded with a lead and line
of fiftie fadams, cannot therewith find or feele anie
bottome. Ten yards distant from this place, there is
another peece of ground sunke in like manner, which
parcell of ground falleth still into the high waie to
the great feare of that whole towne, but especiallie
to the inhabitants of a house not far distant from
the aforesaid places.

On the fiftenth daie of September, to the num-
ber of two & thirtie seminarie, massing priests and
others, late prisoners in the tower of London, Spar-
thallie, Kings bench, and other places, were imbar-
ked in the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the
southside of the Thames right ouer against S. Ma-
tharines, to be transported ouer into the coasts of
Normandie, to be banished this realme for ever, by
vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, before
specified in pag. 379.

A copie of the certificat written and
directed into England by the said
banished men.

Whereas vpon your honozs commission
directed vnto Anthonie Hall, and Tho-
mas Stockar, for the transporting of vs
whose names are vnder written, into the
coasts of Normandie, who accordinglie toke vs into
a barke called the Marie Martine of Colchester, on
the south side of the Thames, right ouer that part of
saint Katharines next to London bidge, the fiftenth
day of September 1585, according to the computa-
tion of England: our will is to testifie vnto your
good honozs, that they the said Anthonie Hall & Tho-
mas Stockar haue generallie so well bled vs in all
respects,

Earle of Bed-
ford and the
lord Russell
his sonne de-
ceased.

Souldiers
sent to aid the
low countries
of Holland,
Zeland, &c.

Ground and
trees sunke
and swallowed
up in Kent
eight miles
from London.

Seminarie
and massing
priests ban-
ished.

Note in this
certificat an
acknowledg-
ment of verie
great English
courtesie to the
seminaries in
their transpor-
tation.

The semina-
ries suddentlie
assaulted and
in danger of
death by a
flusinger as
they were pass-
ing ouer sea.

The semina-
ries are set on
shore at Bul-
logne through
their owne im-
portunitie.

respects, that we can not but acknowledge our
selues much beholding (as much as in them late) to
so courteous & louing officers.ouerthelesse com-
ming along the sea, and meeting with his maiesties
admirall in the towne, who promising that we
should not be disturbed in our course into the pro-
uince of Flandrie, according to your honours said
commission, we had not from him departed two
leagues, when as a flusinger with his people sud-
denlie entred vpon vs, being peaceable stowed vnder
the hatches, and in our quiet rest, with their
swords drawne, their calleuers and their matches fi-
red in their hands, to our great terror & discomfort,
the most of vs being verie soze sea sicke, expecting
at that instant nothing but either the rigorous dint
of sword, or bullet of calleuer. Whobest parlex being
had by our said commissioners with them, they de-
parted, after which time we considering the generall
danger on the seas, besought with one consent your
honours commissioners to set vs on land at Calice:
but they in no wise yielding thereunto, at last by
reason of our importunitie in such danger & weak-
nesse, yielded to set vs on shore at Bullogne, partlie
by reason of the feare we were then put in, & partlie
for that we feared afterward more unreasonable
measure; but speciallie the greatest number of vs so
soze sicke, that verie tedious vnto vs it seemed to
beare so long and dangerous a passage. In witnes
whereof to this our certificat we haue all subscribed
our names the nineteenth of September 1585, Wm.
Gimlets, W. Fen: Jo. Pele: Christopher Small, &c.

We haue heard before that certeine soldiers out
of diuers parts of this realme were transported o-
uer the seas into Holland and Zeland, &c: with such
convenient and seruicable furniture, as might be
presupposed necessarie for defense: whom we will
leauie vpon their gard, and more cherele to set forth
the reasons of their transportation, we doe meane
here, as we promised before page 1413. when we
came to due place, to deliuer a booke published by au-
thoritie concerning that argument, the title and
substance whereof in all points agreeable with the
printed copie first extant, both orderlie folloiw.

A declaration of the causes mouing
the queene of England to giue aid to the defense of
the people afflicted and oppressed in
the low countries.

Kings and
princes sover-
eignes, are to
yeeld account
of their actions
onlie to al-
mightie God,
the king of
kings.



Although kings and princes soveregnes,
owing their homage and seruice onlie
vnto the almightie God the King of all
kings, are in that respect not bound to
yeeld account or render the reasons of their actions
to anie others but to God their onlie soveraigne
Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and
christian monarchs the same Lord God hauing com-
mitted to vs the soveraigntie of this realme of
England and other our dominions, which we hold
immediatlie of the same almightie Lord, and so
thereby accountable onlie to his diuine Maestie)
we are notwithstanding this our prerogative at this
time speciallie moued, for diuerse reasons hereafter
brieflie remembred, to publish not onlie vnto our
owne naturall louing subjects, but also to all others
our neighbors, speciallie to such princes & states as
are our confederats, or haue for their subjects cause
of commerce with our countries and people, what
our intention is at this time, and vpon what iust and
reasonable grounds we are moued to giue aid vnto
our next neighbours the naturall people of the low
countries, being by long warres and persecutions
of strange nations there, lamentable afflicted, and

in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall
seruitude.

First, it is to be vnderstood (which percase is not
perfectlie knowne to a great number of persons)
that there hath bene, time out of mind, euery by the
naturall situation of those low countries and our
realme of England, one directie opposit to the other,
and by reason of the readie crossing of the seas, and
multitude of large and commodious hauens respec-
tuelie on both sides, a continuall traffike and com-
merce betwixt the people of England, and the natu-
rall people of those low countries, and so continued
in all ancient times, when the seuerall prouinces
thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and o-
ther countries to them adioining, were ruled and
possessed by seuerall lordes, and not vnitied togither,
as of late yeares they haue bene by intermarria-
ges, and at length by concurrences of manie and
sundrie titles haue also bene reduced to be vnder
the gouernement of their lordes that succeeded to the
dukedome of Burgundie: whereby there hath bene
in former ages manie speciall alliances and conse-
derations, not onelie betwixt the kings of England
our progenitors and the lordes of the said countries
of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents:
but also betwixt the verie naturall subjects of both
countries, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, bur-
gesse, and other communalities of the great cities
and port townes of either countrie reciprocalie, by
speciall obligations and stipulations vnder their
seales interchangeable, for maintenance both of
commerce and intercoure of merchants, & also of
speciall mutuall amitie to be obserued betwixt the
people and inhabitants of both parties as well eccle-
siasticall as secular: and verie expresse provision in
such treaties contained for mutuall fauours, affec-
tions, and all other friendlie offices to be vsed and
prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards
the other. By which mutuall bonds, there hath con-
tinued perpetuall vnions of the peoples hearts togi-
ther, and so by waie of continuall interconferres, from
age to age the same mutuall loue hath bene inuiol-
lablie kept and exercised, as it had bene by the
wooke of nature, and neuer vtterlie dissolued, nor
yet for anie long time discontinued, howsoeuer the
kings, and the lordes of the countries sometimes
(though verie rarelie) haue bene at difference by si-
mister meanes of some other princes their neigh-
bours, enuiing the felicitie of these two countries.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these na-
turall vnions of the peoples of these kingdoms and
countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant sun-
drie authentike treaties and transacions for mutu-
all commerce, intercoure and strict amitie of an-
cient times: as for example, some verie solemnelie
accorded in the times of king Henrie the first our
progenitor, and Philip the second duke of Burgun-
die, and inheritour to the countie of Flanders by
the ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was a-
boue one hundred & fortie yeares past, & the same al-
so renewed by the noble duke Charles his son, father
to the king of Spaines grandmother, and husband
to the ladie Margaret sister to our great grandfa-
ther king Edward the fourth: and after that, of new
ofttimes renewed by our most noble & sage grand-
father king Henrie the seventh, and the archduke
Philip grandfather to the king of Spaine now be-
ing: and in latter times, often renewed betwixt our
father of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and
Charles the first emperor of Almanie, father also to
the present king of Spaine.

In all which treaties, transacions, and confede-
rations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was
also at all times speciallie and principallie contained

Naturall con-
fession of the an-
cient continu-
all traffike be-
twixt the peo-
ple of England
& them of the
low countries.

Confederate
tions both
betwixt the
kings of
England and
lordes of the
low countries,
and also the
subjects of
both countries.

The people of
both the coun-
tries bound
by speciall
obligations
interchange-
ble, for mutu-
all fauours
and friendlie
offices.

Treaties ex-
tant of ancient
time, betwixt
the kings of
England and
the dukes of
Burgundie,
for the com-
merce betwixt
their coun-
tries.

Conventions
for the subjects
of either side to
show mutuall
fauours one to
the other.

in expresse words, by conventions, concord, and conclusions, that the naturall people, and subjects of either side, should shew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other, and should safelie, freelie and securilie commerce together in euerie their countries; and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce bene without interruption continued in manie ages, farre above the like example of anie other countries in christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and enriching of their people: untill of late yeares that the king of Spaine departing out of his low countries into Spaine, hath bene (as it is to be thought) counselled by his counsellors of Spaine, to appoint Spaniards, forrenners and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable gouernement, and some of them notable delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest gouernours of all his said low countries, contrarie to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, hauing great plentie of noble, valiant and faithfull persons naturallie borne, and such as the emperor Charles, and the king himselfe had to their great honours bled in their seruice, able to haue bene imployed in the rule of those countries.

Spaniards and strangers haue appointed gouernours in the low countries, to the violation of the liberties of the countrie.

But these Spaniards, being mere strangers, hauing no naturall regard in their gouernement to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall manner of peaceable liuing, as the most noble and wise emperor Charles, yea and as his sonne king Philip himselfe had, whilst he remained in those countries, and bled the counsels of the states and naturall of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrariwise, these Spaniards being exalted to absolute gouernement, by ambition, and for priuilege haue violentlie broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroyed without order of law, within the space of few moneths, manie of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthe of gouernement. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretense therof was for maintenance of the Romish religion: yet they spared not to deprive verie manie catholikes and ecclesiasticall persons of their franchises and priuileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond, the verie glorie of that countrie, who neither for his singular victories in the seruice of the king of Spaine can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie bled for his destruction, to be but for euer lamented in the hearts of the naturall people of that countrie.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spaniards gouernement.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glorie of those countries.

And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in seruitude to Spaine, these forren gouernours haue by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some few Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches by common estimation answered the emperor Charles equallie to his Indies) in a manner desolat, and haue also lamentable destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruell maners of death, a great part of the naturall people, & now the rich towncs and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the Spaniards. All which pittifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this daie, euen of such as in ancient time haue bene at frequent discord with them through naturall com-

These rich townes and strengths with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniards.

passion verie greatlie pittied, which appeared speciallie this present yeare, when the French king pretended to haue receiued them to his protection, had not (as the states of the countrie & their deputies were answered) that certeine vntimelie and vnlooke for complots of the house of Guise, stirred and maintained by monie out of Spaine, disturbed the good and generall peace of France, and thereby baged the king to forbear from the resolution he had made, not onlie to aid the oppressed people of the low countries against the Spaniards, but also to haue accepted them as his owne subjects. But in verie truth, howsoever they were pittied, and in a sort for a time comforted & kept in hope in France by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestlie solicited vs as queene of England, both by message and writing to be carefull of their defense: yet in respect that they were otherwise more freelie knit in ancient friendship to this realme than to anie other countrie, we are sure that they could be pittied of none for this long time with more cause and grieve generally, than of our subjects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient alies and familiar neighbours: and that in such manner, as this our realme of England and those countries haue bene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife.

And for these vrgent causes and manie others, we haue by manie frendlie messages and ambassadoys, by manie letters and writings to the said king of Spaine our brother and alie, declared our compassion of this so cruell and cruell vsage of his naturall and lofall people by sundrie his martiall gouernours and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and a naturall good neighbour to his low countries and people, we haue often, and often againe most frendlie warned him, that if he did not otherwile by his wisdom and princelie clemencie restraine the tyrannie of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their native countrie in the former state of their liberties, to seeke the protection of some other forreine lord, or rather to yeld themselves wholie to the soueraigntie of some mightie prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuileges granted by some of the lords and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretend and affirme, that in such cases of generall iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of anie other prince to be their prince and head.

The proofe thereof by examples past is to be seene & read in the ancient histories of diuerse alterations, of the lords and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, and other countries to them united by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundie came to his title, from which the king of Spaines interest is deriued: but the further discussion hereof, we leaue to the view of the monuments and records of the countries. And now, for the purposes to staie them from yelding themselves in anie like sort to the soueraigntie of anie other strange prince, certeine yeeres past, vpon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subjects to the king, such as were the duke of Alcot, and the marquess of Banerie yet liuing, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the emperor Charles, we yelded at their importunate requests, to grant them

The French kings offers to haue added and receiued to his subiection the oppressed people of the low countries.

The queene of Englands continual frendship to the king of Spaine for restraining of the tyrannie of his gouernours.

The queene of Englands means to staie the states of the low countries from yelding their subiection to anie other forreine prince.

them press of monie, onelie to continue them as his subiects, and to mainteine themselves in their iust defense against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppressours, thereby staing them from seeking their subiection to anie other pynce from the said king of Spaine: and during the time of that our aid giuen to them, and their state in the obedience to the king of Spaine, we did frelie acquaint the same king with our actions, and did still continue our frendlie aduises to him, to moue him to commaund his gouernours and men of warre, not to vse such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despaire of his fauours, and seeke some other lord.

And in these kind of persuaasions and actions we continued manie yeres, not onelie for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a naturall disposition to haue the ancient conditions of strict amitie and commerce for our kingdoms and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendents, and namelie with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For we did manifestlie see, if the nation of Spaine should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantlie intended, and plant themselves there as they haue done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterpryse of a power of Spaniards, being sent within these few yeres by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestlie confessed by the capitaine, that those numbers were sent aforesaid to seise upon some strength there, to the intent with other great forces to pursue a conquest thereof: we did (we saie againe) manifestlie see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might hostile be, if in conuenient time we did not speedlie otherwise regard to prevent or staie the same. And yet notwithstanding our said often requestes and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, manifestlie for his owne weale and honoz, we found him by his counsell of Spaine so unwilling in anie sort to incline to our frendlie counsell, that his gouernours and chiefe teins in his low countries increased their cruelties towards his owne afflicted people, and his officers in Spaine offered daile greater iniuries to ours, resorting thither for traffike: yea, they of his counsell in Spaine would not permit our expresse messenger with our letters to come to the king their masters presence: a matter verie strange, and against the law of nations.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was toozthie to be knowne to the king, and not vnmeet now also to be declared to the world, to shew both our good disposition towards the king in imparting to him our graces, and to let it appeare how euill we haue bene used by his ministers, as in some part may appeare by this that followeth. Although we could not haue these manie yeres past anie of our seruants, whom we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our god brother (as was meet) suffered to continue there without manie iniuries and indignities offered to their families, and diuerse times to their owne persons by the greatest of his counsellours, so as they were constrained to leaue their places, and some expelled and in a sort banished the countrie, without cause giuen by them, or notified to vs: yet we, minding to continue verie good friendship with the king, as his god sister, did of long time and manie yeres giue fauourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to vs, sauing onelie upon manifest dangerous practises attempted by

two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was Girald Despes, a verie turbulent spirited person, and altogether unskillfull and vnapt to deale in pynces affaires being in amitie, as at his returne into Spaine he was so there also reputed: the other and last was Barnardin de Mendoza, one whom we did accept and vse with great fauour a long time, as was manifestlie seene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himselfe: but yet of late yeres (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great fauourer to sundrie our euill disposed and seditious subiects, not onelie to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notoziouslie condemned as open rebels & traitours, with whom by his letters, messages, and secret counsels he did in the end deuise how with a power of men, partlie to come out of Spaine, partlie out of the low countries, whereof he gaue them great comfort in the kings name, an inuasion might be made into our realme, setting downe in writing the manner how the same should be done, with what numbers of men and ships, and upon what coasts, ports, and places of our realme by speciall name, and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should fauour this inuasion, and take part with the inuadours, with manie other circumstances declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble vs and our realme verie dangerously, as hath bene most chereilie proued and confessed by such as were in that conference with him, whereof some are fled and now doe frequent his company in France, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course here, in held by the said ambassadour, as was manifestlie of late time published to the world upon Francis Throgmorton a principall traitours examination.

And when we found manifestlie this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and inuasion; and that for a yere or more together he neuer brought to vs anie letter from the king his master, notwithstanding our often request made to him that he would by some letter from the king to vs, let it appeare that it was the kings will that he should deale with vs in his masters name in sundrie things that he propounded to vs as his ambassadour, which we did iudge to be contrary to the king his masters will: we did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practises, and made it patent to him how, and by whom, with manie other circumstances we knew it, and therefore caused him in verie gentle sort to be content within some reasonable time to depart out of our realme, the rather for his owne safetie, as one in verie deed mortallie hated of our people: for the which we granted him fauourable conduct, both to the sea and ouer the sea: and thereupon we did speedilie send a seruant of ours into Spaine with our letters to the king, onelie to certifie him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant vnto him: and this was the messenger afoze mentioned, that might not be suffered to deliuer our message or our letters to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also haue both heretofore manie times, and now lastlie practised here in England by meanes of certeine rebels, to haue procured sundrie inuasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the low countries: verie hard recompenses (we may saie) for so manie our good offices. Whereupon we hope no reasonable person can blame vs, if we haue disposed our selues to change this our former course, and more carefullie to looke to the safetie of our selfe and our people: and finding our owne dangers in deed verie great and imminent, we haue

Two turbulent spirited persons (Spaniards) during which they could do set all England in a tumult.

See the historical confession of Francis Throgmorton in pages 1372, 1373.

The courtiers dealing of his manifest with Mendoza (a man mortallie hated) departing out of England.

The enterpryse of the Spaniards in Ireland sent by the king of Spaine and the pope.

The refusal of the queenes messenger, and his letters to the king of Spaine.

The iust causes of dissolving of Warrenard out of England.

haue the more bygentle provoked to attempt and accelerat some good remedie, for that besides manie other aduises giuen vs both at home & from abroad, in due time to withstand these dangers, we haue found the generall disposition of all our owne faithfull people verie readie in this case, and earnest in offering to vs both in parlements and otherwise, their seruices with their bodies and blood, and their aids with their lands and goods, to withstand and prevent this present common danger to our realme and themselves, euidentlie seene and feared by the subuerting and rooting vp of the ancient nation of these low countries, and by planting the Spanissh nation and men of war, enemies to our countries, there so nere vnto vs.

The queene of England's proceeding for the deliuerie of Scotland from the seruitude wherein the house of Guise meant to haue brought it.

And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunat proceeding by Gods speciall fauor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischance that was intended against vs in Scotland by certaine Frenchmen, who then were directed onelie by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their neece the queene of Scots with the Dolphin of France, in like maner as the offsprings of the said house haue euen now latelie sought to attaine to the like inordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selues to consider; although we hope the king our god brother professing sincere friendship towards vs, as we profess the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnesse of that house, that neither him selfe, nor the princes of his blood be ouerruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king & his blood) be by the said house of Guise & their faction disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to returne to this like example of Scotland aforesaid. When the French had in like maner (as the Spaniards haue now of long time attempted in the low countries) sought by force to haue subdued the people there, and brought them into a seruitude to the crowne of France, and also by the ambitious desires of the said house of Guise, to haue proceeded to a waie by waie of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their neece the queene of Scots (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the world) it pleased almightie God, as it remaineth in god memoirie to our honor and comfort, to further our tention and honorable and iust actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland being fore oppressed with the French, and vniuersallie requiring our aid, we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliuerance of the force of strangers and danger of seruitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie, which hath continued there euer since manie yerres, sauing that at some time of parcialities of certaine of the noble men, as hath bene vsuall in that countrie, in the minoritye of the yong king, there haue risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we haue in fauor of the king and his gouernours used meanes to pacifie: so as at this date such is the quietnesse in Scotland, as the king our deare brother & consue, by name James the first, a prince of great hope for manie god princelie respects, reigneth there in honor and loue of his people, and in verie god and perfect amitie with vs and our countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so good successe by the goodnesse of God, as both our owne realme, and that of Scotland, hath euer since remained in better amitie and peace than can be remembered these manie hundred yeres before; and yet nothing hereby done by vs, nor anie cause iustlie giuen: but that also the French kings that haue since succeeded, which haue bene thre in number, and all byethzen,

The realme of Scotland restored to the ancient freedom, and so possessed by the present king by the meanes of the queene of England.

haue made and concluded diuerse treaties for god peace with vs, which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaid actions attempted, for removing out of Scotland of the said French forces, so transported by the onelie direction of the house of Guise.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by parcialitie, that vpon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to vs by the vniuersall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Gelders, and other provinces with them vniited (being desperat of the king of Spaines fauours) for our succours to be yielded to them, onelie for their defense against the Spaniards and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie by our often and importunat requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, no hope of reliefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof by daily conquests of their towne and slaughter of their people (though in verie truth we cannot impute the increase of anie late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall gouernor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclinable to mercie and clemencie, than it seemeth he can direct the hearts of the Spaniards vnder him, that haue bene so long trained in shedding of blood vnder the former Spanissh gouernors) and joining therewith to our owne danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbors, and access and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so nere to our countries, with present arguments of manie troublesome attempts against our realme: we did therefore by god aduise and after long deliberation determine, to send certaine companies of souldiours to aid the naturall people of those countries, onelie to defend them and their towne from sacking and desolation, & thereby to procure them safetie, to the honor of God, whome they desire to serue sincerelie as christian people according to his holie word, and to inioie their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so consequentlie to preserve and continue the lawfull and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

And so we hope our intention herein, and our subsequeant actions will be by Gods fauour both honorable interpreted of all persons (saining of the oppressors themselves, and their partizans) in that we meane not hereby, either for ambition or malice (the two roots of all iniustice) to make anie particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people; onelie desiring at this time to obtaine by Gods fauour for the countries, a deliuerance of them from warre by the Spaniards and foraines: a restitution of their ancient liberties and gouernement by some christian peace, and thereby a suertie for our selues and our realme to be free from invading neighbors: and our people to inioie in those countries their lawfull commerce and intercourse of friendship & merchandise, according to the ancient vse and treaties of intercourse, made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and earles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

And though our further intention also is, or maie be, to take into our garrisons some few towne upon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the countrie: yet therein considering we haue no meaning at this time to take and retaine the same to our owne proper vse: we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with god reason and princelie policie, that we should haue the garrisons

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certaine companies of English souldiours to the defense of the oppressed people of the low countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realme.

These speciall things reasonable desired by the queene of England.

1. The end of warres with restitution of the low countries to their ancient liberties.

2. Suertie for continuance of his owne realme.

3. And renewing of the mutual traffike betwixt the countries.

The causes of taking some towne into his maiesties custodie.

and vse of some such places for sure access and re-
 cesse of our people and souldiours in safetie, and for
 furniture of them with vittells and other things re-
 quisit and necessarie, whilst it shall be needfull for
 them to continue in those countries for the aiding
 thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and
 imminent danger, and untill the countries may be
 deliuered of such strange forces as do now oppresse
 them, and recouer their ancient lawfull liberties
 and manner of gouernement, to liue in peace as they
 haue heretofore done, and do now most earnestlie
 in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the
 verie onelie true ends of all our actions now inten-
 ded: howsoeuer malicious tongues maie vtter their
 cankred conceits to the contrarie, as at this daie
 the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports
 in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the
 diuell hath moze abounded with notable spirits re-
 plenished with all wickednesse to vtter his rage a-
 gainst professors of christian religion. But thereof
 we leaue the reuenge to God the searcher of hearts,
 hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart,
 will grant god successe to our intentions, whereby
 a christian peace may insue to his diuine honor, and
 comfort to all them that loue peace trulie, and will
 keepe it sincerelie.

An addition to the declaration,
 touching the slanders published of
 hir maiestie.

After we had finished our declaration, there
 came to our hands a pamphlet written in
 Italian, printed at Milan, intituled *Nuo-
 uo aduerso*, directed to the archbishop of Mi-
 lan, containing a report of the expugnation of An-
 twerp by the prince of Parma: by the which we found
 our selfe most maliciouslie charged with two nota-
 ble crimes, no lesse hatefull to the world, than most
 repugnant and contrarie to our owne naturall in-
 clination. The one with ingratitude towards the
 king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saued our
 life being iustlie by sentence adiudged to death in
 our sisters time: the other, that there were some
 persons procured to be corrupted with great promi-
 ses, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter
 addeth in a parenthesis in these words (as it was
 said) that the life of the prince of Parma should be
 taken awaie. And for the better prouing and coun-
 tenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in
 the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to
 discover this, and bying two of the wicked persons
 to iustice. Now, knowing how men are malicious-
 lie bent in this declining age of the world, both to
 iudge, speake, and write maliciouslie, falslie, and
 vniuerentlie of princes: and heldding nothing so
 deere vnto vs, as the conseruation of our reputa-
 tion and honor to be blamelesse: we found it verie
 expedient, not to suffer two such horrible imputa-
 tions to passe vnder silence; lest for lacke of answer,
 it might argue a kind of guiltinesse, and did there-
 fore thinke, that what might be alledged by vs for
 our iustification in that behalfe, might most aptlie
 be ioined vnto this former declaration now to be
 published, to laie open before the world, the maner
 and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the
 low countries.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we
 are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the
 king of Spaine; as we do most willingly acknow-
 ledge that we were beholding vnto him in the time
 of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge ve-
 ric thankfullie, and haue sought manie waies since

in like sort to requitte, as in our former declaration
 by our actions maie appeare: so do we bitterlie de-
 nie as a most manifest vnttruth, that euer he was
 the cause of the sauing of our life as a person by
 course of iustice sentenced vnto death, who euer car-
 ried our selfe towards our said sister in dutifull sort,
 as our loialtie was neuer called in question, much
 lesse anie sentence of death pronounced against vs:
 a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course
 of proceeding, as by processe in law, by place of tri-
 all, by the iudge that should pronounce such sentence,
 and other necessarie circumstances in like cases vbi-
 all, especiallie against one of our qualitie, as it
 could not but haue bene publicke knowne, if anie
 such thing had bene put in execution. This then be-
 ing true, we leaue to the world to iudge how mali-
 ciouslie and insurmountable the author of the said pam-
 phlet dealeth with vs, in charging vs by so notable
 an vnttruth, with a vice that of all other we do most
 hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest vnt-
 truth of this imputation, men not transported with
 passion maie easilie discern what vnttruth is conten-
 ned in the second, by the which we are charged to
 haue bene acquainted with an intended attempt a-
 gainst the life of the said prince: a matter, if anie
 such thing should haue bene by vs intended, must
 haue proceeded either of a mistaking we had of his
 person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the
 low countries was so committed vnto him, as no
 other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could neuer learnes
 that he hath at anie time, by act or speech, done anie
 thing that might iustlie breed a mistake in vs to-
 wards him, much lesse a hatred against his person
 in so high a degree, as to be either pteise or assenting
 to the taking awaie of his life. Besides, he is one of
 whom we haue euer had an honorable conceit, in re-
 spect of those singular rare parts we alwaies haue
 noted in him, which hath wrought vnto him as great
 reputation, as anie man this daie liuing carreth of
 his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwaies de-
 liuered out by speech vnto the world, when anie oc-
 casion hath bene offered to make mention of him.
 Now touching the prosecution committed vnto him
 of the warres in the low countries, as all men of
 iudgement know, that the taking awaie of his life
 carreth no likelihood that the same shall twoyke anie
 end of the said prosecution: so is it manifestlie
 knowne, that no man hath dealt moze honorable
 than the said prince, either in duilie obseruing of
 his promise, or extending grace and mercie, where
 merit and desert hath craved the same: and there-
 fore no greater impietie by anie could be wrought,
 nor nothing moze pseudicall to our selfe (so long
 as the king shall continue the prosecution of the
 cause in that forcible sort he now doth) than to be
 an instrument to take him awaie from himselfe by
 such violent meanes, that hath dealt in a moze ho-
 norable and gracious sort in the charge committed
 vnto him, than anie other that hath euer gone be-
 fore him, or is likelie to succeed after him.

Now therefore how vntikelie it is, that we ha-
 ving neither cause to mistake of his person, nor that
 the prosecution of the warres should cease by losse of
 him, should be either author, or anie waie assenting
 to so horrible a fact, we referre to the iudgement of
 such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their
 affection; but do measure and weigh things accor-
 ding to honor and reason. Besides, it is likelie if
 it had bene true that we had bin anie waie charge-
 able (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the
 parties executed (imposing such matter as by him
 is alledged) would haue bene both produced and pub-
 lished: for malice leaueth nothing vnsearched, that

The second
 point of the
 pamphlet was
 referred to the
 full satisfacti-
 on of mine that
 is reasonable.

The prosecu-
 tion of the
 warres in the
 low countries
 is not like to
 cease, though
 the prince of
 Parma were
 dead.

This being
 duilie ponder-
 ed, all the
 world may see
 how vntikelie
 his highnesse
 is slandered.

The nature of
 malice compels
 male

The summe of
 a slanderous
 pamphlet pub-
 lished in the
 Italian tongue
 against the
 queenes ma-
 iestie.

The queenes
 maiestie is
 gelous ouer
 the conserua-
 tion of hir re-
 putation.

An answer to
 the first point of
 the said pam-
 phlet, clearing
 hir highnes of
 ingratitude.

in a
fence
of
fence

The reward
of
concord
and
infamous
actions
shall
be
the
face
of
God
and
men.

The name of
the
lovers
of
the
low
country.

The first
the
woman
presenting
him.

The second
woman
presenting
him.

The third
woman
presenting
him.

maie nourish the venome of that humoz.

The best course therefore that both we and all o-
ther princes can hold in this vnfortunat age that
ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is
through the grace and goodnesse of almightie God,
to direct our course in such sort, as they maie rather
shew their wills through malice, than with iust cause
by desert to laie ill, or deface princes either by speech
or writing: assuring our selues that besides the pu-
nishment that such wicked and infamous libelloz
shall receiue at the hands of the almightie for depra-
uing of princes and lawfull magistrats, who are
Gods ministers; they both are and alwaies shall be
thought by all good men, unworthy to liue vpon the
face of the earth.

Given at Richmond the first of October, 1585,
and the 27 yeare of the reigne of our soueraine
ladie the queene, to be published.

In the moneths of Nouember and December,
manie hoyses and men were shipped at the Tower
wharffe to be transported ouer into the low coun-
tries. And on the first of December the right hono-
rable lord Robert Dundleie earle of Leicester, lord
lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of
his maiestie and the court) with his traine entred the
towne of Colchester in Essex, where the maior & his
brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of
people met him, and so with great solemnitie entred
the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the
next morrow set forward to Warwich, into the which
towne he was accordinglie receiued and intertained.
On the eight of December, accompanied with
diuers lords and knights, he arriued at Flushing,
where he was intertained by sir Philip Sionle go-
uernour, the Graue Sporis, the states of the towne,
and others passing honorable. The next day he sailed
to Middleborough, where his receiuing was answer-
able to his person; and after certaine daies there
spent, as occasions then moued, he came to Will-
amstat, then to Rotherodam, then to Delph, where
he lodged euen in the house where the prince of Or-
ange was slaine. And after a daie or twos tar-
ance, he removed thence to Donhage, where he was
intertained with ten seuerall howes, of no lesse
rare inuention than exquisite sumptuousnesse, so glad
were the people (best and worst, one with another) of
his comming. Certaine daies passed, and Januarie
entred, the lord lieutenant with three hundred hoyses
in their furniture entred Leiden, where he was re-
ceiued of the burgomasters, burgesses, and others,
with seuen seuerall howes that follow. It is to be
noted, that eight yeares before this, they were besie-
ged, and therefore now presented their extremities,
which at that time they were driuen into. They
brought therefore a faire woman on the stage verie
briuelie apparellled, & she represented the towne, hir
they assailed by Spaniards, with false fiers of great
and small shot a long time in order of battell. & then
retiring continued their siege; here they laie so long
that vittels wared scarce, and then they presented af-
ter the poets, of what this shew had passed. Famine
attired accordinglie then breathed into the woman,
after which they presented men rending dogs and
cats aliue in sunder, and fed on them, andouldozs
robbing women of their children.

Sickness now possessed hir and pestilence, and
this they presented in abrupt burials of townes-
men on heapes; and lastlie with a braue burfall of a
captaine, who was borne ouer the stage with dead
matches, howling trumpets, waapt by ancients,
trailed pikes, byawne peeces; and after he was put
into the ground, and bid farewell with a volie of

great and small shot. The Spaniards pittens hir,
writ and sent letters by diuers messengers, all
which she read and refused, without returne of an-
swer: now hope possessed hir, and therefore they
toke another waie. Now she commanded a light
to be set on the highest steeple in the towne, to signi-
fie vnto the prince of Orange that laie in Delph,
how they hoped for succor; who againe by deuise of a
doue sent them promise of aid, by which doue they
promised to attend the good houre, and so the shew
ended.

Now came Gods prouidence, vpon whome
the towne relied, and she leaped: Gods prouidence
in the dead of the night ouerthrew a peece of the
wall and battomure of six and twentie peles. Which
the entinie hearing, and fearing the prince and his
power to be entred for their aid, they fled, whome
when the towne had in pursute, they put all they o-
uertoke to the sword, the rest escaped by flight, and
so with the woman as it were now at libertie that
presented the towne, they marched awaie merilie
with great triumph. At the last they brought in a
woman verie braue, armed as the other was, hir
they besieged with a Spaniard, intised with a
Frenchman, and flattered with an Italian thiffe,
the Spaniard put by, she fled the stage, and leaping
off halstie hid hir selfe vnder the earls cloke, whom
he shadowed, and the Spaniard threatening mar-
ched awaie. The earle led hir to his lodging, wherein
to be entred with shot. On the scaffold were written
these verses, in effect as followeth in English:
We Flemings being banished, now wailing here,
We are as they in Babylon, by the water clere,
Because we wold not worship idols, but Gods word,
And might not sing our praise vnto the Lord,
Are we driuen out as now dooth appeere,
But our deliuerance is now verie nere,
For God hath looked vpon our miserableness,
And sent vs a prince whom he will blesse,
Which praised be God as it dooth beseech,
Who hath deliuered vs from dangerous case,
And humbled the heart of such a noble queene,
As hath sent vs a gouernor now in this space,
Laieng his hand to the warres through his grace,
And his arme mightilie, the which vs defend,
Thus praised may he be world without end,
Which sendeth such a prince about all that liueh,
And one that gouerns to gods honor he now giueh.

So passing on to my lords lodging, on the doze
of the entring were written these verses following:

Pro auspicijs illustrissimi & generosissimi comitis
Roberti Dudlei, regis maiestati apud Anglos
a consilijs, & gubernatoris Belgiz, &c: ad Ho-
landos consolatio.

Inter Iberiadum furias & tigris iras,
Oppressum totum comprimitote viri,
Nos licet innumeris hostilia bella periclis
Asidue insistent, mille neceque trahant,
Nos tamen Domini rebus fiducia sistit
In Domino miseris expediet facile.
Nicanor Lesby generis viribus male nostras
Cervices pulsat, barbara verba uolens:
Viribus at Lecestranis ingulabitur ille,
En Machabaeus adest, qui Nicanora premat,
Auspicio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,
Qui fides vindex, qui mala nostra leuat.
En generose comes, Davidis pia sacra sequitur,
Iusticia exerce iura seuera tua:
Et tibi praesens magnum qui temperat orbem,
Et pede victricis colla teras Golia.

On the daie after his comming to the towne, The lord lieut-
enant banketted, at which banket were orations
and deuises made. On the first of Januarie he
came backe from Leiden vnto Donhage. The
Donhage,

Al b b b j.

tenth

The fourth
shew of 1585
nity seruatur.

The fifth shew
of hope to be
succeeded.

The first shew
of aid promi-
sed.

The last shew
of libertie, or-
topie, and tri-
umph.

These verses
seeme to be
made by no
mercician, era
haps they
were deuised
by some of
Leiden.

These verses
written vpon the
doze of the
lord lieute-
nants lodging.

A generall
fait proclaimed
and deuoutlie
obserued.

The lord lieuten-
enant rideth
to Scheuening,
and is presen-
ted with a few
English ver-
ses.

Titles of hon-
our ascribed to
the lord lieuten-
ant, with a
reioicing at
his comming.

The estates
sworne to the
queene of
England.

The earle of
Leicester in-
stalled at
Donhage,
with the man-
ner and order
thereof.

Persons of
honour and
swoyship.

The cove-
nants between
the queens
maiestie and
the estates,
read in Latine
and deliuered
so and fro.

tenth he mustred part of his horsemen, to the num-
ber of five hundred or more, and then pointed them
into severall garrisons, and to severall governours,
the earle of Essex was that daie made generall
of the horse. The eleuenth daie he came from
Donhage to Leidon. The twelfe daie a generall
fait was proclaimed through Holland, Gelderland,
and Friseland, which was kept with great zeale.
The lord lieutenant spent that daie till night with
preaching, reading, and singing of psalmes; neither
he or any of his eating any thing. The nineteenth
of Januarie he came from Leidon to Donhage,
where in his time of abode he rode to a little sister
towne two miles from the Hage, named Scheue-
ning, which towne doth bound on the maine seas. In
this towne he was presented with these verses:
Like as the sea goddesse Thetis had ingendred,
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,
So hath now this English Thetis, who all praise de-
Sents vs this Achilles to our assistance, (serued
Wherefore we yeeld him all due reuerence.

These words were written in the great hall at
Donhage, containing terms of hono: & welwishing:
Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter. ¶ Inclyto
principi Roberto Dudleio comiti Leicestria, inter
magnates maxime pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permisu
a regina misso, praefecto ac gubernatori Belgarum,
prosperum hunc optatumque aduentum toto læti-
tia sua gratulamur, ecclesie & reipublice salutem
optamus, federati ordinis Belgij, addicti celsitudini
eius. ¶ Deus caput, Deus dirigat.

On the five and twentieth of Januarie, the lord
lieutenant was installed and swoyrs, and likewise
all the states swoyrs to the queene. The manner of
the installing was thus. At Donhage is a maruel-
lous faire hall, at the upper end thereof are five or
six large steps ascending, which do reach to a faire
chamber, at the upper end thereof on high was pla-
ced a cloth of estate, in the midst of which were the
armes of England, and against them my lord was
seated: on each side of him two steps descending
sat twelve of the principall states, & below them sat
the residue, to the number of twentie right before
my lord, but foure or five steps descending. On the
right hand of my lord did stand the prince of Portu-
gall, next him the lord Sporreie, next master Morris
gouverneur of Munster, next sir William Russell, and
sir Robert Germin, with diuerse men of great ac-
count. On the left hand of my lord did stand the
Graue Morris, next the earle of Essex, sir William
Stanleie, sir Robert Stapleton, and sir Thomas
Barrat, with diuers others of great account. Thus
being placed, a Dutchman made a large oration in
Dutch, declaring the causes of the matter in hand,
with thanks to the queenes maiestie and the lord
lieutenant.

Then was read in Latine the covenants be-
twene the states, the queene and my lord: this done
the covenants were deliuered to my lord, which he
deliuered to the states, and the states deliuered an
other to him: then was my lord demanded to vow
the same by oth, who holding his hand to heauen did
swear to the covenants. The like did the states, vol-
ding by their hands, vow to performe. Then againe
were the states swoyrs to the queene and my lord
hir lieutenant in those affaires. This done, my lord
gave to them severall thanks, and they severallie
did giue to him the like, which being done, my lord
passed through to his chamber, the trumpets all
sounding before him. And here as matter of conue-
nience requirereth, we purpose to touch the peremp-
torie authoritie committed to the said lord lieute-
nant by common consent of the states: being as
followeth in the placard.

A placard containing the authoritie
giuen by the states of the low countries, unto the
mightie prince, Robert earle of Leicester, baron
of Denbigh, &c. for the government of the
said low countries: translated out of
Dutch into English, as fol-
loweth.



The generall states of the united prouin-
ces of the low countries, to all those
which shall see or heare these present wri-
tings, health and dilection. ¶ Even as it
hath pleased hir maiestie of England mercifullie to
send ouer into these countries the high and migh-
tie prince and lord, lord Robert earle of Leicester,
baron of Denbigh, and one of the pryncie counsell,
knight of the noble order of the garter, and not onlie
to admit and institute his excellencie as chiefe head
aboue all militarie souldiers on horse or foot, which
hir maiestie hath sent or shall send ouer hereafter in-
to these countries; & to the end to assist vs with coun-
sell, aid & aduise, according to his great experience,
politic and wisdome in the direction of publike af-
faires of the land, as well touching the feates of
warre, as other waies, in conseruation of all that
which most tendeth to the profit of the foresaid land,
to bring backe and reduce the same into such good or-
der and rule as it hath bene in times past, to the end
that so much the better and orderlie he maie resist the
force and tyrannie of our enemies, and to frustrate
all his practises: but also besides this to honour and
inrich his foresaid excellencie with greater authori-
tie, might and commandement, aboue all hir maie-
sties admerals and viceadmerals, and ships of war,
to command them all, & to emploie them to the ser-
uice of these countries, and in such order as his ex-
cellencie shall find needfull for the same countrie;
and that his excellencie following hir maiesties
commandement, desirous to shew the effect of the
good will and affection which he beareth to these af-
faires, and to the pferuation of the same, and also
of the true christian religion, and hath imploied him-
selfe so willinglie in the foresaid matters, that his
excellencie for that onlie cause hath left and abando-
ned his native countrie and gods, and transpoted
himselfe hitherward amongst vs: so that hir maie-
stie and his excellencie could neuer haue done or
shewed vnto vs a greater benefit than this.

Wherefore are we resolved, with god and ripe de-
liberation, to certifie all men by these presents, that
we haue desired, accepted, and authorized the fore-
said mightie and honorable prince, lord Robert earle
of Leicester, &c. to be our gouernour and generall
captaine ouer all the united prouinces, and associat
cities and members of the same. And we giue vnto
his excellencie, besides the authoritie of hir maiestie
giuen vnto him, the highest and supreme comman-
dement, and absolute authoritie aboue, and in all
matters of warfare by sea and by land, to execute
& administrat the same to the resistance of the eni-
mie, even as his excellencie shall thinke most com-
modious to the preservation of these countries: and
so further, to do all such things as appertene to
the office of a generall capteine. And furthermore,
we commit the administration & vse of policie and
iustice ouer the foresaid united prouinces, and asso-
ciat cities and members of the same into his hands,
to execute and administrat the same with such power
and authoritie, as haue had in times past all the o-
ther gouernours of these low countries before him;
and especiallie, as haue bene exercised, and law-
fullie administrated in the time of Charles the sixt;
serued onelie the lawes and priuileges of the fore-
said countries: also with especiall power to collect
profits, and receiue, and administrat all the contri-
butions

Note that
title and
of excellencie
the states gi-
ue to the earle
their gouern-
ment, and the
honorable sa-
uice to him
pointed.

The good
and effect
of the lord
lieutenant
performing
promises
made to
god and
good grace
filled.

The states
agreed the
employe the
authoritie
into the
lieutenant
hands in
specie of his
gouernment

Like entie
given to
the lord
lieutenant,
and other
gouernours
before him
had in the
commen-

butions which are agreed and condescended, or shall hereafter be consented or agreed, to the maintenance of the warres: and also, that which is or shall be delivered hereafter into his excellencies hands: and this all according to the vertue of other letters and missives written more at large touching the same agreement. All which former charge and commission, his excellencie through our earnest desire hath accepted, and hath delivered solempne oth and assurance into our hands, first of all, for the preservation of the true christian religion, and maintenance of the privileges and rights of these lands and provinces, members, and cities of the same.

We therefore ordeine and command all gouernors of provinces and cities, all admirals and vice admirals, all officers, coponers, captains, their officers and souldiours by sea and land, and furthermore; all other councellers, officers, treasurers, receivers, bailiffs, burgomasters, marshals, magistrats, gentlemen, burgers, & other inhabitants & subjects of these lands, of what qualitie or condition soeuer; that they & euerie of them do acknowledge his foresaid excellencie in the qualitie of gouernement, and captaine generall ouer the foresaid united provinces, to honor, respect and obey him, as they ought to do, without making anye difficultie in doing the same, vpon paine of falling in the displeasure and anger of his excellencie, and to be punished according to the heauines of the fault, and as reason shall require. And to the end that no bodie should pretend ignorance, we command expressely to make knowne these ordinances, to proclame and publish them, whereas men are accustomed to proclame all publications, proceeding, and commanding to proceed with rigor against all disauners and neglectors of the same, according to the order of punishment before mentioned, without anye fauour or dissimulation to the contrarye, because we haue thought the same to be expedient for the preservation of the countrie. Given in our congregation & assemblie

in the Hage, the sixt daie of Februarie, 1586, by ordinance of the foresaid generall states.

This placard thus passed, the lord lieutenant bending his mind to his charge undertaken, did ordeine certayne speciall men, natives borne of the counsell, to the intent that such affaires as chanced to occur, might by them be conuenientlie managed. And as he toke order for matters of policie, so was he studious in preferring martiall affaires, providing by good lawes and ordinances not onelie concerning common souldiours, but captains in like sort, that a conuenient course and well beseming the excellencie of his place, might be obserued in all militarie businesses: for prouide whereof these lawes touching captains; as a note of the rest may serue.

First, no captaine, officer, or other person, shall receiue or intertaine anye other mans souldiour or servant, without consent of his former captaine or master, neither shall intile anye other mans souldiour from him, vpon paine of losse of a moneths wages, and to restore the partie to his former captaine or master.

Secondlie, no captaine shall send forth anye men to do anye enterprise, without knowledge of the generall or chiefe officer appointed thereunto, vpon paine of losse of his place.

Thirdlie, all priuat captains being no head officers, shall watch and ward with their ensignes, vnder lesse it be by speciall leaue, vpon paine of the losse of a moneths paye, & for the second time losse his place.

Fourthlie, no captaine shall sell or ransome his prisoner without licence of the generall, and shall

not suffer them to depart without making the high marshall priue to the same, vpon paine to losse his prisoner, and imprisonment.

Fifthlie, anye captaine finding anye souldiour, of what band or companie so euer, which hath transgressed anye of these lawes & ordinances, may take him & bring him vnto the marshall to be punished.

Sixthlie, that no captaine shall receiue or intertaine anye person into his paie vnder him, but that he cause the said souldiour to receiue the oth, vpon paine to the captaine for not obseruing the same, of losse of a moneths paye.

Seauenthlie, no inferior captaine shall for corruption or anye other cause, licence anye of his souldiours to depart the campe or garrison, without speciall licence of the generall or head officer, vpon paine of losse of his moneths paye, and expulsion out of his office.

Eighthlie, if anye captaine hereafter receiuing his souldiours paie, do not paie the same vnto them within eight daies after, and being demanded, then vpon complaint made, and the captaine thereof indicted, he shall losse his moneths paye, and be deprived of his office, banished the campe, and disabled from thenceforth to serue in the armie.

Ninthlie, captains & officers shall resort to their souldiours lodgings, to see in what state their armes and munition be in, and to giue great charge that their furniture be alwaies in a readinesse, their coats lets with all peeces belonging to the same, and their caluvers to be made cleane & oiled, to haue match and powder drie, and strings for their bowes, their bills and holberds to be kept cleane and sharpe, vpon paine and punishment arbitrarie, according to the qualitie of their negligence.

Tenthlie, that euerie captaine or officer shall cause these said statutes to be read euerie twentieth daie to them of their charge, as well horsemen as footmen, & to follow the same so nere as they may.

Now when the state of the countrie was pouldred for in such sort as before ye haue heard, the lord lieutenant proceeded to other actions, inasmuch that on the first of March he came from Hage to Leiden, and the third of March from Leiden to Harlem, where being honorable interteined, according to the maner in other places before named, with sundrie representations: on the tenth daie of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam, a towne counted inextinguishable, being there receiued in most sumptuous sort with diuersitie of shewes & ceremonies. The like also were exhibited vnto him coming to Altrecht, the people of which towne shewed themselves greatlie to fauour our Englishmen, for there came to the towne from the Leger three hundred or foure hundred souldiours, so sick and poore, that it was wonder to see their miserie: and the townehouse not onelie receiued them, but also relieved them with meat drinke and cloths, giuing them for the most part new shirts and other necessaries appareled; looking so vnto them for their health, that whereas for the most part they were in great danger of death, few or none of them at that time perished.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, the earle of Leicester being lieutenant, and gouernour generall of his maiesties forces in the low countries of the united provinces (as is aforesaid) and making his residence at that time in Altrecht (a great and goodlie towne vpon the frontiers of Holland) kept most honorable the feast of S. George therein, the proceedings whereof being so princelie performed to the honor of our nation, in the view of so many thousand strangers, I could not chuse (having gotten the true and faithfull description, by one William Straker

A, B, C, D, E.

The lord lieutenant cometh from the Hage to Harlem, & how he was receiued.

Altrecht people cometh to their great kindness shewed to the Englishmen.

S. Georges feast solemnly observed at Altrecht.

the acknowledgment and performance of the same, and the consequence thereof to all persons of the same countries, who shall be punished by the lawes.

His excellencie of the Hage, the sixt daie of Februarie, 1586, by ordinance of the foresaid generall states.

Concussions of the matters of the lord lieutenant.

Lawes for the maintenance of the same.

George's
least foimant
observed at
Striche.

get *alias* Portculis an officer at armes in that seruice) to make some brasse remembrance of the manner thereof in this booke, to wit. The streets of T. right being large and faire, were rankt and set with eight ensignes of burgers richlie appointed, wearing scarffes knit like roses white and red upon their armes, betwene whome from the court of my lord vnto the cathedrall church called the Dome, the proceeding was on horsebacke. First rid the trumpet toys appavelled in scarlet, laid with silver lace, sounding their trumpets most roiallie, their bannerols being displayed and richlie limmed with my lords armes. Then followed the gentlemen, capteins, colonels, and his maiesties swoyne men, to the number of a foztie horse, richlie adozned in cloth of gold, silver, and silks, of all colours. After came six knights, foure barons, with the counsell of estates: the right honourable earle of Essex accompanied the bishop of Cullen prince elector; and the prince of Portingall rid by himselfe: next proceeded the captaine of the gard, the tresuroz and controlloz of the household, bearing their white stanes; after whom followed two gentlemen vthers, and Portculis herald in a rich cote of armes of England.

A. lieutenant
marched in the
robes of order.

Then came my lord most princelike, inuessed in his robes of the order, garded by the principall burgers of the towne, which offered themselves to that seruice, besides his owne gard, which were a fiftie halberds in scarlet clokes, garded with purple and white velvet. He being thus honourable brought vnto the church, after due reuerence done vnto the quenes maiesties estate, which was there erected on the right hand, he took his owne stall on the left, by certeine degrees lower. Then began prayers, and a sermon made by maister Kinclostubs my lords chapleine, after which my lord proceeded to the offering; first for his maiestie, & then for himselfe, the which he performed with such decorum & princelike behaviour, that all generallie spake most honozable of him.

These solemnities being done, his lordship returned as he came, leaving behind him the earle of Essex and certeine gentlemen to accompanie the princes and the ladies of the court. His court was a faire and large house, belonging in times past to the knights of the Rhodes, in which was a verie great hall richlie hong with tapistrie; at the vpper end whereof was a most sumptuous cloth and chaire of estate for the quens maiestie, with his armes and stile thereon, and before it a table covered with all things so requist as if in person she had bene there; on the left hand almost at the tables end was my lords trencher and stole, for he would haue no chaire. The tables being covered, & all degrees assembled, my lord before the estate of his maiestie knighted a Dutch gentleman, called sir Martin Skinke, for his manifold seruices done to his countrie, the which done, the vthers marshalled the feast. At the table on the right side of the hall sat the yong prince of Portingall, the prince elector and his wife, the princesse Semete, the earle of Essex, the Graue of Portis and his ladie, & betwene euerie ladie was an English lord or knight placed. On the left side sat the states and chiefe burgers of the towne, and the grand prior of Amersford (who came to see the feast) was by my lords appointment placed vppermost at that table. Then began the trumpets to sound in the seruice which was (most princelike & abundant seruice on the knee) carud & tasted to his maiesties trencher.

Martin
Skinke
knighted, who
promised
Portculis to
show him
seuente en-
signes that he
had now in
the field.

To prosecute the sumptuousnesse, stateliness, and varietie of deuises in seruice at this banquet, requirerh a discourse of manie lines, and therefore leaving it to the imagination of the reader (hauing relation to the former) we will heere surcease, remem- bering thus much to the honour of the lord lieute-

nant, that sundrie militarie exploits or stratagems were with no lesse magnanimitie attempted, than with felicitie atchieued against the enimie, during the time of his abode in those countries, which it were better vterlie to omit, than not with conuenient dignitie to record: being here in semblable affected to his honour, as sometimes was the poet Horace to Agrippa, *Qui sibi non conuenire tam sublimis argumentum assenerat*; proinde varium poetam rectius scripturum eius praelara facinora dicebat, qui ad Honerican felicitatem proximè accedere videbatur. And now to leaue him in the hands of God, vpon whome dependeth his honours hope, we will here leaue the Netherlands, and approach to matters of England.

On the one and twentieth daie of this Ianuarie, two seminarie priests (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to the Tyburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. Also on the same daie, a wench was burnt in Smithfield for poisoning of his aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue done the like wicked offense to his uncle. On the second daie of february, or the feast of the purification of our blessed ladie, doctor John White, gift archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham lord warden of the fine ports, and Thomas lord Buckhurst, were chosen and taken to be of his maiesties priuie counsell: the two first, to wit, the archbishop and the lord Cobham were swoyne the same daie, and the third on the next morrow. And here, as in other places of these chronicles, where we haue set downe certeine collections of right worthe personages in high calling and verie honourable office, we are lead by some reason to deliuer a catalog of the names (at least) of such archbishops as haue successiuelie possessed the metropolitan see of Canturburie, therein implieng their antiquitie and authoritie, & from thence proceed to saie somewhat of the lord Cobhams and lord wardens of the cinque ports, as a matter of some consequence, by means of the mutuall aduancement at one instant which his highnesse of speciall grace vouchsafed them both. And to begin with Canturburie, being first named, you shall vnderstand that Augustine the monk (according to the receiued opinion of chronographers) was the first archbishop which occupied that metropolitan see, next whome succeeded one Laurentius, then Melius, Iustus, Honorius, Deusdedit, Theodorus, Brightwaldus, Tatwinus, Nothelmus, Cuthbertus, Beguinus, Lambertus, Athelardus, Wilfredus, Theologildus, Athelredus, Plegmundus, Athelmus, Wolfelmus, Odo Seuerus, Dunstanus, Ethelgarus, Siricius, Aluricius, Elphegus, Liuingus, Agelnothus, Edinus: and so forward with the residue before and after the conquest, which being multiplied by vntities, do make vp the complet number of thre score and twelue.

Where by the waie we might touch the varietie of their names (with authors therein do dissent) as also the time wherein they liued and flourished, with some commemozation of their acts and deeds, both in church and commonwealth. But this kind of discourse being ecclesiasticall, is vnproper for this secular historie: therefore labouring no further therein, we will remit the reader to such authors as *Ex professo* haue ample treated of that argument: minding now by waie of note in a few lines to touch the thre late primats, as they haue succeeded ech other since the cozonation and regiment of his maiestie: the first of whom was that the w. Parker, whose predecessor Reg. Pole dieng, he was aduanced, and intited the same aduancement certeine yeares, (hauing ben the seuentith archbishop of that see) during which time he did much good diuerse waies, deserving well not onlie of the church, but also

Seminarie
priests executed at Tyburne.
A wench burnt in Smithfield.
Archbishop Canturburie.
Lord Cobham.
Lord Buckhurst, of the priuie counsell.

Page 1498.

The number of archbishops of Canturburie from the first to the

of the commonwealth. But having spoken elsewhere of this man, we will here state our course; concluding this collection of archbishops in their successions, with the two renowned divines and doctors, the one Edmund Grindall late deceased; the other John Whitgift now living; of whom no more but silence, for vertue doth sufficientlie commend her selfe. Now order would, that we should descend into a discourse of the lord Cobham's & lord wardens of the cinque ports, remembered before page 143, 5, 8, 10: but herein the reader is patientlie to put by the disappointment of his expectation, upon supposall of some reasonable impediment whie the same was not satisfied. And now to the course of our historie orderlie to be continued.

The more of
Reginald Scott
describes com-
mending Dou-
er haven.

In this yeare 1585, certaine of the lords of hir maiesties most honorable priuie counsell made an appointment to haue met at Douer, to surueie a notable peece of worke there lately performed about the haven, to the benefit of the whole land. Whereto the said lords, by means of other accidents of importance, staid at the court, and went not that iourneie. Nevertheless the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, one of hir maiesties priuie counsell, repairing thither (accompanied with diuerse knights and gentlemen of great worship) did take the view both of the worke finished, and also conferred about the businesse then in hand. Now for so much as that which is already done, is a perfect and an absolute worke, to the perpetuall maintenance of a haven in that place, being such a monument as is hardlie to be found written in antie record, it might seeme absurd that no mention thereof should be made in this chronicle: and that the cost and businesse thereabouts imployed hath not bene vnnecessarie, maie appeare by the reasons ensuing.

Considerations
whie the
building of
Douer haven
is here recom-
mended.
Douer the
narrow place of
England to
France.
Douer the
most conueni-
ent place of
England for a
haven.

First, Douer hath bene ever reputed the keie and locke (as Marcellus Parisiensis reporteth, or as rather he should haue said) the vertie doore and entrance into the realme of England, either for friend or foe, and also the ready passage vnto all nations, but especiallie into France, from whence it is not distant about thirtie English miles, and is commonlie passed in five or six houres at the most, and in a prosperous wind within halfe the time. Secondlie, it standeth in the most conuenient place of all this land to offend the enimie, and to defend either domesticall or foreign friend. Thirdlie, a meane harbor should be there (in the opinion of all skillfull mariners) more beneficiall & commodious for the navigation of England, than an excellent haven placed any where else about the coast thereof. Fourthlie, all our passengers through the narrow seas being distressed by violence of weather, or by inconuenience of piracie, or else by force of the common enimie in the time of warre, might there haue present succor and refuge, and both speedie and easie passage thereinto, or otherwise be best rescued. Fiftlie, of late yeares, the considerations aforesaid haue moued some noble princes of this land, to bestow infinit treasure to gaine a harbor or haven in that place, to their great honor, fame, and commendation, to the wonderfull contentment of all their subjects, and for the good and benefit of all the neighbors adioining, and strangers passing these narrow seas. Finallie, it hath pleased our most noble queene Elisabeth to undertake it, who in all good actions and necessarie works, for the benefit of the realme, & commonwealth of England, hath bene so liberall, carefull, and prouident, as thereby hir glorie and renowne is spread over all the face of the earth, and reacheth vnto heauen, where the king of kings sitteth, and heareth the praises and prayers, not onelie of hir owne people, but of all christians living in hir behalfe, for whose good (it seemeth) she was brought forth and preserved in this world.

And now (I saie) for so much as hir highnesse hath

at this present time taken order for the building of a new haven in this place, and boundlesse imployed great summes of monie vpon the same (being begun with more probability, iudgement, and circumspection, and accompanied with better successe than euer any of hir highnesse predecessors haue heretofore had in this case; wherein the most difficult and dangerous worke is already accomplished, so as there is now and euer hereafter will be a verie good haven, except

The pens at
Douer well
in vntime a
haven there
for euer.

extreme negligence be used in maintaining the same. I thought it a most necessarie matter to be here recorded, to hir maiesties perpetuall fame, and partly also to give light and encouragement to hir successors in the goouern of England, to attempt and undertake, and the better to execute and accomplish the like famous enterprise. For actions of far lesse importance are made memorable by historiographers, as in euery chronicle maie appeare.

In this discourse I thought meet to passe over the antiquitie of the towne and port of Douer, with the liberties thereof; which together with the ruines and misfortunes of fire are to be found extant in the perambulation of Bent, written by William Lambard esquier. Of Douer castell somewhat might here be said, but for so much as maister Lambard hath so largely discoursed the reipon in his booke, which is likelie to remaine of continuance, I will make bold with the reader to referre him thereto; and onelie giue this note (to wit) that whereas he toucheth complaineth of the miserable ruines thereof; it hath pleased hir maiestie (in respect of the necessarie maintenance of the same) to bestow more charge of late in repairing and redressing of it, than hath bene spent thereabouts (as it seemeth) since the first building thereof, whether the same were done by Julius Cesar the Romane emperor, or by Arminius then king of the Britains (king Edward the fourth onelie excepted) who (as Iohn Roile reporteth) did thoughtlie repaire it, bestowing thereon 10000 pounds, inasmuch as it is now reduced to be a peece of great force and importance, and verie beautifull to behold. Whereto the honorable disposition of the lord Burghleie lord high treasurer of England is to be commended, who was a principall furtherer thereof, and whose forwardnesse in all militarie affaires is had in admiration among all the best soldiers of England, although he himselfe an aged and a most graue counsellor. And in these commendations if I should omit the praises of the honorable lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castell of Douer, it should do him great wrong. For by his prouidence and mediation, together with the diligent traueill and industrie of Richard Barrie esquier, lieutenant of the said castell, that worke is accomplished, to the comfort and benefit of the whole realme. Within the walls wherof is now also raised such a mount at the north side thereof, as thereby the castell is double so strong as before. But omitting all other occasions and matters concerning Douer, I will now passe to my purpose.

In persons.
Cant. the
Douer.

Douer castell
redressed by
queene Elisabeth.

Edward the
fourth bestowed
et ten thousand
pounds
vpon reparations
of Douer castell.

But yet, before I enter into these last works, I must giue you to vnderstand, that the verie situation of the place ministreth encouragement to the erectors, and yeldeth great fauor and occasion to the attempt. For Douer chiesse stand to the sea north and east, the towne being placed at the foot of the northerne clifles, the castle on the top of the easterne clifles, called the Castell Kae: so as there is a naturall baie, through the which from by north south a proper riuier entring into the same baie: a riuer runneth through the haven into the sea. In times past, untill of late yeares, that onelie baie hath serued them for a rode, and at manie times in some sort hath stowed the nanie (but especiallie the silver botes) in good sted. For in a great northerlie and westerlie wind, the ships were

The situation
of Douer har-
bour.

A naturall
rode for ships
at Douer.

J. C. D. J. Drusen

Reasons whie
a harbor at
Douer should
be so benefi-
ciall.

A true com-
mendation of
queene Elisabeth.

The haven of
this decayed,
whereby more
need of a har-
bour at Dower.
Ships lost
for lacke of
sufficient har-
bour at Dower.

The first be-
nefit bestowed
on Dower har-
bour.

Little para-
dise.

In the reigne
of Edward
the Confessor.

Sir John
Thomson
present his sup-
plication.

dyuen from the Dorens and the foreland to repaire
thither, where they might lie safelie untill the wind
blew great from by east or south, & then were they dy-
uen to depart thence vnto the Camber at Kie (which
then was a notable good rode, though now utterly de-
caied) into the Ile of Wight. For in a sudden stau
or storme of wind at southeast, there haue bene seuen
or eight ships broken all to peces in one daie vpon the
said cliftes. To releue and amend the same harbo-
rough, and somewhat to mitigat the foresaid incon-
uenience, there was a round tower builded by one
John Clarke, prest, maister of the maison de Dieu,
about the yeare one thousand five hundred, at the south
west part of the said baie, which serued somewhat to
defend the ships from the rage of the south west wind,
but especiallie to moze the ships which were tied there-
vnto. For manie great ringes were fastened to the
same tower for that purpose, as it maie yet be seene,
sith it standeth there at this houre. And hereby that
part of the baie was made so pleasant, as euer after
that corner hath bene named, and is at this daie cal-
led Little paradise. Neuertheless this was thought
verie insufficient in respect of the place, for the safe-
gard of such a multitude of ships as vsualle late for
harbour in that rode. For besides all strange botes,
which commonlie repaired thither, it appeareth in the
booke of Domesdaie, that Dower armed yearelie at
his proper charges twentie vessels to the sea by the
space of fiftene daies, with one and twentie able men
in ech ship.

Now about the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred fiftie and two, one sir John Thomson Clarke,
parson of the parish of saint James in Dower, being
a man ingenious, and seeing the conuenience and
possibilitie of a good haven to be made in that place,
consulted with the cheefe and best mariners of the
towne. Among whome it was agreed, that humble
suite should be made to the kings maiestie by the state
of the towne, for his gracious fauour and aid toward
the making of a good haven there. And it was also
by them all thought meet, that the said sir John Thom-
son should exhibit their petition to his highnesse: wher-
vnto he agreed, and drew a plot, and prepared a sup-
plication in the name and behalfe of the towne, con-
teining the necessarie causes and reasons, deuises and
instructions, for the erection and building thereof.
But he told them he was poore, and therefore vnable
of his owne proper charges to follow the sute. In
which respect they collected among themselves, and
deliuered vnto him foure pounds ten shillings, which
he accepted, and forthwith repared to the court; where
he so demeaned himselfe, as he had present access to
the king, who heard his sute with great fauor, and
debated with him about the contents of his plot, and
liked so well of his informations that he willed him
to repaire home, and without delaie to returne to his
presence, accompanied with some of the best mari-
ners or seamen of the towne, and so with commen-
dations dismissed him for that time.

When the maisters of the towne vnderstood his gra-
ces pleasure, they immediatlie assembled themselves,
and made choise of Edward Spate, Robert Justice,
Richard Colwich, and John Steward, as the fittest
and skillfullest persons to vse conference, and to be
imploied in that cause, being all mariners of god ex-
perience. These foure and the said sir John Thomson
without further staie resorted to the court, with whom
when the king had communed, he conceiued of the ne-
cessitie of a haven to be there had, and of the probabi-
litie and likelihood of god successe in the enterprise to
be performed according to their suggestion. And be-
cause his maiestie vnderstood the poore estate of the
towne, he granted his gracious aid for the supplie of
their want of monie, deliuering at that time out of

his owne cofers vnto them the summe of five hundred
pounds, wherewith he willed them to make a begin-
ning of the worke. At which time he bestowed on the
said sir John Thomson the maistership of the maison
de Dieu of Dower, which was a hospitall, valued at
one hundred and twentie pounds by the yeare: the
custome and butte of the which house was (as the an-
cient townemen informe me) to intertaine and re-
leue souldiours, and others which came from beyond
the seas, hurt or distressed, who were allowed some
reliefe there, by the space of certeine daies gratis:
which though I find not direclie set downe in record,
yet doe I know assuredlie the same to haue bene put
in execution, wherewith the verte name of the house
is agreeable, and as it were a credible witness. The
king at that time also appointed the said sir John to be
principall surueior of the works, and vnder him the
other foure to be ouersers of the same.

Now am I to giue you to vnderstand, that the dyff
and deuse of the said sir John Thomson was to erect
a huge wall (which he termed by the name of a pierre)
from Arcliffe chapell, being the south west part of the
baie direclie towards the east into the maine sea, a-
bout 131 rods in length: so as by that meanes the har-
bourough was to be garded from the rage of all wea-
ther, comming from the north, northeast, north west,
and south west, and so the entrance onelie at east south
east, whereinto when the ships were once brought,
they might there lie safe in all weather, at the one
side or the other. But the pierre was not finished by
350 foot so far as the foundation thereof (which he cal-
led the Spolehead) was laid, which foundation consi-
sted of great rocks, brought from a place neere hand,
called Hakelisse, or the castell Raie and Ffolkstone.
This pierre was begun on S. Annes daie 1533, and
it was compiled of two rowes of maine posts, & great
piles of five or six & twentie foot long, set at each side
close together, which were let downe and put in cer-
teine holes hewed in the great rocks, laid for that
purpose: but some of those piles were shod with iron,
and dyuen into the maine rocke of chalke, with a
great engine called a ram. These posts and piles were
combined and held together with iron bolts, and were
filled with mightie stones of chalks as also with beach,
and other earth: but the bottome consisted altogether
of great rocks of stone, which if they had not bene
brought thither by a speciall deuse, must needs haue
bene extream chargeable: for manie of them were
of twentie tun a pece, and set vnder.

The practise of this charge is now common, but it
was before that time rare & vnbeknowne in England,
and inuented there by a poore simple man named John
Pyong, who first with a nutshell, after with an eggshell,
& lastlie with a small vessell, made pzoofe what weight
those things could raise & beare in the water; and ha-
uing by that experiment made triall, or at least a pro-
bable coniecture, that stones of great weight might
be raised and carried in the water by greater vessels,
he discovered his experience to such as were officers
in the worke; who presentlie put in practise & execution
the same deuise, & making prouision of great & strong
barrels and pipes of wood, caried them to Ffolkstone,
and at low water fastened therto with chaines such
huge stones as laie on the shore, nere the low water
marke (where the quarrie or mine of those rocks is) so
as when the flood or full sea came, the said vessels with
the stones thereto fastned rose vp & swam. And if the
stone were of such quantitie as two or thre emptie
casks could not lift it vp, then did they ad a barreil or
two more, which would not faile to do it: then did they
drag with small botes the casks & stones therevnto ti-
ed, to the place where they were disposed to sinke them,
& so the worke wherein consisted the greatest difficultie
in appearance, was with most ease and least charge ac-
complished.

Five hundred
pounds giuen
by Henrie the
eight towards
a beginning of
Dower works
The maison
de Dieu of
Dower.

Surueior &
ouersers.

Sir John
Thomson
drew this
plan.

The Spole-
head.

Dower pierre
when it was
taken in hand,
and wherof
it consisted.

Notable
use to carrie
great rocks
by water.

four pence a compassed. And for this deuse the said John Pong had a preele shpend given unto him by the king during his life. With these stones, as also by this means was the greatest worke done, and with great cost and labor these piles were filled up. The chafke and filling thereof being brought from the north pierre, was conuered thither in a great bote called a Saboth, which had nine keeles. There stands yet of the timber worke of the old pierre foure score fot in length, and iouines upon that part of the pierre, where stood a fort named the Blacke bulworke.

Now that which was done on that side, with the helpe of nature at the other two sides made an excellent rooe of harborough for the time it continued, and had maintenance. The king for his part spared no charge, for he spent hereabouts (as I am credibile informed) fiftie thousand pounds, nor yet did forbeare any trauell which might further the worke. For in person he purposed to repaired thither diuerse and sundrie times, being distant from the court fiftie miles at the least: yea his highnes had such care that it should be well performed, that no expert man in water worke, either on this side, or beyond the seas, but (if it might be) he was brought thither, or at the least conferred withall. And during the time of all the worke, the kings cafers seemed to stand wide open. But alas, the kings care and charge, and the continuall trouble and trauell of officers was such about the worke present, that the provision for the future maintenance thereof was bitterlie neglected. For the kings absence at his being at Wollen, his sicknesse at his returne, and finally his death meeting with the nonage of his son king Edward the first, made an end of all this worke: which being once in the state of decaye, there was no reparations nor further proceeding therein, till the time of queene Marie; in the beginning of whose reigne (by the space of two yeares) there was some rumbling thereabout. But the workmen and officers were not well paid; and after had payment, no payment, and so all was given ouer. Sir Anthonie Aucher was treasurer in these works, and manie other inferior officers also there were, but especiallie of clerks.

But now I am to declare vnto you the lamentable ruine and decaye of this worke, before the end and finishing thereof there was brought along the coast, from by Southwell, a marvellous quantitie of brack and botwlder stone, whereof there had bene neuer anye seen before in those parts of that coast, and a great quantitie thereof rested vpon the backe of the pierre, especiallie before the Blacke bulworke, which (so long as it might lie there without further annoiance) was (in appearance) a singular helpe for the strength and preservation of the said worke, but it fell out otherwise. For besides that, that an easterlie great wind would remoue and dize it from that coast, and consequently from the pierre, which then would lie naked as before, untill the south and westerne wind turned it backe againe; the pierre through negligence decaleng especiallie at the Blacke bulworke (where the greatest abundance of brack vsuallie rested) it passed through the decayed places thereof in such measure, as in short time thereby grew a helpe of beach from that point of the pierre to the east part of the baie, butting to the Castell Kae; so as no entrance therein for anye ship remained. And the more that the further point of the pierre decayed and wared shorter, the nearer was the helpe brought vnto the shore: insomuch as if the residue of the pierre had not bene preserved, that helpe would some hane bene brought to the verie towne, and so haue choked by the baie, and bereft all possibilitie of euer hauing a harbor in that place.

The decaye of the pierre grew now more and more, partie (as is said) through want of prouidence and cost to be employed thereupon, and sufficient provision

to mainteine the same: but especiallie through the disorder of the pozer sort of the townemen, who daillie purloined timber, iron, and all that was anye thing worth, which they could pull or catch from the decaying places of the pierre. And now (by means of this helpe) the haven wared worse than euer it was, insomuch as oftentimes a bote that drew but foure fot of water could not enter into the mouth thereof, and sometime none at all: for the baie was altogether shut vp, so as the harborough was become a pent, out of the which nothing could passe out or in, saving the water that soaked through the beach. But the riuer, which issueth out of the towne at a water gate standing at the north east end of the said pent, in continuance of time would make an issue through some part of the same beach into the sea, sometime at one end, sometime at another, sometime verie shallow, and neuer verie deepe; which issue was alwaies their hauens mouth, untill a contrarie wind did stop it by againe, and then they had no entrance at all, untill the riuer had made a new fret, or that they had digged a channell through the beach, which manie times they were dizen to do.

The losse of this haven, and the losse of Calis, which happened about one time, made such an alteration, or rather desolation in and of the towne, as was lamentable and wonderfull to behold. For of a bayne, rich, and populous towne, it presentlie became a poze and desolate village, retaining onelie the name and liberties of the famous port of Douer. Neuer thelesse, the necessitie and expedience of a good haven in that place did still remaine, a conuenient meane also was left for the accomplishment thereof, as it seemed to diuerse which were wise and of good experience: insomuch as that verie matter, which was supposed to be the destruction of the late harborough, should now become a principall helpe and furtherance to a new haven of greater importance, and better securitie than euer it was before. For (as you haue heard) Douer cliffes naturallie defend this baie from all tempests comming from the northeast and northwest; the pierre yet remaining gardeth it from the west and south west winds; and the helpe of beach crossing from the end thereof to the Castell Kae, had made such a close pent, as if anye ships could be conuered therein, they might there rest in great safetie.

The roome within this close baie containeth almost fortie acres, and the riuer (as I haue said) runneth quite through the same immediatlie into the maine sea at south: so as the said pent being surrounded at euerie high water, and lieng almost bare at euerie ebbe, the ouze or brack grew to be fouretene or fiftene fot deepe, the bottome thereof being a maine rocke of chafke: insomuch as a great multitude of ships might be placed there in good securitie, if the entrance could be made good. These things considered by men of good capacitie and experience, sundrie deuises and conceits were exhibited therabouts, whereof some seemed verie probable; and were the rather heard and commended, for that the worke was so necessarie and beneficiall to the commonwealth. And in that respect, it pleased the quenes maiestie to grant to the towne of Douer, towards the repairing of their haven, the free transportation of thirtie thousand quarters of wheat, ten thousand quarters of barley and malt, and foure thousand tun of beere, without paying either custome or impost: which was a gift of no small importance.

For besides great sommes of monie already leuied and imployed vpon the beginning of these works) the licence or patent was sold to a couple of merchants of London named John Bird, and Thomas Wats, after the rate of thre shillings and foure pence for euerie quarter of wheat, and two shillings and eight

Sometime no harborough as all at Douer.

How Douer was made desolat.

That beach which destroyed the pierre helpeth now the haven.

A boundfull gift of queene Elisabeth towards the repairing of Douer haven.

The patent of the quenes gift sold vnto two merchants.

pence

The charge of the pierre.

The kings care for Douer pierre. The kings repaire to Douer.

The cause of the decaye of the pierre.

Officers about the pierre. The ruine of Douer pierre.

A stone called brack or botwlder chosen by Douer haven.

Two causes of the decaye of Douer pierre.

The act of
parliament for
Douer haven
23. Elisab.

Three pence
the tun of
euerie vessell
allowed to-
wards Douer
hauen.
The tunnage
amounted to
1000 pounds
yearelie.
The tenure of
the queens
commission for
Douer hauen.

John True
surueior gene-
rall of Douer
hauen.

The deuise of
John True.

pence for euerie quarter of bartie and malt; and the licence of beere being sold to diuerse others amounted to foure thousand marks at the least. Besides all this, it was enacted in the parlement holden the thre and twentieth yeare of the reigne of hir maiestie, for and in the considerations aforesaid, and for that there was a probable plot contriued by skilfull men, to be performed for a conuenient sum of monie, that for euerie ship, vessell, or crater, whereof anie of hir maiesties subiects were owners, or part-owners, being of the burthen of twentie tuns or bpwards, lading or discharging within this realme, or passing to or fro anie foren countrie, during the space of seuen yerres then next insuing, from fortie daies after the end of the same session of parlement, there should be paid for euerie such bolage by the maister or owner of all such vessells, &c: the summe of thre pence for euerie tun of the burthen of such ship, &c.

Whereby there grew great summes of monie to be yearelie lent toward these works, amounting to one thousand pounds yearelie at the least, and yet the time not expired by two yerres. After this, hir maiestie being carefull that the hauen should with expedition be taken in hand, directed hir letters patents, dated the nine and twentieth daie of March, in the foure and twentieth yeare of hir reigne, to the lord Cobham lord warden of hir cinque ports, &c: Sir Thomas Scot, Sir James Hales knights, Thomas Wotton, Edward Bois, the mayo of the towne of Douer present and to come, Richard Barrie lieutenant of the castell of Douer, Henrie Palmer, Thomas Digs, Thomas Willford, and William Partridge esquires, all which were of the shire, and men of great wisdom and iudgement, and no small travellers in matters concerning the common wealth: some of them marvellous expert in affaires and matters of the seas, some in fortifications, some hauing travelled beyond the seas for experience and conference that waie, and to see the order of foren seaworks and hauens, and none without singular vertues. In which respect they were commissioned and authorized by those presents, to do, and forsee to be done from time to time, all things needfull and requisite to be imploied about the repairing and mending of the said hauen, and as might tend to the furtherance of the said seruice: and to choose officers, and assigne their stipends, and the seuerall fees of all ministers, attendants and clerks needfull for the substantiall, necessarie, speedie, and cheape doing thereof, and therein to set downe particular orders and directions, as might be for the furtherance and accomplishing of the said works most expedient.

Now for the perfoimance hereof, manie plots by sundrie perions were deuised, and first of all one John True was commended, or at the least commended him selfe to the lords of hir maiesties pvtie counsell, to whome he made great shew to be an expert enginor, and by their lordships he was sent to Douer, and presented to be generall surueior of the works, as one in whome they reposed great hope of furthering and finishing the said hauen; whereof he made no doubt, but resolutele promised the speedie execution and accomplishing thereof. His deuise and determination was, to make within the said baie nere to the shelle of beach, a long wall from the water gate (out of which the riuer issueth into the harborough) to the blacke bulwooke, in length two hundred rods. This wall was to be made of excellent stone at Folkestone, the which he framed after a strange and contrarie kind of workmanship. And there was for this purpose already perfectlie helved of the same stone seuen thousand fot, and six thousand fot more was scapled: he bestowed and spent thereabouts one thousand two hundred fourescore

and eight pounds, as appeareth in the accounts of the treasurers for that time being; and yet there was not one stone of his said long wall laid, nor that hit thereto hath come to anie profitable vse. But this wall if it had bene, or rather could haue bene finished, it would haue cost a hundred thousand pounds, and yet would neuer haue serued the turne. For a stone wall is so contrarie to the nature of that sandie foundation, as it can make no good coniunction nor perfect pent.

For the furtherance of his deuise he would haue plucked downe a great part of the old pierre, whereof there was then too little remaining: he detracted the time, for he had ten shillings a daie allowed unto him for his fee, which perhaps he was loth to forgo. He either could or would not render anie reason to the commissioners of his doings and final purpose, but alwaies said he would make them a god hauen, neither would he set downe anie time certeine for the accomplishing thereof. All these matters, with his negligence, delaies, & untowardlinesse of his works, being aduertised to the lords of hir maiesties council, he was dismissed.

After whom, one Ferdinando Poins, who had bene conuersant and acquainted with water works in the low countries, and had dealt much about Wolwich and Crith breaches, offered his seruice for the accomplishing of these works; affirming, that it was an easie matter to bring the same to passe, in such sort as there should come to be a god harborough; refusing not to haue taken the worke to do by great, either by a plot of his owne deuising, or else by the plot agreed on by the commissioners, and allowed by the lords of the council. But this Ferdinando Poins, although he seemed a verie good executioner either of his owne, or another mans deuise concerning such affaires: yet was he verie loth to discouer his order and maner of working, or anie other deuise of his owne, least (as he said) he might be preuented by some other that would undertake to do it by his deuises, better cheape than him selfe could afford it, and so he to lose, and other to gaine the benefit of his inuention. Wherefore, in the end he was content to be imploied anie waie, so as therewithall he might haue monie before hand: for Wolwich works did so sticke in his fingers, as moneie was verie palpable and plausible unto him.

In fine, he undertooke to make certeine groins or knocks, which at the hauens mouth should cause such a depth, as thereby the whole harborough should lie drie at a low water, whereby the works about the walls might the better and more conuenientlie be performed, and the present entrie amended. For it was concluded, that there should be made a perfect pent within the baie, containing in quantitie about sixtene acres, which should be inclosed with a long wall, reaching from aboue the water gate nere to the Castell Kate, extending in length about a hundred and twentie rods alongst within the shelle of beach, directlie towards the end of the pierre, where the blacke bulwooke was placed; and at the end of the said long wall, a crosse wall of length about fortie rods, reaching from that wall directlie crosse to the shore at the northerne cliffe, not far from the townes end. And this should make a perfect pent to containe and reteine the water of the riuer, which (when the fluse standing in the crosse wall should be opened) might be of force to make and mainteine a depth for an entrance or hauens mouth for shipping to come into the roade, which lieth betwixt the maine sea and the pent.

In this worke there appeared great difficultie, and so much the more, in that (for the most part) the place where the wall should stand, was continuallye surrounded

Stone hewed
at Folkestone,
amounting to
1288 pounds.

Infinite
charge to ac-
complish the
stone wall.

John True
had ten shil-
lings a daie
for his fee.

John True
is dismissed.

Ferdinando
Poins.

Poins his
groins.

The pent is
acres.

The length of
the long wall.

The crosse
wall.

The roade for
ships.

One thousand
pounds to
Ferdinando
Poins.

Customer
Smith.

Varietie of
deuises.

rounded, and also the sea did euerie tide ouerflow the same, and besides that annoyance, the crosse wall also must crosse the river, the course whereof could not be directed anie other waie but with extreme charge. The speciall cause whye this harborough was continuallye surrounded, euen at the low water, was for want of a depth at the hauens mouth, which might at an ebbe conueie thense into the sea (more speedlie and abundantlye) all those waters which remained vpon the face of the haven. To the execution hereof (I saie) the said Ferdinando Poins was appointed, and towards his charge therabouts there was first deliuered vnto him one thousand pounds, by force of a warrant sent by the commissioners for Dover haueu, to Thomas Smith of Stanhanger esquire, farmer of hir maiesties customs inwards in the ports of London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southhampton, and Ipswich, with their creeks and members, and the creeke of Woodbridge, being a member of the port of Parmonth, who is neuertheless called by the name of Customer Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patents to collect the said custome, and to yeld account thereof, as other customers vsualle do, hauing for his fee one hundred and thre score pounds yearlye. Now for that he was so trustie and sufficient a person euerie waie, there was committed vnto his charge the receipt of all such summes of monie as were due, either for the aforesaid tunnage, or for the licence of free transportation of corne and here, the which summes as need required, were by him to be deliuered to the tresuro for Dover harborough vpon the counceils direction, and a warrant of fir of the said commissioners hands.

There might be much written in the renowne and commendation of this man, for his great affaires and aduentures, as also for other singular vertues: but for that he yet liueth, and is generallye knowne, it maie with modestie be deferred; yet thus much I haue said of him, for that he was a speciall sauour and furtherer of these works, neuer making delaie of anie payment appointed or required, but rather disbursing great summes of monie out of his owne cofers to set forwarde the same. After the receipt of this thousand pounds, the said F. Poins had 200 more, as it appeareth in those accounts. Trulie, this Ferdinando Poins applied the works industriously, and performed some thing profitable for the building of the harborough, by making two groins, whereby there was a depth made at the hauens mouth. But as it is thought, his worke either was or might haue bene performed with lesse than halfe that monie: which if he had done, I would more willinglye haue published his praises. By the premisses it maie appeare, that the life of the haven consisteth in the pent, and consequentlie in the long wall and crosse wall, without the which no pent could be made, so as wals must be erected. But now the question grew to be how and whereof they should be framed which were to be wrought in the sea, vpon the sand or beach, through a river, &c: and the same wall to withstand the violence and rage of the sea at the one side, and to hold and retein a mightie weight of frech at the other, so as no water might soke through or vnder the same.

Maister True (as yet haue heard) would haue made stone wals verie costlie, and without limitation of time. Maister Ferdinando Poins would haue raised them with ouze and beach shoueled and cast togither without anie more adu. An other would haue made a coffin dam, wherof the cost would haue bene infinite. Pet and Baker, being skilfull shipwrights, with certelne other coparteners, thought a wooden wall most conuenient; and presented to the

commissioners a modelle thereof, denised and framed (for the most part) by one Andreu a carpenter, then seruant to the said Pet: which deuise maister William Burroughs, a verie expert seaman, exceedingly liked and commended. Maister True his deuise was reieted as impossible and intolerable. Maister Poins his workmanship was casie for a plaine man of the countrie to conceiue and performe: but verie few could be perswaded that his wall would be tight enough to make a pent, consisting onlie of stub and beach shoueled together, and lieng so yonuer: for that was his deuise. Neuertheless, sir William Winter (a man verie skilfull and of great experience in sea matters, being sent to Dover by the lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, with maister William Burroughs and others, to surueie and confer about that haven with the said commissioners) vnderstanding Ferdinando Poins had delt in the building of Wolwich Crith marshes, being also willing to do him good, gaue fauourable eare vnto him, as to one that propounded an easie and a cheape platfome, and not much vnprobable in his opinion, whose desire was to haue it well performed, and with as small charge as might be, for that he was the greatest preferrer of that bill in the parlement house, and yelded the best reasons for a haven to be there placed.

At this assemblie were proposed other sundrie mens deuises; namelye, of one Thomas Brooker gentleman, John Stoneham carpenter, Sedwell, &c: and among the rest sir Thomas Scot, being a man carefull for the affaires of his countrie, and therewithall verie perspicuous, being wearied with manie fruitlesse conferences, delates, strange and vntoward deuises, chargeable and baine attempts, and contrarie proceedings; and among other things, hauing had great experience in Romaine marsh matters (the greatest businesse thereof consisteth in making and reparing of wals to defend the same marsh from the inuasion and inundation of the sea) and dailye seeing the nature and effects thereof, weicng also in his mind, that Romaine marsh wals are of greater bulke and force than these need to be, for that they lie more open to the maine sea, and without comparison more subiect to the weight and violent rage thereof; and further knowing that the marsh wals are placed not farre from thense vpon that coast, vpon a foundation in all respects like vnto the same, if not worse (for sometimes they build vpon a verie quicke sand, where one maie thrust downe a pole of a dozen or twentie fot, and not find or feele the bottome) and after he had compared these workes together, perceiuing no impediment whye one rule should not direct two workes of one kind, he conferred with his neighbours of Romaine marsh therein, who allowed and confirmed his deuise, and afterward rebilie attended on him to Dover, there to approue his opinion with their reasons and experience; and not so onelie, but also to undertake and performe what soeuer he had set downe or promised in that behalfe. The residue of the commissioners (hearing and conceiuing sir Thomas Scots reasons, joined and confirmed with experience not far setcht, but ratified by nere neighbours, being persons of god account, which were expert from their childehood in the practise of those kind of workes) inclined greatlye vnto his motion; and the rather, for that they knew him to be such a one as would not seeke for priuat gaines. Howbeit, they which exhibited the wooden worke, could not well conceiue hereof, nor easilie consent herevnto. And no waie was thought by them more fit to preferre their owne worke, than to make some offer to do it by great, which the lords of the coun-

Sir W. Winter sent to Dover to surueie the harbor, &c.

Sir Thomas Scot.

The wals of Romaine marsh subiect to the raging seas.

In the commissioners tyme with sir Thomas Scot, and allowed his deuise.

Seuen inuincible reasons
against the
woodden wall.

cell greatlie desired, as whereby they might vnderstand the bittermost charge and time required for the accomplishing thereof. But the price of the woodden wall grew to be so large (for five thousand and five hundred pounds was the lowest rate of their demand for the long wall onelie) that it was much disliked. For first there was no likelihood or possibilitie that the same should be set fast and immouable where the sub or flecth is fiftene foot deepe at the least, and the maine rocke immediatlie underneath it. Secondlie, if the same could be erected, yet it must in short time be so shaken by reason of the weight of the pent water on the one side at low water, and by the violence of the sea on the other side at the flood, that though the trustworthinesse thereof, it could not continue tight. Thirdlie, the nature of the sand and sub was thought to be so different from the condition of wooden boyds and planks, whereof this wall was to consist, that though there were no weight or weighter that could impech the steele standing thereof, yet there could be no such firme coniunction betwixt them, but that the verie weight of the wall it selfe must needs cause the same to decline to one side or other, whereby water would dyne betwixt, by reason of the thinnesse of the sub or flecth, which could minister no certeine staie thereunto, nor likelihood that the same should so vnite with the wood, as to stand steele, and to make a perfect pent in that place: but to helpe that matter, they meant to haue shored and braced the said timber wall, in such sort as the same should haue staied the whole worke: yet no bracing could (as the best opinion was) haue preuailed to bring that wall to be good or steele. Fourthlie, it was thought that such a wall so placed, would be subiect to more than ordinarie decay, by reason that anie woodworke lieng in water, especiallie when it is sometimes wet and sometimes drie, will in short time rot and disioint: so as if the same could be repaired (whereof there was great doubt made) yet the reparations would be in respect of charge verie intolerable. Fiftlie, the delate of time herein was also disliked, for two yeares being demanded for the accomplishing of that one wall, no time could be promised. Sixtlie, they being demanded whether they had euer sene (either on this side or beyond the seas) anie such wall or worke; they answered, No: but affirmed it to be in their opinions so probable, as they would adventure to undertake it for thirtie pounds the rod, but in what space to finish it they could not saie. Seventhlie, there was required for the building of this wall 7000 tun of timber, which all Kent and Sussex (without vnrrecoverable hurt in depriuation of their timber) was not able to yeld: and the necessarie carriages for such a provision could haue bene by no meanes procured, without the vndoing of the inhabitants, and spoile of the countrie. These causes were of force enough to ouerthrow a woodden wall. The deuise neuertheless deserued commendation.

These matters thus mentioned were afterwards debated before the lords of the counsell, and these reasons with manie others were deliuered vnto their lordships by maister Thomas Digs, the first elected surueior of the works, as from the commissioners. The credit of the parties, who were to undertake this woodden wall, and their reasons preuailed so much, as diuerse noble and wise men grew to conceiue good liking thereof. But the lord treasurer, whose voice and iudgement in all causes of importance hath in all his time worthilie caried the waie, allowed rather of the marsh works; saieing that if he erred therein, as not seeing but hearing the matter in question, he would erre with discretion, as led by the reasons of the commissioners; who had

sene and tried the experience of that kind of worke.

Diuerse liked of Poins his worke, or at the least of his communication: partlie (as it is said) for the cheapnesse supposed, though in deed the contrarie fell out in demand: partlie for the expedition promised, which could neuer haue bene performed: partlie for that he was knowne to be a speciall executioner in Wolwich breaches, being workes defensive against inuasion of waters, as yet vnaccomplished, though no small charges haue bene therein imploied, for the recouerie of two thousand acres of excellent marsh land, lieng tenen miles from London, in the parishes of Plumsted, Crith, &c: lost by a breach made in the wals there with a tempest, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirtie, to the vndoing of manie, but speciallie of sir Edward Boulton knight: partlie also he was hearkened vnto, for that he was reputed to be a good enginior: partlie for his experience in forren works, partlie for his resolutenesse: but especiallie, for that he made a shew of more cunning than he would utter; so as although his deuise for the erection of the wals was smallie reiecte; yet was the matter brought to further conference. For he was commended to the lords of his maiesties priue counsell, and namelie to sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to his highnesse; to whome was hapilie referred the consideration and chiefe direction of all matters concerning these works; wherein he dealt from time to time, with as great care, traueil, and circumspection, as though his owne estate had depended vpon the well proceeding thereof. Whatsoeuer was thought necessarie to be done thereabouts, was alwaies aduertised by the commissioners vnto him, and his opinion and direction required, and he without good conference and probability would enter into no action concerning this matter.

Now therefore he wrote to sir Thomas Scot, requiring him to send by some sufficient person, acquainted & exercised in Konneie marsh works, to satisfie the lords of the counsell in all such doubts as should be objected, speciallie by maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the shipwrights maner of worke, than either of the Konneie marsh works exhibited by sir Thomas Scot, or of Plumsted works propounded by Ferdinando Poins. Wherein sir Francis Walsingham shewed maister Digs his defense, & his owne good liking of the earthen wals; onelie requiring, that sir Thomas Scot would thoroughlie informe himselfe by conference with the marshmen, to answer certeine objections which he there inclosed, sent downe vnto him in writing, concerning the passage of the long wall, and the distance thereof from the thore, the high and tightnes of the same, the conueniencie of the foundation, the manner of stiffe, the time of finishing, the breadth below and at the top, the undertakers thereof, and of their assurance, &c: and lastlie, that some sufficient person should be sent by, to confer in these matters. All which points were so answered by sir Thomas Scot, as sir Francis Walsingham was greatlie satisfieed thereby. Concerning the doing thereof by great, sir Thomas Scots aduise was, that (seeing it was a princes charge) it might rather be performed by daie workers and good ouersers, than by great; wherein no man would adventure, in respect of the quantitie of the charge and difficultie of the works, without certeinie of great gaines. Neuertheless, if it were so set downe by the lords of the priue counsell, that it should be done no other waie but by great; he himselfe would undertake it better cheape than anie other had professed to do it by five hundred marks, and to that effect would

Of Wolwich
and Crith
breaches.

Secretarie
Walsingham
the chiefe
director and
superior of
the works.

After the
creation of
the works
was done.

The lord treasurer
allows resolution.

No dealing
by great, in
matters of
excessive charge
and danger.

Mr Thomas
Scots notes.

Douer pent
finished in
three moneths.

Reinold Scot
and Rafe
Smith exam-
ined by mas-
ter secretarie
about the
wals of the
pent.

Questions
propounded
to Poins and
the Plumsted
men.

would put in verie good and sufficient assurance. Presentlie after the receipt of those letters, sir Thomas Scot sent to the court a kinsman of his, named Reinold Scot, who had bene deputed a surueior of Komneie marsh by the space of four years together; and Reinold Smith, who had bene cleark of Komneie marsh, and a continuall dealer about those wals by the space of thirtie years. These two repasting first to Douer, to consider of the earth, which should serue to make the wals of the pent of Douer haue, and to search where such earth as would serue that turne might most conuenientlie and needest hard be had, with pasture for hordes which should be imploied for carriage thereof, proceeded to the court at Richmond, where they attended on master secretarie Wallingham on the mondaie and tuesday before Easter daie 1583: and after conference had with him, they deliuered vnto him certeine notes in writing from sir Thomas Scot, containing necessarie orders, and recounting the charges, businesse, and offices, &c: incident to the creation of these walles, imitating as nere as time, place, and matter would giue leaue, the maner of Komneie marsh works: wherein he remembred or rather required a perelie assemble of commissioners at Douer in Easter weeke, as is by the lordes of Komneie marsh at Whitluntide, with the election of officers, and set downe the dutie and charge of ech officer, the order of the works, what prouision of stuffe should be made, to wit, of timber, thorne, fagots, nédels, keies, beetels, piles, pasture, earth, with totall summs of all officers fees, of all stuffe and prouision, of all the labourers, and of all the carriages: which estimat was little or nothing differing from the charge as it fell out, saying that where he set it downe that both walles might be finished in two summers, he accomplished them in one quarter of a yere, beyond promise or expectation.

Maister secretarie Wallingham (hauing perused these notes, & sene the maner of the works & rates set downe therein) liked verie well thereof: howbeit he, he firstlie examined the parties aforesaid, how those works could be performed at so low prices, and expectallie, how so manie courts could be prouided without commission, or grieve to the countrie, & euerie court hauing a hordie and a dyuer, and all for twelue pence a day, in a place where pastures are for the most part barren, and hard to be gotten: and both that and all other things, but expectallie beetels extreamie dére. But being satisfied herein by the said Reinold Scot & Reinold Smith, he thought good neuerthelesse to send them two, accompanied with Thomas Digs esquier, and William Burroughs gentleman, to confer with sir William Winter, the said Ferdinando Poins, & the Plumsted men, which were workemen in Woolwich and Crith beaches, who propounded to the said workemen certeine questions at the house of sir William Winter at Tower hill. Wherein they were demanded amongst other things, whether they euer had heretofore made ante wals, whereby water hath bene pent to ante highth, and vpon what foundation or soile they were set, and of what substance their wals were made, and whether they could reuolue such wals if they leaked, or could worke in water: and finalie, what they would aske for a rod doing, and what suerties they could put in for the tightnesse of their worke.

Ferdinando Poins and his Plumsted men answered verie comfortable to cuerie question, they seemed ignorant in nothing, and promised to performe whatsoever was required, saying assurance. But they knew not the order of Komneie marsh works, neither could they possible haue ac-

complished this: for they were onelie god diskers and hodmen, which arts were little pertinent herunto. Maister secretarie being aduertised how Ferdinando Poins and his pioners of Plumsted shewed themselves in this conference, wherein neither their owne disabilitie, nor the difficultie of the worke by themselves was anie thing at all doubted of, thought it not amiss to aduertise the restone of the lordes of the counsell thereof: so as if those works might in such wise be by anie thought possible to be performed, then might the marsh works with much more assurance be trusted vnto; and that did maister Burroughs now verie well conceiue and note: neuerthelesse, it was thought expedient by their lordships, that Poins and his workemen should repaire to Douer to a small conference in those matters; who perchance might be somewhat at the least imploied in those businesses. And therefore maister secretarie sent downe to sir Thomas Scot, that their lordships had receiued the resolution he grew vnto, vpon conference with the marshmen of Komneie, touching the proceeding in the plot of Douer haue, and had both well considered & allowed of the same; and that their lordships also had appointed, that on the tuesday after Easter weeke, maister Burroughs and maister Poins, with certeine marshmen of Plumsted, should be sent downe to meet and confer further with him about the going forwards with the same plot at Douer: at which time such order might be taken and agreed on among the commissioners, for the making of all necessarie prouisions for the same, as should be thought most expedient.

On the ninth daie of Aprill next ensuing, the parties aboue specified came to Douer accordingle, where all the commissioners for that barborough met them, who hauing receiued letters from the lordes of the counsell to set downe a small resolution; after long debating of matters, agreed that Komneie marshmen should undertake the worke; and for the better and more speedie proceeding therein, the commissioners made election of all necessarie officers, and rated their wages in this sort. The treasurer, which was sir James Hales knight, to haue for euerie fiftie pounds receiued and disbursed, sir shillings eight pence, and for his cleark five pounds yearelie. John Smith the expendifor twentie pounds yearelie, his cleark five pounds yearelie. The common cleark twentie marks, and each twoyme man during his attendance eight pence a daie. The generall surueior (that is to saie) maister Digs esquier twentie marks yearelie, which he gaue to Alexander Windge his deputie.

It was there also ordered, that the deputies surueior, the expendifor, and cleark, should take present order for the enlarging of the wates for carriages to passe; for thorne, fagot, beetels, nédels, keies, piles, baun, and carriages for them, before Whitluntide following. These things were committed to their charge; but they were afterwards eased by purueiors appointed for those and other purposes; they hauing more to do other wise than they could well overcome. Hauing now discovered the first & second estate of Douer barborough, euerie mans deuise for the amending, or rather erecting of a new haue in that place, with declaration of his maiesties bountie, and the care of the whole state iointlie and seuerallie in that behalfe: I am to make description of the things performed, and of the maner of the execution thereof, in which thing consisted the difficultie, and (as some thought) the impossibilitie of this enterprise.

First therefore you are to vnderstand, that before a haue could be there erected, there must be made a pent, to containe abundance of water (singing

Mr Thomas
Scots deuise
allowed by the
lordes of the
counsell.

The resolu-
tion at a con-
ference at Do-
uer.

Officers elec-
ted at Douer.

The commoditie of the gent.

ing from the land, which being let out at a lease, should open & mainteine the hauens mouth; the violence wherof should scoure it so, as neither beach, sand, nor stub might there remaine. The working of these wals in the sea and thorough the channell, was the great thing to be brought to passe, as hath bene before said. The discouerie therefore of these workes will not be vnprofitable to posteritie, nor vnneccessarie for the time present. Wherein I will omit all contentions & factions concerning these proceedings, as also all iniurious practises against those workes, whense soeuer they sprang: but I would gladly giue to euery one his due commendation, which cannot be done; because therein I should grow too long. I thought meet also to omit a controuersie rising about the placing of the hauens mouth, excellently disputed betwixt persons of good account.

The question was, whether were most convenient a more readie and speedie entrance in times of danger, when contrarie winds permitted no entrie or abode in anie harbourough, though this entrance were somewhat more shallow, whereby the greatest ships in those cases should be excluded: or a deeper hauens mouth in an other place more convenient for great ships, with a more calme ingresse, and a quieter rode, the hauens mouth somewhat more easterlie, and therefore not so good to enter in to at a south-west wind, which distressed men most in those seas: wherein (I saie) I forbear to repeat the arguments of eck side, and the circumstance of that matter (being now decided and ouerruled) in such sort as I do the works of the pent, the description thereof maie be profitable to all that shall haue to doe either in hauens or great water breaches. For both plumsted & Crith marshes, or anie like breaches by this means doubtlesse maie easilie and most assuredlie be recovered. In the declaration hereof also, the parties which haue deserued commendation or consideration maie perhaps in some sort haue a kind of recompense: for other reward was not looked after, or sought for by the best executioners hereof, with the better sort imployed their trauell with gre at charges, the meaner sort their readie furtherance to their power, the poorer people their labour at a small rate to the preferring and performance of this worke; and all with such forwardnesse and willingness of mind, as the like hath not bene knowne or seene in this age: the beholding whereof would haue amazed anie man vnacquainted with Rome, newe marsh workes, from whence the patternes hereof was fetched, and the officers and chiefe workemen thereof brought by sir Thomas Scot to Douer. These workes were digested and ordered by them, euen as a battell is marshalled by officers of the feld. And trulie it was expedient that good direction should be vsed in this behalfe, for there were to be imployed fise or six hundred courts about a wall of small bredth at one instant, none to be idle or hindered by an other, for the staie of one court a verie little space might be to the workes an incredible hindrance.

The nature and names of the offices and officers hereunto pertaining you haue already heard. For as they were at the first set downe by sir Thomas Scot, so in all respects was it ordered and concluded in that behalfe; sauing that because these workes were so great, and required such expedition, as the expeditio was overcharged with busines, though an expert man trained vp in Rome newe marsh in those affaires, trustie, diligent, and euery waie sufficient: vnto whose office naturallie belonged the purueiance of all necessaries, anie waie appertaining to the maintenance of the wals. There was appointed by the commissioners (as chiefe pur-

uer) a gentleman of good sufficiency named John Beies, by whose countenance and discret dealing men were brought to yeld willinglie anie of their commodities towards the helpe and furtherance of these proceedings for their last values, which was duly answered vnto them, so as no man was sene to complaine of anie iniurie or hard dealing. But when the workes, or rather the workmen grew to be greater and more in number than was expected, (which came to passe by reason of the multitude of courts and workmen, who proffered their seruice so fast, as from the rate of two hundred, which was at the first set downe, they increased to six hundred) all pastures nere the towne being imployed that waie, manie men were content to make their owne provision, conditionallie to be admitted into the workes, inso much as some hired pasture for their working horses seuen or eight miles from Douer, and neuer the lesse came to worke with the first, and continued the whole daie with them that wrought longest. For they came at six of the clocke in the morning, and departed at six of the clocke at night, except extraordinary causes in preventing inconueniences of great and fowle tides caused them to worke longer. Diuers brought thither courts from bestes spaldstone and Seuenoche, being thirtie or forty miles from Douer; and in the end the officers were driuen to put backe and refuse such as made sute to bring courts into the workes: and yet had they for their horse, their court, and their driuer but onelie twelue pence a daie. Which because it seemeth incredible, I thought good to discouer and unfold to the reader in such sort, as he might be resolved and satisfied in the certaintie thereof, and throughlie conceiue not onelie the possibilitie but also the reason of it.

First therefore the time of yeare when that worke was to be done must be considered, which was intended, and by proclamations in certeine market towns notified to haue had beginning the thirtieth of Aprill (when in those parts barlie season is ended) and from that time till haruest or haling time little is to be done in husbandrie; and as soon as haruest should begin, their purpose was to leaue this worke vntill the yere following. So as in this meane time, that is to saie, from Aprill till haruest, the seruants, & speciallie the cattell of farmers are rather chargeable than anie waie gainefull vnto them, and therefore at such a time to raise profit by them is double advantage. Neuer the lesse, he that should make his best commoditie herein, was to looke circumspectlie into the matter, and then might he see that it was requisite to haue two courts: for one boie might driue them both, because whilst the one was driuen, the other was filled, & the same being vnloaden or discharged, he went for the other, leauing that to be filled. This filler was a labourer allowed to euery man which had two courts, for whome the owner of the two courts had ten pence the daie: so as he had for his filler, his driuer, his two horses, and his two courts two shillings and ten pence the daie, which amounteth to seuentene shillings the weeke. He paid out of the same for the bozd of his filler and driuer six shillings weekelie, and so had the owner of cleere weekelie gaine for his two seruants and two horses nine shillings, which must all this while haue lien at his charge.

There were among this number certeine double courts, which had double wages; because they were furnished with two horses in a court, being double in quantitie to the rest, and were speciallie imployed about the cartage of steech, a more weightie mould than either the chalker or the earth. A single court contained in length fise fot, in bredth fise fot, and in depth sixtene inches: wherevnto the expeditio

John Beies
gentleman
chefe pur-
uer.

A horse, a
court, and a
driuer for
twelue pence
the daie.

Woolwich
beach recou-
erable.

Euery de-
gre willing to
set forward
this worke.

Six hun-
dred courts
imployed at
once in these
workes.

John Smith
the expeditio.

The quantitie
of one court or
tumbrell.
looked

laden with murther, as also to the sufferance and indulgence of euery workman and horie, as upon euery default their wages was torted and defalked, as the officers cringed from the works, or some times punished with stocks and other unparformment.

An entrance into this worke was made in the beginning of Aprill, one thousand five hundred foure score and thre, in the first and twentieth yeare of her maiesties reigne, both the courts ouerlie at the crosse wall: & such was the forwardnes thereof, as peried so great a hope & promise of good successe, that from that daie forthward there were continuallie carriages brought (at the rate before set downe) beyond all expectation: in so much as by the 17 of June, there were assembled in those works 542 courts, and almost 1000 workmen. And truely, there consisted so great difficultie in marshalling this multitude (for all were to worke at once, none might staie for other, as the impediment to others worke as without the pattern of former experience the worke could hardly haue bene performed.

Herrie Richard Coatt and William Morris in rats, and the afterward Reginald Smith clerke of Honnorie marly were chiefe directors, and as it were marshalls, as having daile experience in the like works. For in Honnorie marly there are euery yeare commonlie employed at one time about making or mending of some one wall 200 courts at the least, in each court for the most part being two oren, for whom the owners hire sarding in the marly, as they can agree with the landholders, and yet haue had hitherto for their court and dinner but ten pence the daie. And thus together with their manner of working would be wonderfull, famous, and much spoken of throughout England, if the continuance of so manie hundred yeares exercise thereof had not qualified the strangenes and admiration of it. For here, though at Dower it could not be so, because they brought altogether with horsebeasts) the nights sarding preuaileth so much ouer the daies working, that bullocks brought to those works leane and out of flesh, are returned from the works most commonlie in better good plight.

The stuffe carried by these courts for the creation of the walles at Dower, was earth, being of a baselie mould, chalker and flack, whereunto the carriages were severallie imployed, the most number for earth, whereof the greatest part of the wall consisted; the second for chalker, which mingled and beaten together with the earth, did make the same more firme, and was placed in the midst of the wall; the smallest number for flack, which served for the out sides onlie. For the same being beaten with beetles to the sides of the wall, would by and by cleave so fast and close therunto, as thereby the walls were strenghtened; and thereupon also the arming might be set much more firmeite than upon anie other mould. This also preserved the wall from annoiance by rage of waters, almost as well as if they were otherwise armed with thorne and faggot.

There was provided nere to the castell called Arcliffe (whereof Henrie Gunkon esquier, being one that toke speciall care and paines in setting forward that businesse, was then capteine) two acres and a halfe of ground for the provision of earth for the walles: which ground was distant from the crosse wall about twentie score tailors pards, and for the same the owner had ten pounds, and the soile remaining to himselfe, which in short time will recover to be as good as euer it was. At an other place also called Hopespole sole, lieng behind St. James his church, was more earth provided, which was also gathered imployed upon the long wall, as being nearer therunto. Hereof euery court brought commonlie

to the walles in one daie about thre score. The chalker was had from euery place of the cliffrs, being at nether to the wals than the earth, and the flack brought about leuanture or righterne lode a daie. The flack was for the most part had at the west part of the banen in a place called Parsonie. And to these severall sorts of stuffe were severall carriages appointed and disposed, as might most convenientlie serve the turne, and as occasion served for furnishing more and sometimes lesse of each sort of mould was necessarilie imployed. Sometime also the flack was had close at the side of the wals, and therefore fewer carriages imployed that waie.

Now to make a perfect triall of the worke before the daie limited that all the courts should come in, there was an experiment of great importance performed, which was the making of a baie head, & thereby a pent to keepe the water in or out of a pence of the banen called a little paradiis, which place containeth about thre acres and a halfe of ground in great depth, wherein there riseth manie springs. And in the place where this wall or baie head should be made, the ouze & flack was threite foot deepe at the least. Herin also was laid first a pandocke, and afterwards a fuisse of great charge, the streame whereof meeting with the course of the great fuisse increaseth the force thereof to the benefit of the banens mouth.

On the thirtieth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand five hundred eightie and thre, when the courts, which by proclamations made one month before in diuerse market towne) were to come to begin the works, there were more of them prepared and readie furnished for the purpose than were expected. Forbeit, the same was brought to passe by the means of Sir Thomas Scot and other of the commissioners, who brought both their owne and their neighbors carriages, persuading all whom they thought able and meet, to set forward, and give incouragement to the execution of these works. But Honnorie marlymen, and such as knew those works, were they indeed which onlie gave light to others of the true right manner of working, and of the commoditie insuing hereby; & they in effect supplied those works, untill the countrie did for which waite to save themselves, and make profit thereof. But such was the multitude incredible assembled, that (to avoid the difficultie and confusion of so manie courts working together at the beginning, and to doe the better and greater service afterwards) the whole course was altered by Sir Thomas Scot, by whom it was thought most meet to enter into the erection of both walles (to wit, the long wall and crosse wall) together, & to divide the courts into two parts: with whom the said Richard Warrie esquier lieutenant of Dower castell willinglie joined, undertaking the charge or oversight of the long wall, as Sir Thomas Scot did of the crosse wall; and by that means all the workmen & courts did with much more convenientie and speed accomplish their worke.

The crosse wall was of more importance, and the difficultie to make it was greater than of the long wall, for manie respects. First, for that the crosse wall standeth nearer to the maine sea than the long wall, and by that means this worke more violentlie impugned, and sooner interrupted than that of the long wall. Secondlie, they carried the crosse wall through the chanell (a thing verie strange and difficult) and so did they not the long wall. Thirddie, the ouze and flack is deeper under the crosse wall than under the long wall. Fourthlie, the crosse wall was to be made deeper or higher, and broader or wider than the long wall. Fiftlie, the tide was to hinder this worke, by approaching sooner, by rising higher,

At the beginning of the great works at Dower.

Reasons for the difficultie of the crosse wall.

At the first the work was in the hands.

Because the work was in the hands.

It brought to mind a head.

The flack of the wall.

The disposing of the works.

Henrie Gunkon esquier, capteine of Arcliffe castle.

er, and by more violent raging than it did at the other. Sixtie, the weight of the pent water was to lie altogether upon this wall, and consequentlie the water would searce therein more dangerouslie. Seventie, in this wall there was a dufe to be laid, which without great circumspection would haue endangered the whole worke. Adde vnto these, that the crosse wall was more suddenlie undertaken, & of more importance. For vnder sixtene thousand pounds none euer made offer to do it before this time: for the first purpose was to begin with the long wall onlie, or rather a peece thereof, as a worke sufficient to be perfozmed in one summer.

Now if the long wall was thought a worke so difficult, dangerous, costlie, and tedious, what may be thought of the crosse wall. True, had not the other commissioners bene comforted herein by sir Thomas Scot, the impossibilitie presupposed would haue discouraged and ouerthrowne the whole enterprise. But he with god comfort and confidence entered vpon the crosse wall, and maister lieutenant on the long wall: insomuch as the one was called sir Thomas Scots wall, the other maister lieutenants wall. And certeinlie, they might well so be termed, in respect of the paines, care, and costs imploied vpon them by those two gentlemen. Sir Thomas Scot dwelt twelue long kentish miles from Dover, yet did he selde come from his house to the beginning of the worke euerie mondaie morning while the walles were in hand; and from that daie vntill saturday in the evening, when he returned home. He lightlie came first to the walles, and departed with the last: and it behoued him so to do, in as much as by his meanes onelie this manner of worke was undertaken, and all other deuises reiecte. He late in one John Spytwells house, who kept an inn in Dover, called the Greyhound, and there did he and his followers and seruants, together with maister lieutenant and his companie receiue their diet at a deere hand. For although the castell stand within a quarter of a mile of the worke, and as nere to the towne; yet was the lieutenants industrie and charge such, as he or his seruants did neuer lightlie returne home from slue of the clocke in the morning till after supper; but remained alwaies there with sir Thomas Scot, in continuall businesse & extreme charge, not onelie in respect of their owne table, but also in regard of strangers, who came to see them and the workes, whose charges they commonlie defrayed. Besides that, they did (not selde times) bestow rewards bountifullie vpon the poze workmen, who vpon sundrie occasions were brougt to worke longer than the rest, and with more difficultie; for some at some times brougt in danger of life, & oftentimes in the waters by the wall or shoulders. And among the rest (to whom I could rather wish a liberrall recompense than a due praise) there was in these workes a poze man named John Bowle, borne and brougt vp in Kommette marsh, whose dexteritie of hand, fine and excellent inuentions in executing difficult workes, and whose willing mind and painfullnesse for his owne part, with furthering and incouraging of others, ought in some calling to haue bene honored, and in his poze estate should not be forgotten. As touching the residue of the commissioners, they for their parts (if they were in health) did almost daillie visit the workes, with as great care for the good proceedings thereof as was possible.

Sir James Hales was this yeare chosen by the generall voice and consent of the commissioners, and with the god allowance of the lords of the counsell, treasurer for the workes (as sir Thomas Scot was the two yeares precedent) and did not onelie

discharge the office and dutie thereof with commendation and iust account, which amounted almost to fve thousand pounds: but beside his often repaire at other times during the workes, he did continue there by the space of one whole month, while sir Thomas Scot (by meanes of a sickness taken vpon the wals) was absent, and all that time kept a bountifull table, and used great diligence, in continuall oversight and furtherance of the workes, whereof Thomas Digs equier was generall suruicio; commended therunto by the lords of the counsell, who although he made his chiefe abode then at London, yet did he often repaire to the workes, and seruoulie bent himselfe to set forward the same there, being also a carefull sollicitor in that behalfe. Certein of the iurats & chiefe magistrats of the towne, were by two at once daillie assigned to be directors and setters forth of the cariages, and to see the courts well filled: these also did refuse their allowance, being eight pence the daie, and did neuertheless verte diligentlie attend vpon their charge: their names were John Watton, John Garret, William Willlis, Thomas Wobgat, &c.

There were eight men called guiders standing at eight severall stations, or places of most danger, to gaide and helpe the dyuers distressed or troubled with their cattell or courts, and to hasten them forward: for the default of one did make stae of the whole companie, and these had eight pence the daie. There attended also at the wals eight men called bntingers, to lose and vndoe the tackle of euerie court immediatlie before the vnloading or shelling thereof, and were allowed eight pence the daie. There were there eight shellers, which pulled downe the courts as sone as they came to the place where it was needfull to vnlode, and these were chosen of the strongest and nimblest men, having ten pence the daie. There were also eight tingers, whose speciall office was to lift vp the courts immediatlie after they were vnloaden, and to make fast their tackle; for the dyuers hasted forth without making anie stae, otherwile all the companie must haue tarried for them; these had eight pence the daie. The number of the labozers which were to shouell abode and laie euen the earth, chalker, and slech, as sone as it was vnloaden was uncerteine, they had six pence and eight pence the daie. A great manie marshmen were assigned to late the slech vpon the fides of the wals, and were called scauelmen, and had twelue pence the daie. The number of batlemen also were uncerteine, who serued to beat or dyue the slech to the sides of the wals, and to bryake the great stones of chalker laid on the wals; as also to lenell the earth, and to worke it close together, having for their wages eight pence the daie. Spanie marshmen also were appointed to arme the sides of the wals, after they were sleched, & had twelue pence, and some sixtene pence the daie.

The order of arming was in this manner. First beginning at the fot of the wall, they laid downe a row of sagot, through euerie one of the which they dyue a neble or stake about foure fot long, having an eye or hole at the great end. Then do they edder it with thorne and other ppozision for that purpose, and lastlie dyue a keie or wooden wedge (being one fot and a halfe long) through the eye of the neble to kepe downe the edder, which staitt downe the sagot. Also there was an inferiour purueioz for sagot, thorne, needles, keies, &c: who for his horse & himselfe was allowed for euerie daie he travelled two shillings. The clerke of the workes, who kept all the reckonings of the expensioz (through whose hands all the monie passed) he at fve a clocke in the morning, together with the expensioz, called euerie one that wrought that

This worke undertaken and other rected by sir Thomas Scots means.

Howe a notable god workman.

Commissioners.

Treasurer.

Two iurats called directors.

Eight guiders.

Eight bntingers.

Eight shellers.

Eight tingers.

Labozers.

Scauelmen.

Spanies.

The order of arming.

Inferiour purueioz.

Clerke. Expensioz.

The groine
keeper.

The manner
of the wall
scope.

How the wall
was fained
from being
washed.

that daie, and saw euerie court furnished, and reco-
ded all this in his booke, and such as were absent, had
no allowance that daie: if they came late, their wa-
ges was totted at the expeditors good discretion.
There was one Judine appointed to attend vpon
Poins his groine, he was a Dutchman, and more
expert in those kind of water woorkes than Poins
himselfe, his wages was first (I meane in Poins
his time) two shillings a daie, afterwards (to wit)
whilst these woorkes were in hand, and better hol-
dwaie was vsed, he had but foure grotes a daie.
And thus much touching the offices and officers du-
ties.

Euerie court was most commonlie filled ouer
night, and in the morning at six of the clocke they
all approached orderlie to the place where the wall
shoulde be made. The first diuer for god consi-
deration was chosen to be a sufficient and a dili-
gent person, and that court to haue a good gelding:
for as he lead the danse, so must they all follow.
When the first court came nigh to the place where
he shoulde vnlode, one vntinged it, and the diuer pro-
ceeded with his court, either into the ouze or water,
or as nere thereunto as they could; and bringing
his horse about in his returne, when the taile of the
court was turned to the water side, the diuer
plucked downe the lode, as far into the chanel as
he could. The diuer neuer staied, but went forth for
a new lode: the tinger runneth after and pulleth vp
the court, and fasteneth the tackle, and goeth present-
lie with speed to do likewise to another; and so doth
the vntinger. When the whole course of courts (being
about two hundred) were vnloaden, the laborers
with their shouels and beetels plied to make euen
the wall against another course came.

Sometimes they brought a whole daie or two,
and laid downe manie thousand lodes of earth and
chalker, and no increase saue at night of the woorkes,
either in high or length, in so much as manie sup-
posed that the earth was rather washed auaie than
sunke. And in truth, some part thereof was car-
ried auaie with the flood in a rough tide; for all the
water in the haven was manie times discoloured
therewith; especially, untill sir Thomas Scot took
order, that before euerie flood, not onelie each side
of the wall, but the end also shoulde be armed with
fagot; in the morning or after noone (when returne
was made to the woorkes) the end where they were
to proceed, shoulde be vnarmed againe: which needed
not be done to the sides, for they carried the whole
breadth of the wall with them. But in truth, the
weight of the wall, with the continuall passage ther-
vpon, made the whole woorkes to sinke to the berie
rocke; being from the top of the chanel sixtene
foot, and from the face of the water at the flood, al-
most as much more. But in the end, it was a won-
der to see how the multitude of carriages (being
well plied) prevailed, euen ouer the flood: which
though it rose exceeding fast, and was come to the
berie bynke or typermost lane of the wall, a new
course of courts came from time to time and sup-
plied the want; which if it shoulde haue staied a mi-
nut longer, would haue turned to great losse: for
they could haue wrought no longer that tide.

In this manner they proceeded, untill there was
made of the crosse wall about five and twentie rods,
which they brought alwaies (as they went) aboue
the high water marke (otherwise it could neuer
haue bene performed) and so they passed through
the chanel or ruer, and carried the wall beyond the
same three or foure rods, so as the backe water or
chanel had no floue to passe downe into the sea; but
as it rose aboue the flats, and ran auaie before the
end of the wall; wherfore they continuallie dyone it

further and further by lengthening the same. Howe-
be it, by this meanes they brought alwaies in the
water, which was verie discommodious. This ruer
therefore manie men would haue had turned some
other waie; otherwaie it was thought, that this wall
could not haue bene made, the turning whereof
would haue bene diuerse waies inconuenient.
First, for the extreame charge; secondlie, the hauens
mouth would (for want heretof) haue bene
swarued up; thirdlie, Poins his woorkes, which cost
one thousand & two hundred pounds, shoulde haue bin
hereby frustrated; fourthlie, the haven (all that
time) and all passage vnto Douer had bene vtterlis
taken awaie, to the great hinderance and vndoi-
ing of the towncmen there. But sir Thomas Scot, who
imploied his head and mind to seeke all advantages
for the setting forward of this woorkes, and had con-
ceined a perfect plot for the finishing of the same,
caused a cut to be made in the wall, and a small sluie
to be laid in the berie place where the chanel did first
run, which serued (for the time) not onelie to giue
naturall passage to the ruer, and to mainteine the
hauens mouth: but as a byldge also for the courts to
passe ouer the water, to the further end of the wall;
which now by this meanes remained drye and free
from water untill the flood, to the great advantage
and commoditie of the woorkes.

This sluie was composed with two arches, in
length sixtie foot (besides the plates) at each end, in
breadth eight foot, and in depth also eight foot, and the
charge thereof amounted not to aboue one hundred
marks. In truth, the laing of this sluie was a
verie dangerous and difficult peece of woorkes, and
the executioners thereof worthy of commendation,
for with great courage to do the service
they aduentured their liues in more perill than I
can well expresse. Spanie were affoited to behold the
dangerous case of the woorkemen, and diuerse depar-
ted from the place as being loth to see the poore mens
destruction. Wherein the said Reginald Smith, and
the Rounnele marchmen dealt with great dexterit-
ie and courage; when all other almost had giuen it
ouer, persisting in continuall and extreame trauell
thereabouts, by the space of two daies and one night
without intermission.

After the cut was digged thorough the wall, the
sluie was laid by peecemeale, at the direction of him
and the foresaid Richard Coast, William Morris,
and John Bobole, whose hands were as buile also as
anie others in the doing thereof. And as they were
travelling hereabouts, the weight of the wall it
selfe, with the earth cast out of the trench therevnto,
and the multitude of the beholders standing thereon,
made a clift or crase therein, consisting of manie
hundred lodes of earth, which declined towaids the
cut where they wrought to laie the sluie, and was re-
die to fall vpon them all, so as they were faine to se-
taine the side therof with hoopes which they imported
cheefelie with their owne force. Which if they had not
done with great art & labour, by the space of diuerse
hours together, the wall had fallen into the place
where the sluie shoulde haue bene laid, to the destruc-
tion of hundreth people, and to the discomfort of ma-
nie belonging to the woorkes. But these marchmen
neuer gaue ouer, till euerie sticke thereof was laid,
at what time ech man reioiced that meant well to
the woorkes, and diuerse bestowed rewards vpon the
woorkemen, and praise was giuen to God for his fa-
uour shewed in that behalfe.

This woorkes being thus performed, the courts
(which during that time were altogether set to woorkes
at maister lieutenants wall) did now diuide them-
selues againe, and returne to woorkes as before at sir
Thomas Scots wall, and at euerie side wrought
with

The incom-
moditie which
would haue
followed the
diuerding of
the ruer and
other some.

The sluie made
for diuerse
good purposes.

The difficult and
dangerous
woorkes.

Gods blessing
and fauour
shewd to the
workes of Do-
mer.

Dangers
happie ef-
caped.

Boies plate.

The flag of li-
bertie.

with singular diligence & great facilitie. And God so fauoured those workes, as there were not lost in all that summer by meanes of foule weather about thre dates and a halfe, wherein either courts or laborers were put from their worke, and in all those busines not one person staine, and yet almost in euerie acti- on belonging therinto there was imminent dan- ger, as first you heard in the laiens of the Anse. And manie times in digging of chalke, they stood in the cliffe and undermined it, so as sometimes an hundred lode fell downe at once from vnder their feet, and sometimes from about their heads; and yet through Gods goodnes, & their diligent care, all esca- ped without hurt: sauing two persons, vpon whom great chalke rocks & much abundance of earth did fall, and yet were recouered without losse of life or of lim. In the passage also of the courts, if (by chance) either man or boie had fallen downe among- gest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift, that there could be no staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath hapened that waie. And if my selfe haue seene a court loden with earth passe ouer the bellie of sto- mach of the dyuer, and yet he not hurt at all thereby. Spanie courts also being vnloben (for expedition) were dyuen at low waters through the chanel, within the pent, from maister lieutenants wall, whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood came, the chanel did so suddenlie swell, as manie ho- rres with their courts and dyuers which rode in them were ouertaken, or rather ouertwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though therat some toke pleasure. For some- times the boies would strip themselves naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanel, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head and eares: but they knew their horses would swim and carrie them through the streame, which mini- fied to some occasion of laughter and mirth. Fi- nallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and thre, was ve- rie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague that yeare more vniuersallie dispersed through En- gland than in manie yeares before, and that to some verie much subiect therinto, by means of through- fare and common passage, and had bene extremelie distred therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men; yea of some of the in- habitants themselves for that cause: and yet God blessed so the workes, as in this extraordinary and populous assemblie, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection either of townsmen or workmen, which reioyced thither from all the parts of England.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted and commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the dis- quieting or disturbance of the workes, which by that means were the better applied, and with lesse inter- ruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before none, as also at six of the clocke in the evening, there was a flag vniuersallie held up by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower, except the tide or extraordina- rie busines forced the officers to preuent the houre, or to make some small delaie & staie therof. And pre- sentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall shout made by all the workes: and whereoeuer a- nie court was at that instant either emptie or lo- den, there was it left, till one of the clocke after none.

or six of the clocke in the morning, when they retur- ned to their businesse. But by the space of halfe an houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court dyuers entered into a song, whereof al- though the dittie was barbarous, and the note ru- sticall, the matter of no moment, & all but a iest: yet is it not vnworthie of some briefe note of remem- brance; because the tune or rather the noise thereof was extraordinary, and (being deliuered with the continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set downe their dittie, the words whereof were these:

O Harrie hold vp thy hat, 'tis eleuen a clocke, * * *
and a little, little, little, little past:

My bow is broke, I would vnyoke,
my foot is sore, I can worke no more.

This song was made and set in Romaine marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the coming abate of the platers to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor pro- ceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workmen, or diligence of offi- cers, nor provided for with more carefulnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts of due- paie, nor continued with more circumspection of the deuilers and vnderakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort: sauing that vpon the tenen & twentieth of Iulie, being St. James his daie, the verte daie when the crosse wall and the long wall met, and were ioined together, and in ef- fect finished (for both wals were brought about the high water marke, and nothing remained to be done of the same but highthening, which might be done at anie time after) Sir Thomas Scot the principall pil- ler of that worke fell sicke vpon the wals, and was comorted thence in a wagon to his house, where he remained six weeks, more likelie to die than to liue, whose ladie and wife (being a most vertuous and no- ble matrone, & a liuelie paterne of womanhood and sobrietie, the daughter of Sir John Baker knight, and the mother of seuentene children) vied such dili- gent attendance and continuall care for his busi- bands recouerie of helth, as thereby she brought hir selfe into so weake state of bodie, as being great with two children, she fell sicke; and after hir vn- timelie trauell, being deliuered of a sonne and a daughter, she ended hir mortall life.

This sickness of Sir Thomas Scot, and that which fell out therevpon, was no small discomfort to him and all his. And the workmen at Douer made such mone for his sickness, and also for his absence, that euerie street was replenished with sorow and grife, and the people would be comforted with nothing more, nor anie waie be better encouraged to worke lustilie, than to be told that Sir Thomas Scot was well recovered, and would shortly be amongst them againe. And in truth, they translated their barba- rous musicke into a sorowfull song, and in stead of calling to Harrie for their dinner, they called to God for the good health and returne of their best friend Sir Thomas Scot, and that with a generall and continuall outcrie, even in their old accus- tomed tune & time. But the courts proceeded in high- thening the wals, until they were raised about two foot higher than they were on St. James his daie, when the wals met together; so as the crosse wall is ninetie foot broad in the bottome, and about fiftie foot in the top. The long wall is fententie foot in the bot- tome, and almost forty foot in the top, in so much as vpon either wall two courts may meet and passe, or turne without troubling ech other. The length of the

A commendation of them
which
brought
had anie
charge about
Douer workes.

Sir Thomas
Scot fell sicke
in Douer
workes.

The death of
the ladie
Scot.

The breadth,
depth, length,
and charge of
the long and
crosse wall,
with the con-
ting, &c.

crosse

croffe wall is foure rods, the length of the long wall a hundred and twentie rods. The charge of these two walls, with the appurtenances, amounted to two thousand and seauen hundred pounds, as appeareth in the expensitours books. If there were any issue of draining of water vnder the walls, it was soon stopped by the peise of the wall it selfe, which neuer lett sinking till it came to the foundation of the rocke, except (by some oversight of the workemen) some part thereof were set vpon the beach, which should by order haue bene first removed, & in that case they benched it, digging a trench at the foot of that part of the wall, and filling the same with earth, they made it verie tight, and so might any such place be perfected and amended if need should require. But at this houre there leaketh not a drop of water vnder or through any part of the wall that any man may perceiue or see: so as a full pent shrinketh not any whit at all betwixt tide and tide, whereas the allowance of one foot leakage or fall at the least was required of them, which exhibited the plot of the woddren wall, which being measured from the top or face of the high pent diminisheth almost one quarter thereof. And thus betwixt the first of Maie and midst of August, this pent, which was thought impossible to be done in three yeares, was perfectly finished in lesse than three months, and remaineth in so good and sure state, as the longer it standeth, the better and tighter it will be.

A necessarie remedie if water draine vnder the wall

Expedition necessarie and profitable.

The state of the walls.

A sure triall lathie made of the good effect of the pent.

A gate of the fluse broken.

Edward Wotton esquire ambassador into France.

The effect of the pent.

Of the fluse.

If neuer any thing should be added hereunto, this pent by reason of the abundance of water retained therein, and issuing out of the fluse would mainteine a good haue in that place: for the violent course thereof will alwaies open the hauens mouth, and make a fret there, even downe to the rocke, although it be distant from the same threescore rods; in somuch as at this instant there may come in at quarter flood a barke of forty or fiftie tun, and at full sea a ship of three hundred tun and upwards. But when the two luttie heads are once finished (which are now in hand) so as the hauens mouth be perfected, any ship what soeuer may enter in thereat, and remaine within that rode in good safetie. But as at many other times heretofore there hath bene sure triall had of the good effects of this pent, so now in this last moneth of October one thousand five hundred foure score and six, one gate of the fluse being by mischance broken, so as by the space of foure daies there could be no water retained within the pent, to scowle the mouth of the haue, the same was so choked and swarmed vpon with sand and beach in that space, as no bote could enter in, or passe out of the same: in somuch as Edward Wotton esquire, being then at Douer to passe thence in an ambassage from hir maiestie to the French king, was forced to send to Sandwich for a traier, to transport him to Calis, because no bote of Douer lieng within the rode could passe out at the hauens mouth. But as soon as the said gate of the fluse was repaired, even the next tide following, a bessel of three hundred tun might and did easilie passe in and out thereat, one pent of water had so scowled and deepened the same. Whereby it may appeare, that neither the cost bestowed, nor the worke performed, hath bene unprofitable imployed, or vnnecessarie undertaken.

Now you shall vnderstand, that the small fluse which was first made and laied in the croffe wall in such sort, and for such purpose as hath bene declared, was taken vpon after the said walls were finished, and a fluse of far greater charge was made by the aforesaid Peter Bert, who vnderooke to do it by great, and had for the same foure hundred pounds, the laing thereof did cost two hundred pounds more at the least. This fluse containeth in length

fourescore foot, in breadth fiftene foot, in depth thirtene, and hath in it two draw gates. It was one whole moneth in laing, all which time the said lord Cobham made his abode there, and kept a most honorable and collie table, furthering those works not onelie with his continuall presence and countenance, but also with his good direction, and that not at nights, but from morning till night, and from daie to daie, untill the full accomplishing thereof.

And in the meane time sir Francis Walsingham hir maiesties principall secretarie was not carelessfull of this action, as being the man without whom nothing was done, directing the course, and alwaies looking into the state thereof, and gaue continual life therunto, by prouiding monie for it, whereof when any want approached, he neuer failed to see or rather to send a sure supplie. Since the finishing of these walls and fluses, there hath bene much worke and charge imployed about one of the luttie heads, and beautifying of the harbor, wherin one George Carie of Devonshire esquire, and one John Will an auditor, haue bene the principall directors. But because that worke remaineth as yet vnperfected, the report thereof shall also remaine to be made by others that shall hereafter haue occasion to write of such affairs.

The lord Cobham remaineth at Douer one whole moneth.

Sir Francis Walsingham principall friend to these works.

Of the late works.

At the assises kept at the citie of Excester, the fourteenth daie of March, in the eight and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, before sir Edmund Anderson knight lord chiefe iustice of the common pleas, and sargeant Floredate one of the barons of the exchequer, iustices of the assises in the countie of Devon and Exon, there happened a verie sudden and a strange sicknesse, first amongst the prisoners of the gaole of the castell of Exon, & then dispersed (vpon their triall) amongst sundrie other persons: which was not much unlike to the sicknesse that of late yeares happened at an assise holden at Oxford, before sir Robert Fell knight, lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, and iustice then of that assise; and of which sicknesse he amongst others died. This sicknesse was verie sharpe for the time, & few escaped, which at the first were infected therewith. It was contagious and infectious, but not so violent, as commonlie the pestilence is; neither doth there appeare any outward blec or soze.

The note of John Hooker alias Vowell concerning the sudden and strange sicknesse of late happening in Excester.

The origen and cause thereof diuerse men are of diuerse iudgements. Some did impute it, and were of the mind, that it proceeded from the contagion of the gaole, which by reason of the close aire, and stinkie stinke, the prisoners newlie come out of a fresh aire into the same, are in short time for the most part infected therewith; and this is commonlie called the gaole sicknesse, and many die thereof. Some did impute it to certeine poxe portingals, then prisoners in the said gaole. For not long before, one Barnard Drake esquire (afterwards dubbed knight) had bene at the seas, and meeting with certeine portingals, come from New found land, and laden with fish, he took them as a good prize, and brought them into Dartmouth haue in England; and from thence they were sent, being in number about eight and thirtie persons, unto the gaole of the castell of Exon, and there were cast into the deepe pit and sinking dungeon.

The origines cause of this infection whereto imputed.

Barnard Drake esquire.

These men had bene before a long time at the seas, and had no change of apparell, nor laie in bed, and now lieng vpon the ground without succor or reliefe, were some infected; and all for the most part were sicke, and some of them died, and some one of them was distracted: and this sicknesse verie soon after dispersed it selfe among all the residue of the prisoners in the gaole; of which disease many of them

The mischance of nassie apparel.

them died, but all brought to great extremitie, and verie hardlie escaped. These men, when they were to be brought before the foresaid iustices for their trial, manie of them were so weake and sicke, that they were not able to go nor stand; but were caried from the gaole to the place of iudgement, some upon handbarrowes, and some betwene men leading them, and so brought to the place of iustice.

The sight of these mens miserable and pittifull cases, being thought (and more like) to be hunger starued than with sicknesse diseased, moued manie a mans hart to behold and loke vpon them; but none pittied them more than the lord iustices themselves, and especiallie the lord chiefe iustice himselfe; who vpon this occasion toke a better order for keeping all prisoners thenesforth in the gaole, and for the more often trials: which was now appointed to be quarterlie kept at euerie quarter sessions, and not to be possed anye more ouer, as in times past vntill the assises. These prisoners thus brought from out of the gaole to the iudgement place, after that they had bene staied, and paused a while in the open aier, and somewhat refreshed therewith, they were brought into the house, in the one end of the hall nere to the iudges seat, and which is the ordinarie and accustomed place where they doe stand to their trials and arremgements.

And howsoeuer the matter fell out, and by what occasion it happened, an infection followed vpon manie and a great number of such as were there in the court, and especiallie vpon such as were nere to them were soonest infected. And albeit the infection was not then perceiued, because euerie man departed (as he thought) in as good health as he came thither: yet the same by little and little so crept into such, as vpon whom the infection was seignoned, that after a few daies, and at their home comming to their owne houses, they felt the violence of this pestilent sicknesse: wherein more died that were infected, than escaped. And besides the prisoners, manie there were of good account, and of all other degrees, which died thereof: as by name sargeant Floze, daie who then was the iudge of those trials vpon the prisoners, sir John Chichester, sir Arthur Ballet, and sir Barnard Drake knights; Thomas Carew of Yacombe, Robert Carie of Cloudeleigh, John Forster of Wood, John Waldron of Bradfeld, and Thomas Widdons esquires, and iustices of the peace.

The losse of euerie of them was verie great to the commonwealth of that prouince and countrie: but none more lamented than these two knights, sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Ballet, who albeit they were but yong in yeares, yet ancient in wisdom, vpright in iudgement, and zealous in the ministration of iustice. Likewise Robert Carie, a gentleman stricken in yeares, and a man of great experience, knowledge, and learning: he had bene a student of the common lawes of the realme at the temple, and verie well learned both therein, and vniuersallie sene in all good letters: an eloquent man of his spech, effectually in deliuerie, deepe in iudgement, vpright in iustice, and considerat in all his doings. The more worthie were these personages, the greater losse was their deaths to the whole commonwealth of that countrie. Of the plebeian and common people died verie manie, and especiallie constables, reueues, and tithing men, and such as were iurors, and namelie one iurie of twelue, of which there died eleven.

This sicknesse was disperfed through out all the whole shire, and at the writing herof in the fine of October, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, it is not altogether extinguished. It resteth for the

most part about fouretene daies and vpwards by a secret infection, before it brake out into his force and violence. At the first comming, it made the people afraid and dismayed, manie men then pretending rather than performing the amendement of life. So long as the plague was hot and feruent, so long euerie man was holie and repentant: but with the slaking of the one, followed the forgetfulness of the other; euen as it is with a companie of sheeld chil- dren, who so long as the rod is ouer the head, so long feare of correction frameth them to aptnesse, confor- mitie, and obedience.

In the chronicles of Ireland, vpon occasion of service in the highest office there, mention was made here and there of sir Henrie Sidneie his sayings and doings, where promise did passe (by means of discourfing his death) that the reader was to looke for a full declaration of his life and death in the chronicles of England, as course of time should giue direction. Now therefore hauing entred into the eight and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties grations gouernment, and the yeare of Christ 1586, the time most fitte openeth a readie waie into the historie concerning that nobleman, penned by one that could not be ignorant of his affaires, considering the neerenesse and necessarinesse of his seruice, and therefore as a truth to be receiued.

This right famous, renowned, worthy, vertuous and herofall knight, by father and mother verie noble descended, was from his infancie bred and brought up in the princes court, and in neerenesse to his person used familiarlie euen as a companion, and manie times a bedfellow. After that by course of nature and lawfull descent, this yong prince was inuested in the kingdome and imperfall crowne, he advanced this gallant noble gentleman (partlie as it seemed for the singular loue and entire affection he formerlie bare him) to be a principall gentleman of his priue chamber. For he was then reputed for comeliness of person, gallantnesse & liuelinesse of spirit, vertue, qualitie, besutie, & god composition of bodie, the onlie od man & paragon of the court. And from time to time this god and most godlie king held such delight in his pleasant, modest, and sweet conuersation and companie, as he would sildome neuer giue him leaue to be absent from him, till his last byeth that he departed this life in his armes at Greenwich. Such exceeding expectation & hope was conceived of this honorable gentleman in his yonger yeares, as he was speciallie chosen and sent ambassador to Henrie the first then French king, concerning matter verie important, being at that time not fullie one and twentie yeares old, and performed his charge with that singular commendation, wisdom, spirit and dexteritie, as at sundrie times not long after, he was employed in ambassage both in France & Scotland, yea sometime twise in one yere.

He was foure severall times lord iustice of Ireland, and thre times by speciall appointment and commission sent deputie out of England: at each which severall time, he by his wisdom and god gouernment appeased and suppressed a great and an actual rebellion, the seeds whereof were for the most part sown and the fire kindled (though smothered and cunninglie hid and couered) before his comming, or in the time of his absence. In his first deputiation he suppressed the rebellion of Shane O'Neill, and floured the top of the castell of Dublin with the archbishops head. In his second he suppressed the most dangerous insurrection begun and long continued by some of the Butlers. In the thied the commotion of the erle of Clanricard, & his two gracelesse hope- lost sonnes Shane and Wlike Bourke,

The assise at Exeter appointed to be quarterlie kept.

This sicknes was contagious & mortall.

Principall men that died of that infection.

Sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Ballet demoted and commended.

Eleuen of the iurie with other officers die of this sicknesse.

Education giueth men to God, &c.

An introduction to the historie call remembrance of the Sidneie, the father and the sonne, &c.

The note of Edmund Molineux touching sir Henrie Sidneies life and death. His education in his youth.

His commendment in ambassage.

Four times lord iustice, thre lord deputie of Ireland.

He suppressed by force and policie thre actual rebellions.

He remeined
and put in ex-
ecution the
lawes for the
abolishing of
coine and li-
berie.

He deuised the
planting of
presidents in
the remoter
prouinces.

He deuised the
lawes for the
distribution of
the Irish cost-
mes into thire
ground.

He increased
the reuenues
ten thousand
pounds perle.

His buildings
fortifications,
and other ne-
cessarie works
for the benefit
and good of the
countrie.

Immediatlie after his first arrivall deputie, he caused the old statutes and ordinances for the abolishing of coine and liberie (the ancient festering soze and creeping canker of that countrie and commonwealth) to be reuined and put in due execution, against sundrie persons of calling and note, who were therewithall sharplie touched, whereupon followed a long time after great good to the countrie, and a spedic reliefe to the poze oppressed people of that realme. He deuised that the remoter prouinces should be gouerned by presidents, after the imitation of the marches of Wales, from whence he took his patterne, being himselfe at that time president, holding opinion that there could be neither better nor a more expedit and easie means to reforme and reduce that barbarous countrie to perfect obedience and ciuilitie, than planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces, to the end vniuersall iustice might be currant amongst them, whereby the poze might be deliuered from the wonted erasions and tyrannies of the lords and great ones (by whom they were daile spoiled and oppressed) and tast the sweet benefits and pleasant fruits of peace and quietnesse, the onelic singular commoditie, and the most happie blessing of wise, politike, and discret gouernement.

He both first deuised, and consequentlie prudentlie executed, the plot for the diuision and distribution of the Irish countries into thire ground, where by insued the currencie of his maiesties wit, which before that time was either not knowne, or at least neuer vsed amongst them. He in his gouernment advanced and increased the reuenues of the crowne by waie of custome, impossi vpon wines, compositions with the Irishie for rent and seruice, and other direct and commendable means, as out of casualties creating rents certeine, ten thousand pounds peare, lie. And by good deuise and policie he had both intended, and would haue brought to passe and performed a farre greater increase, if enuie, spite, and malice of that unhappie countrie had not crossed him, and opposed themselves all that they could, by purse or credit against his honorable, worthie, and commendable seruices & desseins: an example of rare note to be duellie followed, and carefullie executed by his successors, that Ireland may in thort time be reduced to beare Irelands charges, and made both honorable and profitable to the crowne (as were to be wished.) He repaired the castell of Dublin, being vsed a long time before as a ruinous, vnleane, and filthie place, of no reckoning and accompt, stozed onlie with mechanicall persons, and some of worse sort (the constable and his familie excepted) and left the same a convenient and fit house for the gouernour to lie in, to which vse it now serueth and is imployed.

He builded the brydge of Athelon ouer the riuer of Shenin, arched it with masonrie and free stone, strong wall and battlement, and made it of that strength, together with that spaciousnesse and bzedth, as two carts may (in maner) meet afront. By building of which brydge ouer so swift & great a streame, the passage was set open and made free out of the pale into Conaught, which before (by reason of the strenablenesse of the water) was not passable, which daunted and appalled the rebels and traitors more, and kept them in greater awe and due obedience, than anie deuise or policie before had done, or other plot lightlie could then do. He likewise began the walling and fortifying of the towne of Carickfergus in Ulster, reediffing of the towne of Athenrie in Conaught, the strengthening of Athelon with gates and other fortifications, the foundation and plot of the brydge of Caterlagh, and made a strong goale at Spolingar, and walled the same a

boat with stone, to imprison rebels, threnes, and other malefactors. And likewise he begun manie other needfull and necessarie works in sundrie other places which tended to the great furtherance and advancement of seruice, but he left them *Quasi opera inchoata*: for he being called awate so soone, time would not permit and allow him to finishe and fullie to end them, or (it may be) by fatall appointment the time is not yet come the countrie deserueth so great a god and benefit of Gods eternall blessing.

He found his maiesties records laid as it were in an open place, whither anie man (that boughsated his paines) might come that would, not defended, but subiect to wind, raine, and all kind of weathier, and so in a sort neglected, that they serued now and then (as I haue by good men and good meanes crediblie heard reported) in stead of better litter to rub horses heels, which he with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the castell of Dublin, well trimmed and boarded with a chimneie in the roome, where neither by the moisture of the wals, nor vnseasonablenesse of the weathier, nor other meanes they could be subiect to harme. He prepared fit & convenient places and severall diuisions to late them apart, according to their severall natures, and appointed one of discretion and skill to looke to them, who also for his better incoragement was assigned a convenient fee for his labor. He also caused the statutes, policies, and ordinances of that realme, which late hid and not knowen to manie (though not destroyed but kept in safetie) to be searched, surueied, and ouer viewed, by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could find or come by in that realme. giuing them in expresse charge to peruse and read all, and to collect such and so manie of them as they should in their discretions iudge and discern to be expedient and necessarie to be published and knowen, to the end the same might be imprinted, as afterward they were, that no man thenforth might pretend ignorance in the lawes, statutes, & ordinances of his owne countrie where he was borne, which enerie man by our lawes is bound to know. And because he both saw and by experience found what defect grew in the administration of iustice, by reason of kindred, affinity, corruption, parcialitie, as other wise, he deuised, and earnestlie sought to haue Englishmen sent ouer to supplie the chiefe places of iustice. And for the better increase of his maiesties reuenue and profit, he praied the like to serue in the rooms of his highnesse attornies generall and sollicitors.

No man had a greater desire to aduance the publicke enerie waie than he had, and in opinion greatly magnified & esteemed all them that were of that mind: for he would manie times saie, that those were things memorabile, of perpetuities, fame, and last, where all priuat things died and perished with their priuat persons. Wherefoener he was bestowed to serue, he had such a rare gift, gallant courtlie behauior, and comelinesse of person, as he gained the hearts of manie, and such vniuersall liking and louing of all sorts of people toward him, as they were ever desirous and neuer wearie of him; but speciall sute commonlie made of the grauest, best, and wisest sort amongst them, when he was reuoked to haue him returne and continue againe amongst them. He was (as best became him) verie aduised, circumspect, and carefull in the seruice of the state, not onlie setting apart, but in a sort neglecting all busines of his owne, in respect of his charge. He was a perfect orator by nature, hauing such readinesse and facility of speach, flowing eloquence, sweet deliuerie, and passing memorie (for he seldom or neuer forgot anie thing he either read or heard) as he was spect

He built convenient
rooms for the keeping
and preservation
of the records which
before were
neglected.

He caused the
statutes of
Ireland to be
imprinted which
before were
published.

He procured
some English-
men to be sent
ouer, for the
better admini-
stration of
iustice.

A great number
of all
publike
works.
The great
loue he got
in all places
where he
serued.

His carefull-
nesse in the
seruice of the
state.

allie noted a most rare man of all that did beare him. Such ample instructions he would giue for the framing and writing of his letters, or anie other thing he committed to be conceived and put downe in writing, and dispose the same in so good order and fine method, as a verie simple man, if he retained and remembred but a part of that he said and deliuered, might supplie himselfe with matter inough to the purpose to write of.

Verie expert
and able he
was of a bad
clerke in time
to frame a good
secretarie.

And when by occasion he happened vpon some dull conceived spirited fellow (as Ireland and Wales now and then beed some such) to whome he had giuen instructions to write, who afterwards brought him the same to signe, not couched in so; as he liked or would haue it; his temperance, courtesie, and discreet modestie was such, as he would neuer shew choler and impatience, rent the paper in peeces, or publike disgrace the writer, but bid him not be discouraged for that fault: he could giue him the like instructions againe he gaue him before, but willed him then to marke and remember them better. At each seuerall time he was sent deputie into Ireland, he was by occasion, and as time fell out, furnished with a new secretarie. The first was master Edward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of his maiesties counsell in Ireland. The second master Edmund Tremaine, who after was preferred to be a clerke to his maiesties counsell on his highnesse person attendant. The third (who although it was thought of manie, who were in that case well able to iudge) neither in paine, desert, birth, nor breeding was much inferior to the other two that were before him: yet in fortune, reward, or other recompense so far behind them, as this noble gentleman (who trulie honored vertue) master to them all three, would manie times in so; lament, and depelie be-mone to his god friends, commending highlie this mans paine and diligence, attributing his hard hap to his owne mishap, the time so serued he could not do him good, which manie times & by sundrie means he had earnestlie attempted to do; affirming often in solemne and earnest protestation as well to him as others, that it grieved him not a little, his fortune was so bad, to come to him now in the declination and wane of the mone: for he was the sole onelie man he had imploied about him in that necessitie and credit of seruice, wherein he had used him, that euer had quailed vnder his hands (for that was the terme he used) howbeit, he well hoped time or some good man (in respect his seruice was publike and not priuat) would repaire that then he could not do. For he deemed the man right worthy regard and consideration, that had serued him so long (and that in his great and roiall seruices, in so painefull and toilsome a place) without anie great wages, fee, or other intertainment growing to him in perpetuall or other waies; which was either burthenous to his purse, or proceeding by or from him by anie other degree, to the gentlemen's benefit, increase of credit, or further advancement, in recompense of his long seruice.

Of great fact
lie in dis-
patch of com-
mon causes.

He had both a speciall care & likewise a singular gift in dispatch of common causes, and the people in like manner had a passing maruelous desire to be heard & dispatched by him. Therefore as well in part to satisfie their humors and affections, as more completely to performe the due and full measure of his charge (which was to heare and helpe all as nere as he could) he applied himselfe greatly thereto, and would spare no paines, but indure maruelous toile and travell to rid and dispatch auaile factors: which he could do with such dexteritie and wonderfull facility, as the same might seeme no wearinesse and tediousnesse at all to him (that was halfe a hell to some others) but rather to be reckoned a kind of re-

creation and pastime. He made manie beholding vnto him, for he (as much as late in him) did benefit manie, and had more than an ordinarie desire to do for all his friends and faithfull followers; and so carefully, earnestlie, and painefullie he would travell to aduance their particular futes, were it sometimes to speake to his maiestie his selfe, or to the bodie of his graue and honorable counsell, or to anie priuat counsellor apart, as though he had purposed to follow his owne most weightie causes.

And as he was a most deere, kind, tender, and loving father to his children (so none could loue and esteeme his children more than he did) and noting in them great minds and haucie courages, which drew them by degrees to excess in expence, and more than an ordinarie liberalitie, he would sometime fatherlie aduise them thus; that if they meant to liue in order, they should euer behold those sonnes, & seldome thinke whose nephues they were: so he was an affable, gentle, courteous, constant, and honorable master to his seruants. For he would often saie, it was an easie matter for them to keepe him, but hard to recouer his loue and fauour, if they had once lost him. And when anie of his noble and most loving friends would commend him greatlie (as manie times they would) that he made much of his old seruants (for few that came to him euer went from him, but such as were first aduanced by him to better preferment) he would answer pleasantlie after his wonted mirth; Lord I giue thee thanks, that of those thou gauest me I haue not lost one. He was maruelous affable and courteous of nature, of easie access, and pleasantlie familiar with anie that had occasion to repaire vnto him, & strict and precise in the obseruation of god order. For he would seldome breake it in anie respect, but vpon euident, knowne, and most iust cause, or when he was overruled (as sometimes he was) by such as had souereigne power to direct and command him. Extraordinarie courses he alwaies utterly disliked, especiallie when order was perturbed, or iustice hindered, whereby the common societie of mans life is onelie preserved and maintained; which two things speciallie purchased him such vniuersall goodwill euertie where (and namelie amongst the officers of his maiesties most honorable household, with whome he would manie times be familiarlie conuersant) as they haue often wished he might haue bene honored with a white staffe, to haue bozne office with authoritie amongst them.

A tender fa-
ther to his
children and a
loving master
to his ser-
uants.

Softest homini
asque in agro vi-
tam agenti opinio
instituentia
est.
He was in-
tirelly beloued
of the officers
of his mai-
ties household.

His nature was so tempered with modestie, pietie and patience, as he seldome shewed heat or choler, how graxious so euer the offense was which was giuen him. He was a fast friend where he professed friendship, and no reuengefull so when he was offended; & hardlie would he be removed in friendship from his friend or follower, but vpon most iust, certaine, and knowne cause, which he could not smulther, and would not hide from the partie. I haue manie times heard him saie, and by occasion haue seene the same written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed knight (by that noble and vertuous prince king Edward) the selfe same daie Sir William Cecil (then principall secretarie, now lord treasurer of England) was, by meanes therof and that Sir William Cecil was (yea euen in those daies) esteemed a most rare man, both for sundrie and singular gifts of nature, learning, wisdom, and integrity: and partly by the friendlie god offices of that true paterne of humanitie and courtesie, Sir John Cheke, then scholemaster to the king (a cholle deare friend to them both) that there began such an entrie of acquaintance, knowledge, loue, mutuall goodwill, and intire friendship betwixt them, as continued alwaies

He was du-
bed knight the
same daie Sir
William Cecil
was.

steadfast, firme, and unvariable after till his dying
daye. A matter of p^{ro}uident it were and intollerable
troublinge to particular in ample manner the rare
qualities of his bodie and mind: wherefore the world
glan^{ti}nglie runneth out, as loth to abridge his be-
serued peace to liberalitie. This noble man was for-
tunat in war, and no lesse happy in peace, passing
well beheard of his folowers. by right iustice, yet
with all inclined to merite. he reuerenced all men of
science, for he would manie times saie, Science
is as to be honoured wherefoer it was to be found:
N^{on enim uisibilem} *gratia*. He omitted not morning &
euening prayer. he was liberal and honorable in ho-
spitalitie. his skill far exceeded other men in know-
ledge and secrets of Ireland, yea of that countrie
birth. The loue and affection the Irishie bare him,
deserue manie of them to comilitie. he was little giuen
to sleepe and ease in the night, for he seldom kept
his bed above six houres. if he were in health neither
after he arose would he take in the daie time anie
kind of repose. He would in his iourneys wearie and
late by most of his companie; nothing offended him
more than ingratitude; in his dealings his word
was his word; fortable he was with his assistants;
he had an intention to haue created certaine nur-
series of learning; his seruice was subiect to the care,
and not to the eis, whereby his vertues manie times
were suppressed; he was deputie of Ireland, and pre-
sident of Wales both at one time.

He died at the
bishops palace
at Worcester.

His death
greatly be-
mored.
His corps
was buried at
Windsor.

The time of
my ladye Sid-
neys death.

This noble knight, graue counsellor, complet gen-
tleman, and most worthe and rare subiect, departed
his life at the bishops palace at Worcester, the six-
tenth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord 1586 being
fiftie and seauen yeares old complet. wanting onlie
one moneth and fiftene daies about foure of the
clocke in the morning, after he had continued seven
daies sicke of a kind of cold paleie, as the physicians
decree of the disease, which happened vnto him (as it
was of manie said, and of mo thought) by reason of
an extreme cold he took vpon the water in his pas-
sage and remoued by barge betwene Schewlie and
Worcester, not long after he had bene purged, and
his bodie not fullie settled, but his paces remaining
still open as it is most like by reason of an extraor-
dinarie looseness which consequentlie followed the ta-
king of his physicks, and could not be stopped; ha-
uing then bene lord president of his maiesties coun-
cell established in the dominion and principalltie of
Wales six and twentie yeares complet, without anie
change or alteration, or absolute transferring the
same or authoritie to anie other in the meane time,
for whose death there was great mone and lamen-
tation. As for his bodie by cause iourneies and short
remoues, it was conueied from Worcester to his
house at Windsor in Kent, verie honourable and
well attended with great traine, ceremonie, and all
other things appertaining to funerall order, honor,
and solemnitie, where he was honorable interred the
one and twentieth daie of June following. He was
before imbowelled, his intrals buried in the beames
chapel in the cathedrall church at Worcester; his
heart brought to London, & buried in the same with
his deare beloved daughter Ambrosia, in the little o-
ratorie he made in the semicollegiat parish church
there, wherein he erected this monument.

The ninth daie of August next following, died the
most noble, worthe, beneficent, and bountious ladye,
the ladye Marie Sidneie, his onlie spouse and most
deere wife, who was eldest daughter vnto that re-
nowned duke John late of Northumberland, and
sister to the right honorable and most worthe the erls
of Warwick and Hereford, most zealous, godlie,
and penitentie, as by the testimonie of some hono-
rable and other graue personages is well auouched,

and was intombed at Windsor, in the same house
with his deare and honorable husband. During the
whole course of her sickness, and speciallie a little be-
fore it pleased almightie God to call her hence to his
mercie, the blessed such godlie speeches, earnest and ef-
fectuall persuasions to all these about her, and vnto
such others as came of frandlie countreie to visit her,
to exhort them to repentance and amendment of
life, and to detest them from all sinne and wickednesse,
as wounded the consciences, and inwardlie pearied
the hearts of manie that heard her. She left behind
them yet liuing most deere pledges, noble and mo-
dest resemblances descended of them, three sonnes,
all forward, martiall, and valorous gentlemen, and
one onlie daughter, matched in marriage vnto the
right honorable Henrie earle of Denbroke, whom
God hath alreadie blessed with godlie, rare, and to-
wardlie issue: sir Philip Sidneie his sonne & heire,
Ad quem bene dicitur gloria & futurum iustitie peruenit, a
gentleman of great hope, and exceeding reputation,
indowed with manie rare gifts, singular vertues,
and other ornaments both of mind and bodie, one ge-
nerallie beloved and esteemed of all men; who mar-
ried in marriage with the daughter and heire of sir
Francis Walsingham knight, his maiesties princi-
pall secretarie, by whom he hath alreadie a godlie
babe, but a daughter.

Sir Philip,
sir Robert and
maister Thomas
Sidneies.

Marie coun-
tess of Den-
broke, William
lord Herbert
of Carleill.

The commen-
dation of Sir
Philip Sidneie
was.

Lord gover-
nor of Wilt-
shire, comman-
der called Sir
Philip.

He surprised
Arel in
Flanders.

This right worthe, and wise renowned knight
sir Philip Sidneie lord gouernor of Wiltshire, ha-
uing spent some time in his maiesties seruice in the
low countries, with great honor, speciall credit, and
estimation; and withall hauing obtained by his ver-
tue, valor, and great policie, such an entrie of entire
god will, trust, and authoritie with the states, as his
counsels and persuasions could much more preuaile
and worke singular effect with them, than anie one
mans could do in anie cause whatsoeuer that hap-
ped to fall in question or debate amongst them: ther-
fore earnestlie following the course he then took in
hand for the advancement of that seruice, and to win
faue (the onlie marke true nobilitie either doth or
ought to leuell at) he imbarked himselfe at Wilt-
shire, accompanied onlie with three thousand footmen;
and bending his course to Arel, which lieth in the
countie of Flanders, bled both such diligence and se-
cretie in this expedition, as he surprised the towne,
before they could haue intelligence of his coming,
without losse or hurt of anie one of his companie.
By means whereof, the forts and scones there nere
abouts adioining, being stricken vpon the sudden in-
to such a feare and amazement, as doubting some
further perils to them intended, than anie at the pre-
sent well appeared; voluntarilie and simple gaue
themselues and their holds into his hands, & yielded
to his disposition and merrie. And so after he had well
restored himselfe and his companie in this towne
he had thus new taken, he departed thence, & remai-
ned in the countreie not farre off, ten or twelue daies
next following, till he had bittelled the same & put in
a garrison, & left monsieur Peron there gouernor.

Now in the meane time of his state, attending
these seruices (and because he would alwaies be oc-
cupied in some honorable action) he brake a duse, for-
ced a trench, and cut out a banke, that made such an
open passage & entrance into the sea, as since it hath
doomed and destroyed the whole countreie (being the
nere now twome into a chanel) the same hauing
bene the best and most fertill soile in those parts, and
far exceeding anie territorie nere thereabouts, to so
great a p^{re}judice and annoiance of the enimie, as by
common & well grounded opinion, neither by duse,
or lightlie anie other waye or guise, that countreie
can possiblie be recovered or regained. And this en-
terpryse was achieved without making head or other
offer

He drowned
the countreie
by making an
entrie into
the sea.

Porteſtante
made by
Hondragon.

Cravelin.

His hurt at
the encounter
nere Jut-
phen.

The date of
the death of
ſir Philip
Sidneie.

Omni virtus
nos ad ſe allic,
facitque ut dili-
gamus eos, in
quibus inſe
videtur, tam en
iusticia & libe-
ralitatis max-
ime efficit.

Thomas
Lancelace con-
dignat puni-
tionem by iudge-
ment of the ho-
norable court
in the Star-
chamber for
counterfeiting
of letters, &c.
I.S.

offer of offense, invasion, or resistance by Hondragon, who was of purpose imployed with sufficient force to defend the countrie, and to haue impeached all these attempts and actions.

Hondragon, his aduise for the seruice intended at Cravelin (dissenting in opinion from others, who were thought the most expert captains and best renowned and sorted souldiours) gaue such a sufficient proofe of his excellent wit, policie, and ripe iudgement; as his onelie act and counsell, with the losse of a verie few of his companie, wrought all their safeties, which otherwise by treacherie had bene most likelie to haue bene intrappd. And so consequentlie going forward in other seruices, at an encounter with the enimie not far from Zutphen, where he that daie most valiantlie serued (for he bare the inuincible mind of an ancient worthy Romane, who euer where he came made account of victorie) he receiued hurt by a musket shot a little about the left knee, which so brake and risted the bone, and so entred the thigh byward towards the bodie, as the bullet could not be found before his bodie was opened. Of which hurt notwithstanding he liued (though in great paine and extreme torment, fir and twentieth daies following, and died the seauententh daie of October betwene two and thre of the clocke in the afternone at Arnem in Gelderland.

He greatlie abounded in sundrie god vertues, which euer, where he came, procured him loue, but chiefe in iustice and liberalitie (a worthy & most speciall note in a gouernour) which gained him hartie loue coupled with fame and honor. For the which especiallie, those vnder his late charge and gouernment so greatlie loued, esteemed, honored, & in a sort adored him when he was aliue; as they made earnest meanes and intreatie to haue his bodie remaine there still with them for memorie when he was dead; and promised that (if they might obtaine it) to erect for him as faire a monument as anie prince had in christendome, yea though the same should cost halfe a tun of gold the building. His bodie was most honourable conueied from Arnem to London, where it remained at the Hinoxies certeine daies, & from thence brought and remoued on the first of Februarie along the streets through Cheapside, with funerall pompe and solemnitie becoming so martiall a gentleman; the ensignes of warre, and pikes trailed vpon the ground, the drums and futes covered with blacke and making a softis sound, with other statelie shewes of mournfull representations; the earle of Leicester with other honorable and worshipfull personages following the dead bodie, which finally was interred in Pauls church of London.]

About this time one Thomas Lancelace, late of Staple inne gentleman, for counterfeiting of false and trecherous letters against his own kinred, containing most traitorous matter against hir maiesties owne person, was iudged in the Starchamber to be carried on horse-backe about Westminster hall with his face to the horse taile, and a paper on his backe declaring his offense; then to be set on the pillorie in the palace at Westminster, and there to haue one of his eares cut off: then to ride in like sort into London, and in Cheapside to be set on the pillorie vpon a market daie: after that to be conueied into Kent, where standing openlie on the pillorie in the place of asse as before, he should lose his other eare; and lastlie be set vpon the pillorie one market daie in Canturburie, and another at Rochester; his offense and punishment in euerie of the said places openlie read and published: which iudiciall sentence was accordingly executed.

On sundae the eight daie of Maie an ambassa-

dor, named Hentie Hamelius, intituled *Cancellarius Germanicus*, arrived at the towre of London. A gentleman he was of goodlie personage, somewhat corpulent, and of sanguine complexion, verie eloquent likewise and learned, not onelie in the knowledge of diuerse tonges, as Latins, French, Italian, and German; but also in sundrie sciences. He came in ambassage from Frederike the second of that name, king of Denmarke, vnto the queens maiestie of England, and arriving (as you haue heard) at the Tower, was honorable receiued of the lord Cobham and other great estates; who conueied him from thence through Towre street into Bishopsgate street; and so to a faire and large house called Crossbies place, where he was well lodged and remained.

The said Hamelius, during the time of his tarriance had attendance done him conuenient for his person, both by water and by land: the queens maiesties barges and seruants imployed about him to & from London, the court then being at Greenwich; wither alwaies when he came, the nobilitie of England failed in no point of courtesie that might be shewed: which he tasted (as he could no lesse) verie acceptable to take. Now being in England, and in the English court, he might (and no doubt did) marke the magnificence of hir maiestie, in all respects admirable. Whereof a notable president was giuen in Whitsonweke; at that time the said ambassador, being at the court, was accompanied with certeine English lords to hir highnesse chappell, and placed not far from hir excellencie, did heare diuine seruice so melodiouslie said and song, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man halfe dead might thereby haue bene quickened. The gentlemen of the chappell with the rest of the quier bending themselves both with skill and zeale, that daie to honour their prince according to their place. The bishop of Salisburie and others distinctlie reading part of diuine seruice, and in presence of all the auditoie doing such obeisance with knee and countenance, as the presence of so gracious a soueraine as they had in their etes did require.

Now when this solemnitie was ended, hir maiestie departed; and so did the ambassador, attended vpon and accompanied vnto the place appointed for dinner, where standing nere vnto a faire window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication, now with one and then with another English lord, as the L. Charles Howard L. Admirall, the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c.) behold the roiall seruice of hir maiestie, verie personable gentlemen thereto sorted, carling couered dishes all of silver and gilt verie beautifull; themselves in beluet and silke suitable in eue respect, and as decentlie made, so decentlie worn; the trumpets sounding, and the drums plaing therevnto: a marvellous delightfome thing to heare, & a passing gallant sight to behold. When dinner was done, the ambassador was made partaker of such courtlie recreations as for that time were fit, wherewith he could not but be pleasantlie conceited; considering that as euerie thing was done with purpose to delight: so he with others must needs be accordingly affected. And as the better sort had their conuenient disports, so were not the ordinarie people excluded from competent pleasure. For vpon a graine verie spacious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with god contentment, there bearebauling & bulbauling (tempered with other merrie disports) were exhibited: whereat it cannot be spoken what pleasure the people toke.

Now the daie being far spent, and the sun in his declination, the pastimes ended, and the actors there

Hentie Hamelius ambassador out of Denmarke.

The Danish ambassador honorable entertained.

The maiestie of the English court.

Hentie Hamelius like in the queens chappell.

The ambassador of Denmarke leeth the roiall seruice of the queene of England.

Recreations and disports for prince and people.

therein treatie; the ambassadoz withdrew vnto his lodging by barge to Crosbies place, where (no doubt) this daies solemnitie was thought vpon, and talked of; if not by him, yet by his traine, and perhaps (as like enough) of both. Now after this, and manie other English courtelles else where, verie bountifullie giuen and taken: the ambassadoz, after the finishing of such affaires as he was put in trust withall, taking his leaue both of the court, citie, and countrie, returned towards Denmarke on the thirtieth daie of Maie next following, whome we will leaue vpon his volage, and touch other matters happening at home.

In this yeare one thousand five hundred foure score and six, and on the fourth daie of June, a commission was directed from the queens maiestie then at Grænewich, tending to the ratification of a firme league of amitie betwene the two mightie princes, Elisabeth queene of England, and James the first of that name king of Scots; vpon certaine causes necessarie and important: the reigne and gouernement of the said princes, happening in so doubtful and dangerous times, wherein the princes were aduising, who will be called catholike, agnising the popes authoritie, by mutuall leagues do knit friendship, so: the rooting vp and throwing out of the true, pure, and sincere religion of the gospel, not onlie out of their owne territories and dominions, but also out of other foreign kingdoms; and thereto haue obliged their faith.

Least they therefore that loue the religion of the gospel, should seme lesse carefull for the defense and supportation thereof, than they which earnestlie intend to mainteine and vphold that of Rome, least it should be ouerthrowne; the said princes for the greater securitie of their persons, vpon whose safetie the safetie of the whole people doth depend, and for the preservation of the true, ancient, and christian religion, which they now professe; haue thought good that a stricter bond of a mutuall and forciall league, than at any time hitherto hath bene agreed vpon betwene their maiesties progenitors, should now be substantiallie concluded. This league was articulated, and commissioners thereto appointed: the right honorable Edward earle of Rutland, (a complet noble man, answerable to the cymon of his name, and verie well deserving the poets report:

nomen virtutibus æquat,

Nec sinit ingenium nobilitate premi)

the lord William Curers, and also Thomas Randolph esquier: who with their traine of attendants came to Berwike the nineteenth of June, where (the ambassadoz of Scotland bring in like sort present) they accomplished the matter, whereto they were commissioned: the articles of the said league in all and euery part sufficientlie confirmed, on the first of Iulie. All which being dispatched, the said earle of Rutland with his traine returned. This ambassage is reported in the historie of Scotland, wherevnto (for the avoiding of tautologie) we refer the reader.

In the moneth of Iulie a verie dangerous conspiracy was discovered, tending to the subuersion of the state and lamentable confusion of all things: wherein as the turbulent spirited did what they could to proceed, so it pleased God the author of peace to intercept them in the plot of their mischeuous deuise, and to ouerthrow them in their owne imagined nets. Ringleaders in this pretended treason were certaine gentlemen and others (of whome hereafter by particular name we will speake) who had waded and ventured so far therein, that vpon the notice thereof (as God will suffer no such attempts to lie long undetected) order was taken for a verie

strict inquirie and search vniuersallie to be made for their apprehension, which was accordingly executed, in so much that the conspirators distressed and succolles were put to verie hard shifts by this inquisition and pursute, and in fine apprehended, to the great reioicing of the citizens of London, diuerslie testified; as with bonfires, making merrie in the streets at square and round tables, singing of psalmes, marching about their fiers with tabbet and pipe, and giuing manie a shott, that the aire rang withall. In so much that the consideration thereof did so worke in hir highnesse, as herevpon (a thing rare in a prince) she directed letters of thanks to the citie, for the manifold testifications of their loue and loialtie: which because they are materiall (as no word nor stile proceeding from so singular a soveraigne, is to fall to the ground vnrecorded) we are in dutie bound trulie to anner them, as we had them under publication. And first a briefe oration of maister James Dalton, one of the counsellors of the citie of London, in the absence of the recorder, as followeth.

The oration of maister James Dalton, &c.

RIGHT worshipfull, my good countrie men and citizens of this most noble citie of London: Since the late hunte and report of a most wicked & traitorous conspiracy, not onlie to take awaie the life of our most gracious soveraigne (whom God grant long to liue and reigne ouer vs) but also to stir vp a generall rebellion throughout the whole realme: the great and vniuersall ioye of you all of this citie, vpon the apprehension of diuers of that most wicked conspiracy of late declared and testified, by manie outward ad and shewes, hath wrought in the queens most excellent maiestie such a gracious contentment; that it hath moued hir highnesse, by hir letters signed with hir owne hand, to signifie vnto my lord maior of this citie & his brethren, hir most noble and princelie acceptation thereof, and that in such sort, as thereby may appeare, that hir highnesse hath not more, no not so much reioiced at the most happie escape of the wicked mischeife intended against hir owne person, as at the ioy which hir louing subjects, & namelie you of this citie of London take at the apprehension of the practicers of that intended treason.

By occasion wherof, hir highnesse brought to a thankfull remembrance, and acknowledging of Gods infinit blessings bestowed on hir, comparable with any prince or creature in the world, no worldly thing more or like accompteth of, than of the heartie loue of hir louing and faithfull subjects manie times, and manie times before now; but especiallie by this our great ioy in this sort, at this time, and vpon this occasion shewed. And that hir exceeding great loue and acceptation of our reioicing maie the more appeare vnto you: it hath pleased hir highnesse in the same letters to declare, that she desireth not longer to liue among vs, than she shall mainteine, continue, nourish, and increase the loue and goodwill of hir subjects towards hir. And this hir highnesse hath willed to be made knowne vnto you all, with this; that she will not faile with all care, and by all good means that appertaine to a christian prince, to seeke the conseruation of you all, so louing and dutifull affected subjects.

This hir maiesties pleasure in part now declared, and more to be made knowne vnto you by hir owne letters, which you shall heare read, my lord maior and his brethren haue required me to declare

A l l l l l g.

unto

His worship
Dorie lord ma-
ior of London,
Rethonic
Ratcliffe, and
Henrie Dzan-
nell Shrifffes.

unto you all, that they do heartlie reioice & thanke God for the happie daie of the good acceptation of this your great ioie; & my lord himselfe hath wil- led me to giue you all heartie thanks in his name; for that in the time of his seruice, your dutifull be- haviours haue gotten to the citie so noble and wor- thie a testimonie of dutie and loialtie, of so noble and worthis a queene. Now, for so much as Gods blessings wonderfullie abound, & one ioie cometh vpon another, let vs not be vnthankfull to God, but acknowledge his goodnesse, and attribute the same (as in deed we ought) to the sincere religion of almighty God, most goodlie established by the queens most excellent maiestie, which hath taught vs to know God aright, our dutie to our soueraigne, and to loue our countrie, and hath made vs dutifull and obedient subiects, reioicing at all good things happening to hir maiestie, hir realme, or to anie in hir noble seruice; the true effects of a true and good religion: whereas the contemners thereof, and immoderat affectors of the Romish religion and super- stitions, being void of the true knowledge of God, haue declined from God, their allegiance to their prince, their loue to their countrie, and haue become inuentors of mischæses, bzuters and spea- ders abroad of false and seditious rumoys, such as ioie at no good thing; but contrariwise reioice at e- uerill euill successe, the badges and marks of their profession, who haue before this, in this realme and in other hir highnesse dominions, stirred vpon rebellion, forren inuasion, and manie times practised the verie death & destruction of the queene hir selfe, the ruine & subuersion of the whole realme; the proper effects of their Romish religion.

We haue beheld all these things, and sene in our daies the ruine and mischæses inuented against others, fall vpon the inuentors them selues; and haue knowne the wicked and violent hands of di- uerse of them, diuerse to kill and murder them- selues, when most traitorouslie they would, and most happilie they could not, flea the lords annointed. As we haue knowne all these things, so God bee thanked, that by a better religion, hauing bene bet- ter taught, we haue bene no partakers of their wic- ked deuises, but haue put to our helping hands, as occasion hath serued; and euer readie to ouerthrow the authors and deniers thereof. And I haue no doubt, but we of this noble citie, who hitherto haue bene alwaies readie, dutifullie and faithfullie to serue hir maiestie vpon all occasions (hir highnesse now so graciouslie accepting onelie of our reioicing at the apprehension of hir enemies, even the least part of the dutie of a good subiect to so good a queene) will be readie euertie one with all that we can make, and with the vttermost aduenture of all our liues, speedilie to be reuenged vpon all such as shall villa- nouslie and traitorouslie attempt or put in vze anie mischæse to hir noble person; and in the meane time will haue a better eye and care to all suspicious and discontented persons, to their sayings and doings, to their false bzutes and reports, to the places and corners of their haunt and resort, to their harborers, companions, aiders and maintainers. God vphold and continue his religion among vs, and increase our zeale therein, which hath made vs so louing and loiall, and so beloued and acceptable subiects to so worthis a prince; and root out that wicked and Ro- mish religion, that hath made so manie dissolall and traitorous subiects; to whome is both odious & irre- some the long life and prosperous reigne of our most noble queene Elisabeth. God confound all such tra- tors, and preserve hir highnesse long to liue and reigne oure vs. ¶ Having thus spoken, the multi- tude all the while no lesse silent than attendant, the

speaker verie reuerentlie opened hir maiesties let- ters, & read the same with a verie distinct and audible voice, as followeth.

To our right trustie and welbeloued,
*the lord maior of our citie of London, and
his brethren the aldermen of
the same.*

Right trustie and welbeloued, we græte you well. Being giuen to vnderstand, how greatlie our god and most louing subiects of that citie, did reioice at the apprehension of certaine diuillish and wicked min- ded subiects of ours, that through the great and singular goodnesse of God haue bene detected, to haue most wickedlie and vnnaturallie conspired, not onelie the taking awaie of our owne life, but also to haue stirred vp (as much as in them laie) a generall rebellion throughout our whole realme: we could not but by our owne letters witnesse vn- to you the great and singular contentment we re- ceived vpon the knowledge thereof; assuring you, that we did not so much reioice at the escape of the in- tended attempt against our owne person, as to see the great ioie our most louing subiects toke at the apprehension of the contriuers thereof: which to make their loue more aparant, they haue (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no out ward shew, that by anie eternall act might witnesse to the world the inward loue and dutifull affection they beare towards vs. And as we haue as great cause with all thankfulness to acknowledge Gods great goodnesse toward vs, through the infinit blessings he laieth vpon vs, as manie as euer prince had; yea rather as euer creature had: yet do we not for anie worlde blessing received from his diuine maiestie, so greatlie acknowledge the same, as in that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subiects, euen from the first beginning of our reigne; to carie as great loue toward vs, as euer subiects carried toward prince, which ought to moue vs (as it doth in veris deed) to seeke with all care, & by all god means that appertaine to a christian prince, the conseruation of so louing and dutifull affected subiects: assuring you, that we desire no longer to liue, than while we maie in the whole course of our gouernment carie our selues in such sort, as may not onelie nourish and continue their loue and good will toward vs, but also increase the same. We thinke meet, that these our letters should be communicated in some generall assemble to our most louing sub- iects the commoners of that citie. Giuen vnder our signet at our castell of Windsoz, the eighteenth daie of August one thousand five hundred foure score and six, in the eight and twentieth yere of our reigne.

But leauing this princelie president of thanke- fulnes to perpetuall record, we will touch the next occurrence, as course of time ministreth occasion. About this time of the yere returned into England sir Francis Wyke knight, a man of rare knowlege in navigation, and verie fortunat in the event of his enterpises, after manie seats of god seruice accom- plished in forren countries, as at Balon, Hispaniola, S. Dominico, Carthagen, &c. to the admiratlon of all people amongst whom he came, and contrarie to the expectation of the Spaniards, who vpon sup- posall of places impregnable grew so confident, that they seemed lightlie to esteeme anie purposed force of the enemy, and therefore doubted no kind of an- noyance. Howbeit, they were as safe as he that hangeth by the leanes of a tree in the end of au- tumne, when as the leanes begin to fall. For they were

His Fran-
Wyke knight
turned into
England
his last bo-
nall.

Hispaniola is
also time called
Ophir.

were so terrified at the sight of sacke and spoile, as
also doubting a total wast by fire and sword, that
they were glad to peels to composition. And here,
because mention is made of Hispaniola, note ye
that it is supposed that Salomon king of Ierusa-
lem had his great riches of gold from hence, and that
his ships sailed to Ophir (the old name as some as-
sume of Hispaniola) by the golfe of Persia, called *Si-
nus Persicus*. As for Sancto Dominico, it is the chiefe
cittie in Hispaniola, reported in historie, as touching
the building, that there is no cittie in Spaine, *Tanto
prestante*, no not Barcelona, that is to be preferred be-
fore it generallie. For the houses are for the most
part of stone, as are they of Barcelona, or of so
strong and well wrought earth, that it maketh a sin-
gular and strong binding.

But leaving description of places, it shall not be
amiss having now touched (though not with conue-
nient dignitie) the last voyage of this singular gentle-
man, to anner in this place a memorie of a former
voyage by him attempted, namelie on the thirteenth
daie of December, in the yere of Christ one thousand
five hundred seuentie & seven: at what time accom-
panied with five tall ships well manned & appointed,
he sailed into the west Indies: & by the same adven-
ture, most luckilie accomplished, eternised his name.
At what time the king of Spoluccas admiring his
order, & astonished at the hearing of the peales of Eng-
lish ordinance, roving like thunder (which he there
at his arrivall balliantlie & liberallie discharged) re-
ceived him right honorable, causing foure gallies
to conduct and bring his ship into the surest har-
bour, and him selfe with his companie to his pre-
sence. In this voyage he discovered a countrie erst
unknowne, which he named *Insula Albion*, where
by his courteous dealing he so allured and wonne the
hearts of the inhabitants, that twice they crowned
him king. Beyond the large countrie of Chile,
where it hath bene heretofore thought that nothing
had bene but continent and firme land, he found
sundrye Islands, the furthest wherof lieng most south,
he called by his maiesties name *Elisabetha*. Now
after manie a singular note of his incomparable va-
lour, and purpose to make his adventure profitable, he ne-
glected no meanes that might stand with his honestie
and honor: returning home into England with
great riches the first twentieth of September, in
the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred and
eightie; with one ship onelie. For of the five, where-
with at his first setting forth he was furnished, he
was forced to set two on fire, the third perished, the
fourth came backe and went not forwards at the
first. A voyage of great adventure and prosperous
successe, contrarie to the backward and frowning hap
of sundrie worthy gentlemen, whose attempts albe-
it honorable and commendable, yet matched with
misfortune, or at least defectue in deserved and
hoped issue: a sove discouragement to gentlemen of
travell, and not a little impeaching the art of navi-
gation.

And now to resume our former remembrance of
the conspirators, you shall understand, that after
due examination had, & no rigor used either by tor-
ture or torment, the wicked wretches guiltie confe-
sses drawing them to voluntarie confession, on the
seventh daie of September, certaine of them were
led from the Tower of London to Westminster by
water, where they were indicted; first, for intending
treason against the queens owne person; secondlie,
for stirring civil wars within the realme; and third-
lie, for praesiding to bring in forren power to invade
the land. Seven of them appeared at Westmin-
ster on the thirteenth daie of September, who all

pleaded guiltie, and therefore had no turtie, but were
condemned; and had iudgement on the next mo-
row.

On the fifteenth daie of September, other
seven of them were likewise arraigned at West-
minster, who pleading not guiltie, were tried by a
turie, found guiltie, and had iudgement according-
lie. The effect of whose treasons shoulde to touch
them were these. John Savage, remaining long in
France at Rheims, was perswaded by doctor Sil-
bert Gifford, that great honor shoulde redound to
him, if he would take in hand to change religion, to
invade the realme by forren power, to dispossesse the
queene of England, and to proclame the Scottissh
queene, and set hir in hir place. All which Savage
promised to do, or else to lose his life, and thereupon
returned into England; where he imparted his pur-
pose to Anthonie Babington, requiring his aid
therein. Then John Ballard priest, also perswaded
the said Babington to the purpose before expressed,
promising him aid of thre score thousand men that
secretlie shoulde be landed, and told him both how
& when (as he thought). Whereupon Babington pro-
mised and concluded to make a slaughter upon the
councell of hir maiestie in the Star chamber, then
to have sacked London, to have burned the nante
and chiefe ships, to kill or displace the lords, knights
and magistrats, that remained true subjects to our
right & lawfull queene and realme, and also to have
cloied and poisoned the greatest ordinance, &c. These
were their purposes.

Now touching the names of the traitors, their
behaviours and speeches, with the maner of their
executions, you shall understand, that upon the
twentieth daie of September, being tuesday, John
Ballard a priest, and first persuader of Babington
to these odious treasons, was laid alone upon an
hurvell, and six others two and two in like sort, all
drawne from Tower hill through the citie of Lon-
don, unto a field at the upper end of Holborne, hard
by the high wate side to saint Giles in the field, where
was erected a scaffold for their execution, & a paire of
gallows of extraordinary hight, as was that where-
upon haughtie Haman was hanged for his ambiti-
on, &c: the place likewise so railed to keepe off horre-
ment, as the people might plainelie see the execu-
tion. On the first daie the traitors were placed upon
the scaffold, that the one might behold the reward of
his fellows treason. Ballard the priest, who was
the first broker of this treason, was the first that
was hanged, who being cut downe (according to
iudgement) was dismembred, his bellie ript up, his
bowels and traitorous heart taken out & throwne
into the fire, his head also (severed from his shoul-
ders) was set on a short stake upon the top of the
gallows, and the trunk of his bodie quartered
and imbed in his owne blood, wherewith the ex-
ecutioners hands were bathed, and some of the stan-
ders by (but to their great loathing, as not able for
their lives to avoid it, such was the throng, besprink-
led. This Ballard, at the verie time of his death not
denying his treason, died an obstinate papist, and in
his protestation doubtfullie said, that if he had of-
fended the queens maiestie, or anie man else, he
was sove, and so conditionallie desired forgiveness.
The malicious affection of his heart towards hir
highnesse appeared in the trembling passage of
death, that whereas his treasons were impious,
odious, and damnable, as the most wicked to wit
his confederats for the most part) confessed (as the
common fame goeth) that they exceeded the great-
nesse of hir maiesties mercie, which mite not be
measured, where there is anie measure in offen-
ding.

The first
seven condem-
ned without
anie turtie.

The effect of
the last seven
their treasons
notable.

The place of
their execu-
tion was
somewhat the
meeting place
of their con-
sultation.

The order of
the traitors
executed.
John Ball-
ard priest
persuader of
Babington to
these odious
treasons exe-
cuted.

How Ballard
was affected
at his death.

Ballards so-
ber physical af-
fliction of the
queens mer-
cie the tongue
not.

The returne
of sir Francis
Drake into
England with
great riches,
&c.

Some boie-
s of great
difficultie have
bene under-
taken, but failed
in the issue.

Treasons in-
dicted, arraign-
ed, and con-
demned at
Westminster.

And yet in his desire of remission at his highnesse hands, he added this condition (If) as one that doubted if he had offended his person.

Anthonye Babington esquier executed.

A note of Babingtons pride at the verie instant of his execution.

John Savage gentleman executed.

The fruites that issue from listening to the counsell of Jesuits, Romanists, and Hypocrites.

Robert Barnewell gentleman executed.

Chidocke Eichborne esquire executed.

Charles Wilmore a pensioner executed.

Edward Abington esquier executed, his dying speech.

Throgmorton and Abingtons of like truth in event.

Thomas Salisburie esquier executed.

The last seven traitors executed with great fauour.

Next unto this priest, Anthonye Babington was made readie to the gallowes, who in curie point was handled like unto Ballard; in whome a signe of his former pride was to be obserued. For whereas the rest (through the cogitation of death) were exercised in prayer upon their knees and bare-headed; he (whose turne was next) stood on his feet with his hat on his head, as if he had bene but a beholder of the execution. Concerning his religion, he died a papist. His treasons were so odious, as the King of conscience compelled him to acknowledge himselfe a most greuous trespasser against the diuine maiestie, and the queens highnesse. Next unto Babington, Savage was likewise prepared for the execution. This notable traitor (as the same goeth) was the man that conferred with doctor Gifford at Paris; and by the confirmations of the English fugitives at Rheims was resolved, and resolutely determined to kill the queene. It is likewise said, that upon the apprehension of Ballard the priest, Babington accelerated and hastened this Savage to dispatch his resolution, and that he onelie deferred the matter for the making of a court-like sute of apparell.

When Savage was executed, Barnewell was made readie to die, an obstinate papist, who for his treason made conscience his best excuse; notwithstanding a rotten conscience, which was infected with the murder of a vertuous queene; which sith it was so bad, few there were that heard him, but forbade their conscience to pittie him, otherwise than charitable to be sorrowfull for his offense, deserving to shamefull a fall, and damnable before God and man. After this Barnewell, Eichbornes turne was serued, a proper young gentleman, whose humilitie and mone moued much compassion. Tilne one of the queens maiesties pensioners, next unto Eichborne, made worke for the hangman, a wretch well worthy of death, who went about to take awaie his highnesse life.

The last of these seven that suffered was Edward Abington, whose father was an officer of god credit in his highnesse house, and for manie advancements was bound to saie; God saue god M. Elisabeth. But his sonne was a notable papist, & an architect; who at his death did all that in him laie, to stir a feare in the hearts of the ignorant multitude, with this speech, that there could not chuse but be great effusion of blood in England verie shortly. But Gods providence maketh it apparant, that the prophesies of traitors proue not euermore scripture. For Throgmorton the traitor said, that before one yeare was expired, the prosperitie & peace of England should be turned into generall calamitie. Howbeit, the date of that diuination is out, & they both (as maie betide the rest of that rebellious rout in their appointed time) by Gods grace partakers of sensible destinie. This Abington was the last of the first seven that were executed: and thus ended that daies worke, to the comfort of Israell, for that the execrable thing which troubled the whole land (and highly offended the diuine maiestie) was taken awaie.

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentieth daie of September, Salisburie was laid alone upon an hurdle, and other six, two and two in like manner, all drauene from Tower hill through the citie of London, unto the former place of execution. Salisburie was the first man that suffered, who in all points was handled as the other seven the daie before;

sauing that he and the latter six were executed with this fauour, that they were permitted to hang untill they were fullie dead, before the rest of their execution was performed. And albeit this man was blinded with the superstition of papistrie, even at the point of death, yet he miltite acknowledged his greuous offense against the queene, and in his last commendation charged all catholikes (for so he onelie accounted the papists) that they should leaue attempting to set vp their religion by violent hand, and by double and treble repetition exhorted them to patience, and earnestlie forbade them all manner of violence.

After Salisburie was with all possible fauour executed, Dun was striped into his shirt, and seemed penitent for his greuous offense: who after that with verie earnest persuasions he had likewise dissuaded the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding fauour. This Dun (as the report goeth) liued reasonable wealthie, but it seemeth the man was of a discontented humour, and in dislike with a competent vocation; as appeared by his his vaine imagination. For in Trinitie terme last, comming into the Kings bench office; among other pleasant speeches to one of his familiars; John Will marvell (quoth he) to see me within one quarter of a yeare to walke by and downe the streets with twentie men after me. Whereupon one of his acquaintance pleasantlie answered, that he feared he should first see him followed to the gallowes with a thousand people. Dun shewed his desire, and the other read his destinie. But let the end of this traitor be a warning to all ambitious men, that destruction followeth presumption, and pride will haue a fall.

When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Jones. This traitor (by that which was easie to be gathered of his behauiour at the gallowes) was a verie close papist, of a shrewd reach, and a most dangerous member in this common wealth. For notwithstanding his protestation that he dissuaded Salisburie from this obvious enterprise; yet his owne talke shewed that his counsell proceeded of a feare which he had, that the proud humour of Babington threatened an ouerthrow of their purpose; rather than of anie dutifull zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the queens maiestie. For he neither would him selfe discover this treason of the highest degree, neither did he counsell his friend Salisburie to prevent his owne danger in detecting the conspiracie of his companions; yea when the odiousness thereof brake out into publike knowledge, he (contrarie to the generall dutie of a good subiect, and in contempt of a speciall warrant directed unto him) not onelie refused (as he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisburie being in his owne house, but (so far as he might) succoured him, after that he was published to be a firebrand of that most wicked treason. One speciall thing neuertheless, which moued manie to pittie him above the rest, was, because with vehement words he protested, that although he was a catholike in religion, yet he so deeplie weied the libertie of his countrie, as that he would be (and euer was) readie to spend his life in withstanding anie foreign enemie, French, Italian, Spanish, or whatsoeuer: by whose opinion the tolleration of inuasion was so far from nature and christian dutie, as no excuse or punishment might satisfie the crime.

After Jones had paid the price of his treason, with all possible fauour, then Charnocke was executed, and after him Trauers, both two men (as it seemed) bewitched with an ignorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their praising

Salisburie acknowledged his greuous offense: a note of repentance. Violence forbidden by Salisburie.

Henrie Dun gentleman executed.

The ambitious humour of Henrie Dun.

Edward Jones esquier executed.

Forrean inuasion reproued by Jones.

John Trauers & John Charnocke gentlemen executed.

praising to our ladie, calling vpon saints, joined with a number of ceremonies, crossings, and blessings, &c. So that it appeared that in their praiers, they were bound to foyme more than to faith.

Robert Cage
executed.

Hir maiesties
graciousnelle
commendd by
this traitor.

Hypocritise of
Robert Cage.

Jerom Bel-
lamie gentle-
man executed.

One of the
Bellamies
hanged him-
selfe in the
Tower.

Ex. libello I.
Nich. vpon C. B.
ex. libello I. & 1.

When the hangman had giuen these two his bea-
ute blessing, Cage prepared himselfe to die, who be-
gan his protestation, that there was neuer subiect
more bound to a prince than his father was to hir
maiestie: and from that reuerend recognisance and
true acknowledgement of hir maiesties graciouf-
nes, he fell to excuse him selfe of the odious treasons
for which he was to die: but on so weak a ground,
as the simplest iudgement then present, found (by
the order of his owne confession) that he was a dan-
gerous instrument for the pope. He confessed that
he accompanied Ballard the seminarie priest (who
hatched the great eg of this pestilent practise) into
Po: he shire, & that he wrote a letter for the said priest
to a Frenchman or Spaniard of account beyond the
seas. So be short, in all the course of his confessi-
on, in indifferent iudgements, he accused him-
selfe to be an hollow hearted subiect, and a sound
papist. This cunning traitor Cage could neuer
hane made a confession of more infamie to him-
selfe, than in acknowledging the queens maiesties
most excellent fauour, shewed to his father (which
a dutifull sonne ought to esteeme a benefitt vnto him-
selfe) and so to redouble the reproch of his treasons,
he condemned himselfe of ingratitude, an vnatura-
ll vice, which the verie foules of the aire abhorre: 30
as (to be one example of sufficiencie for a thousand)
is reported of the stork; which so often as the hath
young, casteth one out of the nest for the hire of the
house, and reward of him that lodged hir.

The last that suffered was one of the Bella-
mies, whose countenance discovered him to be a
settled papist, and who as he could saie little to save
his life; so at the gallows he spake nothing to de-
fend his death. Although this traitor had but a dull
spirit, yet (as it seemed) he had a malicious heart,
answerable to that of his friends, who succored Ba-
bington and some of his associates, when feare of the
law, and shame of their odious treasons, made them
to shrowd themselves like foxes in holes and co-
uerts. And it seemeth that they were as resolute to
follow the treasons of Babington, as they were
readie to reloue him from the danger of the law.
Othertwise if this Bellamies brother had not had an
accusing conscience, he would neuer with violent
hands haue hanged himselfe.

Thus ended the second daies execution, to the
full satisfaction of the peoples expectation; who ne-
uertheless (as the date before) were inwardlie tou-
ched with passions ingendred by the deape impres-
sions of the present obicars: but touched they were,
as nothing pitying their deserued deaths, in regard
they were most heinous malefactors: but as they
were men, in whom humanitie should so haue pre-
uailed, as that they should rather haue chosen losse of
life & liuelod, than to haue intended the desolation of
their native countrie, the depriuation of prince, the
deposition of pères, the destruction of people; and
that sooner might seeme as a direccioe to bloodshed
and slaughter, from the highest gouernor sitting in
rosalite adorned with crowne and scepter, to the
suckling babe lieng in the cradle wrapped in swa-
thing clouds. Which extremities of butcherlie cru-
elty and vnaturall sauenegesse, haue had an an-
cient purpose of practise, as maie appeare by a clause
or two of John Nichols his recantation; where spea-
king of Pius Quintus, excommunicating our
liege soueraigne, he saith that the same was with-
in a twelue moneth of the first publication reuiued,
and fise hundred copies printed at Rome, which

were dispersed throughout Italie, Spaine, & Ger-
manie. Whereof what were the contents, is at large
set downe in the treatise of execution of iudice in
England for treason, not for religion.

But thus saith the same conuert, that a reader
of diuinitie positue, in the hearing of two hundred
scholers, vomited these prophane words out of his
vncircumcised mouth; that it was lawfull for anie
of two ship in England, to authorize the vilest wretch
that is, to take the death of hir highnesse: in those pro-
perous estate the Italicke priest and Spanishe prince
do so maligne; that they would worke wonders,
were it not for certeine impedits: as father Pais a
Spaniard, reader of diuinitie scholasticall in the
Romane college, affirmed in an auditoire of three
hundred, saieing: *Bona papa voluntas trita & manife-
sta est, & eius crumenaparata: sed R. P. aut metus subtra-
hit, aut potestatis defectus vitat, ut suum in Angliam ex-
ecutum ducere non audeat.* Where (by the waie) would
be noted an inuasion long since pretended. And that
the queens maiesties estate was then maliciouslie
aimed at, maie appeare by these comminations and
threats, that they would burne hir bones, and the
bones of all such as loued hir, either alieue or dead;
of whom, some were lords temporall, some spiritu-
all, &c. Memorandum, that this was to be done,
when they held the sterne of gouernement: which
shall be, when errant traitors are good subiects, and
ranke knaues honest men.

And now to touch the punishment inflicted vpon
the foresaid wretches, there is none (if he be not a
sworne aduersarie to the state, and an enimie to su-
stice) but must needs confesse, that although some
of the conspirators were no lesse sharpelie executed,
than by law was censured: yet considering the qua-
lity of their offense, it was a death tempered with
lenitie, if no more but the spædines of their execution
be considered, whereby their paine and smart was
but momentanie. Oh with what seueritie did the
ancients punish offenses of this nature! And not
without cause. For besides that nothing is more vni-
all in all the whole scriptures, than prohibition to
kill or to take the life or honor, not onlie of the
prince, but also of inferior magistrats, although
they be wicked (and it is said in Exodus; Thou shalt
not raise vpon the iudges, neither speake euill of
the ruler of the people) so is it provided by the lawes
of nations, that not onlie he that hath killed his
soveraigne, but he also that made the attempt, that
gaue counsell, that perbed consent, that conceiued
the thought, is gillie of high treason. Pea, he that
was neuer prevented nor taken in the manner, in
this point of the soueraigne, the law accounteth him
as condemned already; and iudgeth him capable of
death, that thought once in times past to haue seized
vpon the life of his prince, anie repentance that fol-
lowed notwithstanding.

And trulie there was a gentleman of Poorman-
die, who confessed to a Franciscane frier, that he
once minded to haue killed king Francis the first:
but repented him of that euill thought. The frier
gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards informed
the king of the same; who sent the gentleman to the
parlement at Paris there to be tried, where he was
by common consent condemned to die, and after
executed. Amongst the Macedonians there was
a law, that condemned to death fise of their next
kinsfolks that were conuicted of conspiracie against
their prince. And most notable is the historie of Ro-
mulus, who seeing hir towne or citie besieged by a
barbarous king, but yet youthfull and wanton; she
signified vnto the enimie by messengers, that she
would betraie the citizens into his hands, if he
would honour hir with marriage. Which when the
king

See be fore
pag 1357, a,
60, &c. 1358, b,
60, &c.

The causes
that haue so
long hindered
king Philip
to invade
England.

The reuerend
regard that
subiects ought
to haue of their
soveraignes,
&c.

A gentleman
indged to die
because he
once thought
to haue killed
his prince.

A seuer law
against trea-
son.

king had promised to doe, she in the night season opened the gates, and (the people unwitting and ignorant) let in foren force. Now the king being entered & in possession, commanded that the towne should be sacked, and all the people slaughtered, Romilda excepted, the wife of whose bodie (for his oth sake, which he was loth to violat) he had the same night as in wedlocke: howbeit, the next daie he cast hir off, and betoke hir to twelue scullions by turns to be abused; & lastlie pitcht hir vpon a stake.

A woman traitorlike well rewarded.

Here you haue examples in both sexes (man and woman) of treason and conspiracie most scuerellie executed: which if they be compared vnto the sufferings of our late offenders, Iesu what odds shall we see and confesse: And as the ancients had treason in mortall hatred; so could they not alwaie with ingratitude, as maie be obserued by the lawes of Draco (which were said to be written in blood, they were so sharpe and peremptorie) amongst which, there was a commandement, that if anie man had receiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were proued against him long after that he had bene vnthankfull for it, and had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued; such a one should be put to death. So then we see how in old time they opposed their affections against particular vices, persecuting them with seueritie, as laboring to supplant them: this age of ours beholdeth ingratitude and treason combined, with a foule nest of other irksome and noisome sins, in the hearts of helbonds (for we maie not vouchsafe them the name of men) breathing out the vapors of their venemous infection, to the damnieng of the whole commonwelth: what fauour then deserue such to find where they haue offended, or rather what rigor are they not worthis to suffer?

Against seeking after nouelties, and to teach men to be well advised, &c.

Among the Locrians there was a strict decreé, that euerie citizen, desirous to hying in a new law, should come and declare it publickly before the people with a halter about his necke; to the end that if his new law was not thought meet to be receiued, and verie profitable for the commonwelth, he might presentlie be strangled with the same rope. If they in old time went so short a waie to worke in a case of vnadvisednesse, to teach others that they undertake nothing without mature deliberation: what are we taught to be conuenient for such, as heake not their wits either to deuise or prefer new laws; but inuoe that they can to dissolve all law and order, all peace and societie, all government and subiection; and by the impulsion of a furious mind to let in libertie, contempt, and all the enormities and abuses that accompanie a licentious life: To let passe the pluralitie of examples & authorities of this kind, the number being so great as that they would fill vp Crotosthenes lue; and to saie some what of seueritie, that by opposition of countrie to countrie in that respect, we maie see the great difference betwene ours and theirs.

Extreme kinds of torments in other countries for treason, &c.

It is seueritie to sea men quicke, to chaine them aliuie to a stake, in such sort as they maie run round thereabout, the fier inuironing them on all sides: it is seueritie to haue collops of flesh pluckt from the bodie with hot burning tongs: it is seueritie to be cast downe from a steepe place stark naked vpon sharpe stakes: it is seueritie to be tozned in peeces with wild horses, and to haue the bones broken vpon a whele. All these be extremities of torments awarded by law, and at this daie practised in foren regions for treason, and sometime for crimes of nothing so dangerous a nature. Finally, if we confer the seueritie of this execution, exercised vpon rebellious and traitorous subiects in a superlatiue degree of disloyaltie, with that of other nations commonlie

used, namelie in principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, to accept the seruice of runnagate slaues, to place them in authoritie, to change or depose at pleasure anie whatsoeuer; yea to strangle them vpon the least suspicion or dislike: our seueritie is clemencie. For in this is ripe reason and iudiciall processe, in the other will without wit, & (as commonlie they saie) *Omnis pro imperio, nihil pro officio.*

And therefore we conclude, that ingratitude being counted vnnaturall, and treason (a vice vomited out of hell mouth) linked together with manie knots of other shamefull sinnes, and all concurring in the hearts and liues of these outrageous conspirators as in a centre: whie should it be thought seueritie to haue iustice iustlie administered, that traitors should be drawne vpon hurdels, strangled in a halter, cut downe aliuie, dismembred, their bellies ripped, their bowels taken out and burned, their heads chopt from their shoulders, their bodies clouen in foure quarters, and let ouer the gates of London, for the soules of the aire to feed vpon at full: Vnto which foule end maie all such come, as meane anie mischief against god queene Elisabeth, the lords of hir highnesse counsell, the bodie politike of the land, the slander or innouation of true religion, &c: wherein God make prince and people of one mind, and plant in all subiects a reuerend regard of obedience and contentment of present estate, supported with iustice and religion: least long after nouelties, it fare with them as with the frogs, who liuing at libertie in lakes and ponds, would needs (as mistaking their present intercommunitie of life) with one consent sue to Iupiter for a king, and so did. Whereat he wondering, granted their desires, and cast them an huge trunk of a tree, which besides that it made a great noise in the water as it fell, to their terrifeng; so it was cumbersome by taking vp their accustomed passage: insomuch that discontented therewithall, they assaulted Iupiter with a fresh petition, complaining that (besides diuerse dislikes otherwise) the king whom he gaue them was but a senselesse stocke, and vnworthis of obedience: wherefore it would please him to appoint them another indred with life. Wherevpon Iupiter sent the herne among them, who entring into the water, deuoured by the frogs one after another: insomuch that the residue, seeing their new king so rauenslike gobling by their fellowes, lamentable weeping besought Iupiter to deliuer them from the shote of that dragon and tyrant. But he (of purpose vnhangeable) made them a flat answer, that (will they nill they) the herne should rule ouer them.

Traitors iustlie rewarded, and yet nothing so as they deserue.

A pretty apolog allusive to the present case of malcontents.

Whereby we are taught to be content when we are well, and to make much of god queene Elisabeth, by whom we enioie life and libertie, with other blessings from aboue; beseeching God we maie see a consummation of the world, before the scepter of the kingdome be translated to another. For (as the proverbe saith) seldeome cometh the better. But to the purpose, this execution being dispatched, and the testimonies thereof dispersed and visible in diuerse places about the citie, as at London bridge, where the traitors heads were ranged into their seuerall classes: manie rimes, ballads, and pamphlets were set forth by sundrie well affected people, wherein brieflie were comprised the plot of their conspiracie, the names of the traitors, and their successiue suffering, which growing common and familiar both in citie and countrie, were chanted with no lesse alacrity & courage of the singer; than willinglie and delightfullie listened vnto of the hearer. So that, what by one meane and what by another, all

Seldome cometh the better.

English

England was made acquainted with this horrible conspiracie, not so much admiring the manner of the mischances intended, as comforted that his highnesse had the holie hand of God ouershadowing him, the surest protection that prince or people can haue against perill. So that England is replenished with faithfull and louing subjects, though here and there (like darnell among wheate) lurke a viper or aspe waiting opportunitie to bite or sting.

Now to make a complet discourse of all these heauie & tragicall accidents, hauing thus far continued much important matter concerning the same: the reader is with due regard to peruse the addition following, wherein is argument of aggravation touching these treasons: which being aduisedly read, considered, and conferred with the former narration, will yeld as sound, pitie, and effectuell information for the knowledge of the conspirators purposed plot, as ante subject would desire: and more than without grieue or teares anie true English heart can abide to read or heare. Where, by the waie, is to be noted, that Marie the Scotish Q. was a principall.

It is apparant by the iudiciall confessions of John Ballard preest, Anthonie Babington, and their confederats, that the said John Ballard (being a preest of the English seminarie at Rheims) in Lent past (after he and sundrie other Jesuits and preests, of his sect, had travelled throughout all parts almost of this realme, & labored to their vttermost to breed in his maiesties subjects an inclination to rebell against him) he went into France, and there treated and concluded with Barnardino de Mendoza (the Spanishe ambassado: resident at Paris) with Charles Paget & Thomas Morgan two English fugitives, and inexcusable traitors for an inuasion to be made by forein forces into this kingdome. And because no assurance could then be made vnto Mendoza for the intertaining, assisting, and good landing of those whome the king his maiesty, the pope, and the house of Cusle should dispatch for that seruice, he sent the said Ballard into England at Whitson-tide last, with expresse charge to informe the catholikes, that for sundrie important considerations, the king his maiesty had bowed vpon his soule to reforme England, or to lose Spaine: and for that purpose had in readinesse such forces & warlike preparations, as the like was neuer scene in these parts of christendome. And therefore willed him to stirre the people, and worke the meanes to make some faction to giue them landing & intertaining at their coming: & speciallie to perswade the Scotish Q. in that confusion; letting the catholikes vnderstand, that in case they did not assist the innaders, they would then enter as conquerors, put no difference betwixt man & man.

With this dispatch Ballard by the speciall direction of Morgan (a notorious traitor to this state, yea a professed & sworne seruant vnto the Scotish queene) repaired to Anthonie Babington, a gentleman to whom the said Scotish Q. vpon the commendation of Morgan & the bishop of Glasco, had long before twitten letters of gratulation, & with whom he had secret intelligence by sending of letters & other messages, the space almost of two yeares before. To this gentleman Ballard discovered at large the whole purpose of Mendoza, Paget, & Morgan, and said (as he had in charge) that if hapilie a strong partie could be made here to assist the inuasion, and aduance the Scotish queene, men, munition, monie, and vittels should be abundantly supplied from beyond the seas; and therefore perswaded Babington to found the whole realme, and to undertake the action. Babington at the first proposed manie difficulties, but principallie this, that the innaders or their assistants could haue no hope (the state being so well settled) to

preuaile during his maiesties life. Where vpon Ballard presentlie replied, that his life could be no hinderance therein. For vpon like doubts moured beyond the seas by meanes alreadie laid, John Savage (a conspirator) conuicted hereof by his owne confession) through the persuation and procurement principallie of one William Gifford (an English fugitive, and reader of diuinitie in the English seminarie at Rheims) had bowed and sworne to kill his maiesty, as a thing resolved vpon to be lawfull, honorable, and meritorious.

This difficultie being thus remoued, and Ballard from daie to daie continuing his persuations, and highlie commending the murdering of his maiesty as a deed of great honor, singular merit, and easie to effectuat: Babington undertooke the managing of the whole action, and hauing first with his complices entred into manie seuerall propositions of sundrie treasonable natures, as to surpasse his maiesties person by force, to kill the lord treasurer, the earle of Leicester, and sir Francis Walsingham, to remoue his counsellors, and to place new, to murder the nobilitie whilst they were set in administering iustice, to sacke the citie of London, to fire the nauie of the realme, to surpise some forces and hauens, to furnish the rate of their forces by an vniuersall spoile and robbing of the richer sort; hauing (I saie) first entred into the se and such like propositions) in fine, he with Ballard and others resolved vpon these three principall points: first, that the innaders should be assisted by a prepared readinesse in the people to rebell in diuerse places, and to ioine with them vpon their first landing; that his maiesty should be murdered by six gentlemen of resolution; and lastlie, that the Scotish queene should be aduanced to the crowne of England. For the better performance of these resolutions, Ballard and Babington founded diuerse, and dealt with manie; and so farre Babington proceeded in short time, that a choise was made by him of the six that should execute the attempt against his maiesties person, that some others were especiallie assigned by him to attend and assist the inuasion, with direction from Babington to be popular vnto their vttermost; and that himselfe resolved vpon the first assurance either of his maiesties death, or of the strangers arrivall, to proclaime the queene of Scots queene of England.

Things standing in these terms, and Babington deferring onelie the execution of this plot, vntill signification thereof were giuen to the Scotish queene, and his god pleasure knowne therein (God so ordering it) the Scotish queene in June last wrote vnto Babington a short letter in cipher, signifieng his discontent for the breach of their intelligence, and requiring him to send by that bearer a packet recelued for him in Aprill before, and vntill that time retained by Babington, as wanting god meanes of conueleng, and therefore fearing the danger of that seruice. Where vpon Babington vsing that opportunitie, both deliuered his packet vnto that messenger, and by him wrote vnto him touching euerie particular of this plot aboue mentioned, and how farre he had proceeded therein; signifieng amongst manie other things, how desirous he was to do his some seruice, how well it might be performed, if assurance were giuen from beyond the seas for that which was undertaken thence, and how necessarie it were that rewards were promised vnto the chiefe actors for their better incoragement, and to be giuen to their posterities, in case they miscaried in the execution. And therefore he required, that the would grant authoritie to some such as it might like him to giue certelme offices and dignities necessarie

John Savage
had bowed
and sworne to
kill the queene.

Babington
undertaketh
the managing
of the whole
action: note
their treasons.

The Scotish
queene writ-
eth vnto Ba-
bington in ci-
pher: with
his aduise, di-
rection, and re-
quest.

Barnardino
de Mendoza,
alwaies mis-
chancelous
minded as-
gainst the
state of Eng-
land: note his
practises with
Ballard.

The Scotish
queene is an
actor in this
purposed con-
spiracie.

for this action. Unto this letter Babington about twentie daies after in the same cipher, by which he did write before, receiued answer from the Scottish quene, with which she also sent inclosed (as hir secretary now confesseth) a new alphabet in cipher, to be used betwene them from that time forward.

And in this hir letter she not onelie declared hir good opinion of Babington, gaue him due thanks for his readinesse to do hir service, promised correspondence in all that she might, and willed that the resolution being taken, he should with all speed impart it to Barnardino de Pendoza, considering first what forces on foot or horsebacke he could make, what place for their assemblie, what leaders in euery shire, what generall or chiefe leaders; but also amongst infinit other traitzous directions (apparent by the verie letters) she aduised that vpon returne of answer from Pendoza, with assurance that all things were in a readinesse, then and not before it should be conuenient to sound the countrie. And to colour the prouision and preparation, it should be giuen out, that what they did, was not vpon anie euill or disloyall disposition towards hir maiestie, but for the iust defense of catholikes, their bodies, liues, & lands, against the violence of the Puritans, the principall wherof being in the low countries with the chiefe forces of the realme, purposed at his returne to ruine not onelie the whole catholikes, but also meant to depriue hir maiestie of the crowne. And that they should giue it out, that therefore the preparation was for the defense of hir maiestie, and hir lawfull successors, not naming the Scottish quene: vnder which pretense an association also might be made amongst the catholikes.

Which being done, and all things in readinesse both within and without the realme, it should be then time for the six gentlemen to worke, taking order that (because the time would be somewhat uncerteine of the exploit vpon hir maiesties person) there should be continuallie some men in readinesse about the court well hoisted, to bring word in post into the countrie (by foure seuerall waies for feare of intercepting) when that designment was performed, to the end she might be taken awaie before hir keeper could either conueie hir awaie or fortifie the place. She willed that some fire might be kindled in Ireland, to the end the counsellors attention might be distracted from that part when the stroke should come, which was from Flanders, Spaine, and the house of Guise. She aduised Babington to deale carefullie and vigilantlie, to prouide all things necessarie for effecting the enterprise, in such sort that it might take good effect by the grace of God (for so it pleaseth hir to vse the phrase). Lastlie, after great promises of large requitall to all the conspirators, and manie other particular aduises tending wholie to the subuersion of this state, and depriuation of hir maiesties life, she groweth towards a conclusion, with praier for his good successe in the aforesaid conspiracie. It were needlesse to expresse more particularlie the contents of his or hir letters, the originals themselves being extant and surprised.

To these letters Babington wrote for answer by the same messenger, that so soone as the resolution was fullie taken with Pendoza, he would informe hir more; and thereupon within three daies after aduised Ballard towards Pendoza with signification, that all things were here in a readinesse, and attended onelie the arrivall of their forces. But God, who hath alwaies protected hir maiestie in all mercie beyond the expectation of man, euen almost in the verie point of execution, discovered the conspiracie. And thereupon Ballard (being readie to imbarke himselfe) was taken, vpon whose apprehension

Benston Babington forced (as he said) with the extreme danger to be discovered, and the no hope of anie pardon for so hatefull an offense, entered a new resolution with Sauage aforesaid & Charnocke, to take hir maiesties life awaie presentlie, otherwise intended to haue bene respited until the inuasion, which (as Ballard from the mouth of Pendoza swore) must at the uttermost haue bene performed by September. But Babington, finding himselfe restrained before he wist, and thereby assuring himselfe that all was knowne, found the meanes to escape, in hope to haue recovered the sea, and so to haue saued himselfe and his confederats. Yet after ten daies search through all countries adioining to London, though disguised in clothes attire, and discolored with walnut leaves, he was discovered, apprehended, and with some other of the conspirators brought vnto London, with greater manifestation of true loie in the people for their surprise, than tong can expresse or pen maie write.

The apprehension of Ballard and flight of Babington dismaied the rest, and dispersed the other conspirators; yet not so farre, but that iustice hath since laid hold vpon the most of them. And though in the beginning they seemed all resolved to stand vnto the deniall of euery part of this action; yet such is the force of truth, that without either hope of fauor or feare of torture, they haue all acknowledged the conspiracie, and confessed their seuerall offenses, agnising the Scottish quene to be the principall comforter, director, and imbracer of these treasons, and imputing this error to their dectuable expectation of hir future greatnesse in this land, the hope whereof joined with hir allurements, hath heretofore as the world can witnesse (though these could not beware thereby) bred diuerse rebellions within this kingdome, ouerturned manie happie estates, and defiled sundrie families of vnspotted fidelitie in former time.

All which notwithstanding our catholikes and others owe and attribute so great a priuilege to hir person onelie, that being past expectation (as the terme it) of anie good from the king hir sonne, and not regarding the interest of anie other to the succession of this state, if she by death or otherwise maie not be aduanced vnto this kingdome: they are then determined to set the crowne on the house of Spaine, either by pretense of some putatiue title, to which effect some pamphlets haue bene already composed; or rather (to auoid all controuersies) by some grant and inuerture from the six apostolike: for the dispatch wherof (as the conspirators confesse) doctor Allen an English fugitiue, and some others attend in Rome to sollicite the pope. Which being once performed, some of the grauer and more reuerend sort (as they call them) of our fugitiue diuines, must secretlie make their repaire hither, and in auricular confession persnade the principall catholikes of this land, and such as are able to swaie the rest, to fauor, mainteine and aduance that title of Spaine against all others, vnder paine of damnation. By meanes whereof it is intended that Spaine shall mount to so huge a greatnesse, as to be able of himselfe to giue lawes to all the states of christendome. With this note, being the verie flower and grace of all the former discourse, we will conclude, hauing now no more to saie touching the conspiracie, but these few verses, which we will vse in lieu of a conclusion, and so proceed vnto other matters of consequence, conuenient for the booke:

*Quid non papa ruens spondet, modo iussa capebas?
En diadema tibi, sceptraque, pacis Hymen.
Disimilem votis mercedem, nactus es ausis
Et scelus regis turba nefanda parem.*

Successere

to be imbarked and transported overseas.

The conspirators disguised themselves, thinking by that means to shift the matter.

Magna est uirtus & preuolens.

How the popish catholikes are affected to the Scottish quene.

What the fugitiue diuines must doe for their parts.

In nefariam Babingtoni catervamque conuersionem, hexasionem.

The Scottish quenes aduise in this mischievous plot fauoring altogether of inhumanitie.

Six gentlemen of resolution, &c.

Ballard apprehended being readie

*Successere regi regno, corūque corona,
Pro sceptro laqueus, pro thalamo tumultus.*

Sir Philip
Sidneie slain
at Zutphen in
Gelderland:
of whose pag.
1554.

Seminarie
practs circu-
red at Cibozn.

Tempestuous
wind in Octo-
ber terrible
and hurtfull.

The accidents
noteworthy
by means of
this blustering
wind,

A strange ac-
cident of a
walnut tree
blowne downe
with the wind,
etc.

The third
strange chance

In this meane time, to wit, on thursdaie the 22 daie of September, sir Philip Sidneie knight, a most valiant & towardlie gentleman, sonne & heire to sir Henrie Sidneie late deceased (as is before shewed, in service of his pynce, and defense of his countrie, in the warres of the Netherlands) was shot into his thigh with a musket at Zutphen in Gelderland, whereof he died on the 17 of October, whose bodie was conveyed into England, to be honourable buried. On the eight of October, John Alost, John Adams, and Robert Dibdale, being before condemned for treason, in being made praests by authoritie of the bishop of Rome, since the feast of John Baptist in the first yeare of hir maiesties reigne, and remaining here after the terme of fourtie daies after session of the last parlement, were byatone to Cibozne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

On the same daie at night being saturday, there arose the greatest storme that happened since the wind which some doe call Doner wind; and some others, the wind that blew atwaie Calis, which was in the time of the reigne of quene Marie. For besides great harmes, which happened that night upon the seas, there were upon the land in euerie quarter ouerthrowne thereby, houses, cottages, barnes, haiesacks, tiles, chimneies, pales, and gates innumerable, and manie trees both great and small were not onelie tozned and rent asunder, but grubb'd up by the roots: in so much as upon the mondaie next in manie places men could not passe on horsebacke in the high waies, by reason of the trees that laie blowne and broken downe crosse ouerthwart the streets. And among other strange chances happening in that tempest, I thought good (for a tale) to recite thre accidents which befell not farre asunder within the countie of Kent. The one was at Sittingbourne, where a woman passing in the street by hir neighbors house, saw a great tree standing close by the same, to wauer and wag at the verie root, in such sort as she suspecting the ruine thereof, called vnto hir neighbors who were then in bed, and told them the danger thereof, who presentlie arising, descended from out of the loft where they lodged, and were no sooner departed thence, but downe fell the tree and brake through the roofe of that house, and rested on the bed where they laie.

There was also blowne downe with the violence of the same wind not far off a great walnut tree, the armes and branches whereof bare and bent a couple of limps, in such sort as the owner in the morning to saue them, did cut off two branches from the walnut tree, and so departed to the church to heare morning prayer: but before he was returned home to dinner, his walnut tree stood as byright as euer it did, and so remaineth and groweth as before. The third strange chance happened that night at Dartford in the said shire, at the dwelling house of maister Beere esquire, where by the force of the said wind, all the coping of one side of a great gable head of birche (reaching from below the top or roafe of the same house almost to the eaves thereof) was blowne quite ouer the house vnder which it stood, and neuer touched anie part thereof at anie side. By these accidents happening within so small a circuit, it maie be conceiued what great harmes were done that night throughout the whole realme. For it was thought vniuersall, as was also that which rag'd in the end of September, wherewithall fell such sharpe shewes of raine, that the drops thereof beating against the faces of travellers made them to smart, as with twigs of birch: and so vehement they were

that they perced through their clothing to their skin: so that manie lozinging wet and sore beaten with wind and weather, being verie ill appaid, were glad to shorten their purposed iournies, by taking the next towne for their present succour, where they might see the roses and rasters of houses naked of tiles, and heare the donging of belles as they hong in the steeple, &c. At that time it was reported by people of great age, that they had bene in manie tempests they thanked God, but none comparable to this: which might well be so, if a man were disposed to set downe a register of the particular casualties, losses, damages, hurts, hinderances, &c: thereby occasioned. In the table if you looke for tempests and winds, you shall read strange matter and worthy obseruation, though some account this and manie more but ridiculous trash: which kind of people I doubt are not of the number that wonder at Gods works, but are too much addicted to naturall philosophie.

One of the west gates of the citie of London, commonlie called Ludgate, being sore decayed, and in perill to haue fallen, was taken downe, the prisoners thereof in the meane time remaining vnder the charge of Thomas Lutwich custos or keeper of Ludgate, in the southeast quadrant to the same gate adjoining: which quadrant, for the ease of the prisoners freemen of that citie, was sometime builded by sir Steuen Foster fishmonger, lord maior of that citie, in Anno 1453. And this yeare, the said gate was againe not onelie newlie, but also stronglie and beautifullie builded, at the charges of the citizens of the same citie, the foundation whereof, in the name and presence of sir Wolstan Dixie maior, certeine of his brethren the aldermen, Anthonic Ratcliffe and Henrie Pzanel shiriffes, was laid on the second daie of Maie, and so forthwith so diligentlie applied by William Kirkwine free maior (and other workmen of diuerse crafts vnder his charge) who for a certeine sum had taken vpon him for all manner of stiffe & workmanship to the same belonging, that the same gate was fullie finished in the space of six moneths or lesse. So that on the 29 daie of October in the same yeare, the said gate was set open to sir William Cicill knight lord treasurer, who first entered the same on horsebacke, accompanied of diuerse other honorable persons, and noble men of hir maiesties pynie councill, who all rode to the Guildhall, where on the same daie kept his feast George Barnes lord maior of that citie, after he had taken his oth and charge in the erchecker at Westminister.

On the 29 daie of October the archbishop of Cantuarbie, the lord treasurer, and the earle of Derby, representing the quens maiesties person, began the high court of parlement by pzoze, which session of parlement was at this time assembled for triall of matters concerning Marie quene of Scots, as more plainlie shall appeare, by that which followeth the end of that session. In the moneth of Nouember about the 23 daie, the right honorable lord Robert earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the vniued provinces of the low countries, returning from thence, arrived at London, and went late to the court, where as he was not so suddenlie come, as forwardlie welcome of the pzinipall, and others, to the great reioicing of all estates throughout the whole realme, as maie appeare by verses of gratulation, in part as followeth:

*Soloni ingenio, magnum qui Nestora vincis
Consilio pietate Numam, grauitate Catonem:
Gratus ades, ter gratus ades, Comes inclite, ab oris
Tauronicis, salis emensus vada carula ponti:
Ranca fuit Wansteda diu, te absente, nec vllas
Pnnnnnn. ly.*

Ludgate of
London new-
lie builded.

Anno Reg. 29.
The earle of
Leicester re-
turned from
the low coun-
tries, and ar-
rived in Eng-
land.

*Inreditum mag-
nanimi herois,
Roberti Comitii
Lecestry,
Dux & Tyrannus
gratulationum
T. N.*

Letitie

*Latitia ediderat voces: Ilfordia eclipfin
Passa fuit, modulis fleuit Laetona canoris:
Hammique mæstificis voluit percita curis.
At veluti auricomus dispellit nubila Titan,
Exhilarat tua sic nostros presentia vultus
Magne Comes, terra decus, immortale Britanna,
Magnanimos inter merito numerande dynastias.*

The parli-
ment prozo-
ged.

On the second daie of December, the session of parlement (begun the nine & twentieth of October as is afoze shewed) was dissolved & broken up, and was prozozed untill the nine & twentieth of February next following. The substance and effect of matters handled in the same parlement, is set downe in a letter learnedlie penned, and directed to the right honorable the earle of Leicester, as followeth.

THE COPIE OF A LETTER TO

the right honorable the earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the united prouinces of the low countries, written before, but deliuered at his returne from thence: with a report of certaine petitions and declarations made to the queenes maiestie at two seuerall times, from all the lords and commons lately assembled in parlement: and hir maiesties answers therevnto by hir selfe deliuered, though not expressed by the reporter with such grace and life, as the same were vttered by hir maiestie.

To the right honorable the earle
of Leicester, &c.



Albeit with earnest desire of my heart (right honorable my verte good lord) I haue alwaies endeavored to do your lordship some acceptable service, for the honour you first vouchsafed me from beyond my cradle, and after confirmed with the fauorable opinion wherewith you haue alwaies countenanced me ever since, even thus far onward on my daies, which also together with my yeares hath increased faster than mine abilitie to performe, being crossed in nothing more depelle, than when I was letted by the overmuch tendering of me by my parents, to attend your lordship in your late voyage and honorable expedition into the low countries: yet haue I bene ever since most studious to obserue and apprehend some good occasion, or fit opportunitie, to testify the dutifull reverence I beare to your lordship: wherein if hitherto I haue bene slacke in performance during your absence, it hath proceeded of the care I had, not to intertaine your lordship with matter either frivolous or vulgar: though things of that nature might best become my condition, and well agree with my understanding.

In which cogitation it came to my mind, that the report of the speeches deliuered by the queens most excellent maiestie in a late and weightie cause dealt in this parlement, in answer to the petitions presented to hir maiestie the twelue and foure and twentieth daie of November at Richmond by the lord chancellor and speaker, respectiue, in the name and behalfe of both estates, accompanied with diuerse of either sort, would doubtlesse be a thing to your lordship most gratefull, as one ever pleased Iustlie to admire the rare perfections of hir mind, and approved iudgement, wherewith according to your estate and place, deseruedlie, your lordship hath bene vsuallie acquainted: as also worthy of eternall monument and euerslasting memorie, for as much as on the sudden they were deliuered by hir selfe, for answer of a matter propounded, debated,

resolved, and digested, with great labor and premeditation of the greatest, grauest, wisest, and most choise persons of the whole realme, wherof although I haue but slenderlie portrayed the lineaments, without expzessing to life the externall ornaments of hir roiall speech, accompanied with all princelie and gracefull accomplements: yet doubt I not but your lordship will easilie find hir inward vertues, whereof it is impossible for me to make the least adumbration.

And because in the easie expectation of your lordships returne, I rested vncertaine how these might come safelie to your lordships hands: I did therefore aduise to haue this my letter with the included copies to be readie to attend your first arrivall, in gratulation of the safetie thereof, which hath bene long desired. Wherein, as I strue to performe a particular dutie to your lordship, so trust I you will haue that honorable consideration, that in the communication thereof with others, there grow not a nite preiudice to me for my presumption, in aduenturing to be a reporter of that, which in the deliuerie wrought so great astonishment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulnesse of euery mans expectation: and therefore, without some fauorable construction of mine attempt, I might incurre great blame by my slender manner of report, so to haue blemished the excellencie of hir maiesties speeches, whereof I humbly beseech your lordship to haue fauorable regard. Thus referring them to your lordships disposition, and my selfe to your fauorable protection, I humbly take my leave. 25. November. 1586.

Your lordships most humble in
all dutie to command, R. C.

The brieft of the lord chancellors first speech, at the time when he deliuered hir most excellent maiestie a petition in writing, for and in the name of the lords and commons: which speeches were of more length than here are by me collected: but sure I am, the substance thereof is here trulie expressed.



That the lords and commons, hauing of long time to their intolerable graue, found, by how manie practises the Scottish queene had compassed the destruction of hir highnesse most roiall person (in whose safetie next vnder God they acknowledged their chiefe felicitie to consist) thereby not onelie to be reauue them of the sincere and true religion in this realme professed and established, but to bring backe againe this noble realme into the thraldome of Romish tyrannie, and to ouerthrow the hapie estate thereof: wherein, although hir highnesse of hir abundant, gracions, naturall clemencie, and princelie magnanimitie, hath either lightlie passed them over, or with no small indulgence tolerated, notwithstanding the often and earnest instances of hir nobilitie and commons in sundrie parlements heretofore: and further hath protected hir from the violent pursute of hir owne people: she yet, as a person obdurate in malice (as it appeareth) continued hir former practises, as had bene latelie manifested by certaine wicked conspiracies plotted by one Anthony Babington, and diuerse desperat persons, that had combined and confederated themselves by bow and oth in a most horrible enterpryse, by murder to take alwaie the life of hir maiestie: wherein the Scottish queene did not onelie aduise them, but also direct, comfort, and abbet them, with persuasion, counsell, promise of reward, and earnest obtestation.

whereupon

Whereupon hir maiestie at the earnest request of such as tendered the safene of hir roiall person, and the quiet of the realme, did direct commission under the great seale to sundrie lords and others of hir maiesties priuie counsell, & a great number of lords of parliament, of the greatest and most ancient degree, assisted with some of the principall iudges of the realme, to heare, examine, and determine the same, according to a statute in that behalf made in the seuen and twentieth yeare of hir reigne. To the number of thirtie and six, hauing attended the execution of the said commission, and diuerse daies and times heard the allegations against the said Scottish queene in hir owne presence and hearing the being permitted to saie what she would in hir owne excuse did with one assent, find hir culpable both in priuie & consent to the said crimes objected, and also in compassing the quens maiesties death.

Which sentence, by hir owne directions, upon the hearing of the protest and proccesse in parliament, was iudged to haue bene most honorable and iust. And thereupon they all besech hir maiestie, that forasmuch as the said queene of Scots, was the verie ground and onelie subiect, whereupon such dangerous practices and complots had bene founded, against hir maiesties most roiall person, and the estate of this realme for these manie yeares, to the overthrow of sundrie of the nobilitie of the land, and danger of christian religion, and that they could see no hope of hir desisting, and hir adherents; but that still hir maiesties safetie must be hazarded, and stand to the event of the like miraculous discoveries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant suppliants, they did upon their knees at hir most gracious feet, besech and request in most earnest manner, that as well for the continuance of Gods religion, the quiet of this kingdome, preservation of hir person, and defense of them and their posterities, it would please hir highnesse to take order, that the said sentence might be published, and such further direction given, as was requisite in this so weightie a cause, according to the purport and intent of the said statute. Wherein, if hir maiestie (pursuing hir wonted clemencie) should now be remisse, besides the imminent danger to hir person, she might by the state thereof, procure the heauie displeasure of almighty God, as by sundrie seuerer examples of his iustice in the sacred scriptures doth appeare. And so he deliuered to hir maiesties owne hands the petition in writing, which he said had bene with great deliberation assented vnto by all the whole parliament.

A SHORT EXTRACT OF SVCH reasons, as were deliuered in speech by maister sargent Puckering, speaker of the lower house, before the queens most excellent maiestie in hir presence chamber at Richmond, the twelue of November 1586, in the eight and twentieth yere of hir reigne, containing diuerse apparant and imminent dangers, that maie grow to hir maiesties most roiall person, and to hir realme from the Scottish queene and hir adherents, if remedie be not provided.

First touching the danger of hir maiesties person.

BOTH this Scottish queene and hir fauourers, do thinke hir to haue right, not to succeed but to inioine your crowne in possession: and therefore as she is a most impatient competitor, so will shee

not spare any means whatsoever, that maie be reaued of your maiestie, the onelie impediment that she intendeth not hir desire.

2 She is obdurate in malice against your roiall person, notwithstanding you haue shewed hir all fauour and merite, as well in preserving hir kingdome, as saving hir life, and saving hir honour. And therefore there is no place for merite, since there is no hope that she will desist from most wicked attempts: the rather, for, that hir malice appeareth such, that she maketh (as it were) hir testament of the same, to be executed after hir death, and appointeth hir executors to performe it.

3 She boldlie and openlie professed it lawfull for hir to make inuasion upon you. And therefore, as of inuasion viduete maie issue, and of viduete, the death of the vanquished: so did she thereby not obscurelie betraie, that she thought it lawfull for hir to destroye your sacred person.

4 She thinketh it not onelie lawfull, but honorable also and meritorious to take your life from you, as being already deprived of your crowne by the excommunication of the holie father. And therefore it is like she will (as hitherto she hath done) continually seeke it by whatsoeuer means.

5 That she is grieued of your maiesties death, and preferreth it before hir owne life and safetie: for in hir direction to one of hir late complacencies, she aduised (vnder covert termes) that whatsoeuer should become of hir, that tragicall execution should be performed vpon you.

1 It is most perillous to spare hir, that continually hath sought the overthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from hir tender youth, and being after that a confederat in that holie league when she came to age, and ever since a professed enemy against the truth.

2 She resteth wholely vpon popish hopes to deliuer and aduance hir, and is thereby so deuoted to that profession, that as well for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of hir owne humors, she will supplant the gospell, where and when so ever she maie: which euill is so much the greater, and the more to be avoided, as that it staeth the verie soule, and will spread it selfe not onelie ouer England and Scotland, but also into those parts beyond the seas, where the gospell of God is maintained, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, by the defection of this noble Island.

1 As the Lydians said, *Phon regem agnosunt Lydi, diuos autem tolerare non possunt*: So we saie, *Phon reginam Elizabetham agnosunt Angli, diuos autem tolerare non possunt*.

The perill of the state of the realme.

2 As she hath alreadie by hir allurements brought to destruction more noble men and their houses, together with a greater multitude of the commons of this realme, during hir being here, than she should haue bene able to do, if she had bene in possession of hir owne crowne, and armed in the field against vs: so will she still be continuall cause of the like spoile, to the greater losse and perill of this estate: and therefore this realme neither can, nor maie endure hir.

3 Again, she is the onelie hope of all discontented subjects, she is the foundation whereon all the euill disposed do build, she is the root from whence all rebellions and trecheries do spring: and therefore whilst this hope lasteth, this foundation standeth, and this root liueth, they will reueine heart, and set on foot whatsoeuer their deuises against the realme, which otherwise will fall away, die, and come to nothing.

4 Mercie

4 Mercie now in this case towards hir would in the end proue crueltie against vs all. *Nam est quædam crudelis misericordia*, and therefore to spare hir, is to spill vs.

5 Besides this, it will excēdinglie graue and in a manner deaddlie wound the hearts of all the good subiects of your land, if they shall see a conspiracie so horrible not condignlie punished.

6 Thousands of your maiesties most liege and louing subiects, of all sorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your maiesties safetie, haue most willinglie both by open subscription and solemne vow, entered into a firme and losall association, and haue thereby protested to pursue vnto the death, by all forcible and possible meanes, such as she is by iust sentence now found to be: can neither discharge their loue, nor well saue their oths, if your maiestie shall keepe hir aliuē: of which burthen your maiesties subiects are most desirous to be releued, as the same maie be, if iustice be done.

7 Lastlie, your maiesties most louing and dutifull commons doubt not, but that as your maiestie is dulle exercised in reading the booke of God: so it will please you to call to your princelie remembrance, how fearefull the examples of Gods vengeance be, that are there to be found against king Saule for sparing king Agag, & against king Achab for sauing the life of Benadab; both which were by the iust iudgement of God depriued of their kingdoms, for sparing those wicked princes, whome God had deliuered into their hands, of purpose to be slaine by them, as by the ministers of his eternall and diuine iustice. Wherein full wiselie Salomon proceeded to punishment, when he took the life of his owne naturall and elder brother Adonias, for the onelie intention of a marriage, that gaue suspicion of treason against him. Herein we your maiesties most louing and obedient subiects earnestlie depend vpon your princelie resolution, which we assure our selues shall be to God most acceptable, and to vs no other than the state of your regall authoritie maie affoord vs, and the approued arguments of your tender care for our safetie vnder your charge doth promise to our expectation.

A REPORT OF HIR MAIESTIES

most gracious answer, deliuered by hir selfe verballie, to the first petitions of the lords and commons, being the estates of parlement, in hir chamber of preſence at Richmond, the twelſe daie of Nouember 1586, at the full almost of eight and twentie yeares of hir reigne. Whereof the reporter requireth of all that were hearers, a fauorable interpretation of his intent, because he findeth that he can not expresse the same answerable to the originall, which the learned call *Pro-
totypum*.



Upon the bottomlesse graces and immeſurable benefits beſtowed vpon me by the almighty, are, and haue bene ſuch, as I muſt not onelie acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well miracles as benefits; not ſo much in reſpect of his diuine maieſtie, with whome nothing is more common than to do things rare and ſingular: as in regard of our weakenesſe, who can not ſufficientlie ſet forth his wonderfull works and graces, which to me haue bene ſo manie, ſo diuerſelie ſolbed and imbrodered one vpon another, as in no ſort I am able to expreſſe them. And although there liueth not arie, that maie more iuſtly acknowledge themſelues infinitely bound vnto God than I, whoſe life he hath miraculoſlie preſerued at ſundry times (beyond my merit) from a multitude of perils & dangers: yet

is not that the cauſe, for which I count my ſelfe the deepeſt bound to giue him my humbleſt thanks, or to yeld him greateſt recognition; but this which I ſhall tell you hereafter, which will deſerue the name of wonder, if rare things and ſeldome ſcene be worthy of account. Euen this it is, that as I came to the crowne with the willing hearts of my ſubiects, ſo do I now after eight and twentie yeares reigne, perceiue in you no diminution of good wills, which if happily I ſhould want, well might I heare, but neuer thinke I liued.

And now, albeit I find my life hath bene full dangerouslie fought, and death contriued by ſuch as no deſert procured: yet am I therein ſo cleare from malice (which hath the propriety to make men glad at the ſals and faults of their foes, and make them ſame to do for other cauſes, when rancor is the ground) as I proteſt it is and hath bene my gracious thought, that one, not different in ſer, 10 of like eſtate, and my nere kin, ſhould fall into ſo great a crime: yea I had ſo little purpoſe to purſue hir with arie colour of malice, that as it is not vnknowne to ſome of my lords here (for now I will plate the blab) I ſecretlie wrote hir a letter vpon the diſcouerie of ſundry treaſons, that if ſhe would confeſſe them, and priuatlie acknowledge them by hir letters to my ſelfe, ſhe neuer ſhould need be called for them into ſo publike queſtion. Neither did I it of mind to circumuent hir: for 20 then I knew as much as ſhe could confeſſe, and ſo did I write. And if euen yet, now that the matter is made but too apparant, I thought the trulie would repent (as perhaps ſhe would eaſilie appeare in outward ſhew to do) and that for hir, none other would take the matter vpon them; or that we were but as two milke maids with pailles vpon our armes, or that there were no more dependencie vpon vs but mine owne life were onelie in danger, and not the whole eſtate of your religion and well 30 doings, I proteſt (wherein you maie beleeue me, for though I maie haue manie vices, I hope I haue not accuſtomed my tong to be an inſtrument of vntruth) I would moſt willinglie pardon and remit this offence.

And if by my death other nations and kingdoms might trulie ſaie, that this realme had attained an ener prosperous and ſpoſing eſtate: I would (I assure you) not deſire to liue; but gladlie giue my life, to the end my death might procure you a better prince. And for your ſakes it is, that I deſire to liue, to keepe you from a worſe. For as for me, I assure you, I find no great cauſe I ſhould be fond to liue: I take no ſuch pleaſure in it, that I ſhould much wiſh it; nor conceiue ſuch terror in death, that I ſhould greatlie feare it: and yet I ſaie not, but if the ſtroke were coming, perchance fleſh and blood would be moued with it, and ſeke to ſhun it. I haue had good experience and triall of this world: I know what it is to be a ſubiect; what to be a ſouereigne; what to haue good neighbors, and 60 ſometime meet euil willers. I haue found treaſon in truſt, ſene great benefits little regarded, and in ſtead of gratefulneſſe, courſes of purpoſe to croſſe.

Theſe former remembrances, preſent feeling, and future expectation of euils (I ſaie) haue made me thinke, An euil is much the better, the leſſe while it indureth: & ſo, them happily, that are ſomeſe heneſe: and taught me to beare with a better mind theſe treaſons, than is common to my ſex: yea, with a better heart perhaps, than is in ſome men. Which I hope you will not merelie impute to my ſimplicity or want of vnderſtanding, but rather, that I thus conceiued, that had their purpoſes taken effect, I ould

should not haue found the blow, before I had felt it: and though my perill should haue bene great, my paine should haue bene but small and short: therein, as I would be loth to die so bloudie a death, so doubt I not, but God would haue giuen me grace to be prepared for such an euent, chance when it shall, which I refer vnto his good pleasure. And now, as touching their treasons and conspiracies, together with the contriuer of them; I will not so preiudicate my selfe and this my realme, as to saie 10 or thinke, that I might not, without the last statute, by the ancient lawes of this land, haue proceeded against hir, which was not made particularlie to preiudice hir; though perhaps it might then be suspected, in respect of the disposition of such as depend that waie. It was so far from being intended to intrap hir, that it was rather an admonition to waerne the danger thereof: but sith it is made, and in the force of a law, I thought god, in that which might concerne hir, to proceed according thereto, rather than by course of common law: wherein, if you the iudges haue not deceiued me, or that the books you brought me were not false (which God forbid) I might as iustlie haue tried hir by the ancient lawes of the land.

But you lawiers are so nice in sitting, and scanning euerie word and letter, that manie times you stand more vpon forme than matter, vpon syllables than sense of the law. For in the strictnesse & exact following of common forme, the 30 must haue bene indicted in Staffordshire, haue holden by hir hand at the barre, and bene tried by a iurie: a proper course forsooth, to deale in that manner with one of hir estate. I thought it better therefore, for avoiding of these and more absurdities, to commit the cause to the inquisition of a good number of the greatest and most noble personages of this realme, of the iudges and others of good account, whose sentence I must approue: and all 40 little enough. For we princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in the sight and view of all the world duilie obserued; the eyes of manie behold our actions; a spot is sone spied in our garments; a blemish quicklie noted in our doings. It behoueth vs therefore to be carefull that our proceedings be iust and honorable.

But I must tell you one thing more, that in this last act of parlement you haue brought me vnto a narrow streit, that I must giue direction for hir death, which cannot bee to mee but a most greuous and irksome burthen. And least you might mistake mine absence from this parlement (which I had almost forgotten) although there bee no cause why I should willingly come amongst multitudes, for that amongst manie some maie bee euill: yet hath it not bene the doubt of ante such danger or occasion that kept me from thence; but onlie the great griefe to heare this cause spoken of; especiallie, that such a one of state and kin should need so open a declaration, and that this nation should be so spotted with blots of disloyaltie. Wherein the lesse is my gréfe, for that I hope the better part is mine, and those of the worse not so much to be accounted of, for that in seeking my destruction, they might haue spoiled their owne souls. And euen now could I tell you, that which would make you lozie. It is a secret, and yet I will tell it you; although it is knowne I haue the proprietie to keepe counsell, but too well oftentimes so mine owne perill. It is not long since mine eyes did see it written, that an oth was taken within few daies, either to kill me, or to be hanged themselves: and that to be performed yer one moneth were ended. Whereby I see your danger in me, and neither can

nor will be so vnthankfull or carelesse of your consciences, as not prouide for your safetie.

I am not vnmindfull of your oth made in the association, manifesting your great good wils and affections, taken and entered into, vpon good conscience, and true knowledge of the guilt, for safetie of my person, and conseruation of my life: done (I protest to God) before I heard it, or euer thought of such a matter, vntill a great number of hands with manie obligations were shewed me, at Hamp- 10 ton court, signed and subscribed with the names and seales of the greatest of this land. Which as I doe acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true hearts, and great zeale to my safetie: so shall my bond be stronger tied to greater care for all your god. But for as much as this matter is rare, weightie, and of great consequence, I thinke you do not looke for anie present resolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my maner, in matters of far 20 lesse moment, to giue speedie answer without due consideration; so in this of such importance, I thinke it verie requit with earnest praier to beseech his diuine maiestie, so to illuminat my understanding, and inspire me with his grace, as I maie do and determine that, which shall serue to the establishment of his church, preferuation of your estates, and prosperitie of this common wealth vnder my charge. Wherein (for that I know delaie is dangerous) you shall haue with all conueniencie our resolution de- 30 liuered by our message. And what euer anie prince maie merit of their subjects, for their approued testimonye of their vnfained sinceritie, either by gouerning iustlie, void of all parcialitie, or sufferance of anie iniuries done (euen to the poore) that do I assuredlie promise inuolabile to performe, for requital of your so manie deserts.

¶ The occasions of the second access.



His answer thus made by hir maiestie, the lords and commons were dismissed. And then hir highnesse some few daies after, vpon deliberation had of this petition, being (as it appeared) of hir mercifull disposition of nature, and hir princelie magnanimitie, in some conflict with hir selfe what to do in a cause so weightie and important to hir and the realme, sent by the lord chancelor (as I heard) and by the mouth of an honorable person, and a right worthy member of the lower house, this message to both houses: mouing and earnestlie charging them, to enter into a further consideration, whether there might not be some other waie of remedie, than that they had already required, so far disagreeing from hir owne naturall inclination. Wherevpon, the lords and commons in either houses assembled, had sundrie consultations, both in their severall houses generalie, and by priuat committes deputed speciallie. And after conference had betwixt the said committes, it was resolved with vnanimitie of consent amongst them in the lower house, and by vniuersall concord in the upper house (the question there propounded to euerie one of the lords) that there could be found no other sound and assured meane, in the depth of their understanding, for the continuance of the christian religion, quiet of the realme, and safetie of hir maiesties most roiall person, than that which was contained in their former petition. The reasons thereof were summarilie these that follow, which are more shortly reported than they were uttered.

A brieue report of the second acceſſe

the foure and twentieth of Nouember 1586:

and of the answer made in the name of

the lords of the parlement, to a message

sent from hir maiestie by the

lord chancellor after

hir first answer.



The lord chancellor, accompanied with a boue ſiue or ſix and twentieth lords of parlement, came before hir highneſſe in hir chamber of preſence, to deliuer the reſolution of all the lords of parlement, concerning a meſſage which he had not long before deliuered from hir maiestie, for further conſultation, whether anie other means could be thought of, or found out by anie of them, how the ſcottiſh quēns life might be ſpared, and yet hir maiesties perſon ſaued out of perill, and the ſtate of the realme preſerued in quiet; declared, that according to that he had receiued in commandement from hir maiestie, he had imparted the ſame vnto the lords aſſembled in the upper houſe, whom he found by their generall ſilence much amazed at the propounding thereof, conſidering the ſame had bene before in deliberation amongeſt them, and reſolved vpon, and as appeared by their former petition exhibited to hir highneſſe, wherein they had expreſſed the ſame reſolution.

Notwithſtanding, for hir maiesties further ſatisfaction, they had entred into a new conſultation, & for that purpoſe ſelected a great number of the choiſeſt perſons of the higher houſe of parlement to confer thereof, either priuatlie or togiſther with the lower houſe: which alſo was done accordinglie at ſeueral times. At all which conferences it was concluded by them all, & ſo afterwards by the whole aſſembly of both houſes, that there could be no other aſſured means for the preſeruation of hir maiesties life, and continuance of Gods religión & quiet of this ſtate, than by the full execution of the ſentence according to their former petition, inſtantlie preſſing hir maiestie with manie arguments and reaſons tending thereto. All which, though by diſtance from his lordſhip I could not well conceiue, yet this I did remember preſentlie and eſpeciallie was one: that as it were iniuſtice to denie execution of law at the ſute of anie one particular, and the meanest of hir people: ſo much more not to yeld to the earnest inſtance and humble prayers of all hir faithfull and louing ſubiects. And ſo concluded, with earnest petition for hir maiesties reſolute determination and answer, for a preſent and ſpedie direction by proclamation, and otherwiſe alſo, according vnto the forme of the ſtatute.

A ſummarie report of the ſecond

ſpeech, vttered by the ſpeaker of the

lower houſe, by direction

of all the commons.

What if hir maiestie ſhould be ſafe with out taking awaie the life of the ſcottiſh quēne, the ſame were moſt likelie and probable to grow, by one of theſe means following.

1 Firſt, that happlie ſhe might be reclaimed and become a repentant conuert, agniſing hir maiesties great mercie and fauors in remitting hir heinous offense, and by hir loialtie hereafter perſforming the fruits of ſuch conuerſion.

2 Whereby a more ſtreit gard be ſo kept, as there ſhould be no feare of the like attempts hereafter.

3 That good aſſurance might be giuen by oth,

bonds or hoſtages, as cautions for hir good and all demeanors from henceforth.

4 Laſtly by baniſhment, the realme might be voided of hir perſon, and thereby the perils further remoued that grow to hir maiestie by hir preſence. The moments whereof being duly pondered, did yet appeare ſo light in all their iudgements, that they durſt not aduiſe anie ſecuritie to reſt in anie, no not in all of them. For touching hir conuerſion, it was conſidered, that if pietie or dutie could haue reſtrained hir from ſuch heinous attempts, there was cauſe abundantlie miniſtered vnto hir on hir maiesties behalfe, when ſhe not onelie protected hir againſt the violence of hir owne ſubiects, who purſued hir to death by iuſtice, but covered hir honor when the ſame by publike ſame was touched, and by verie heinous and capitall crimes (obſcured and proued againſt hir before certeine commiſſarie delegates assigned to examine the ſame) more than bliſſhed; and ſpared hir life, when for hir former conſpiracies and confederacies with the brotherne rebels, hir highneſſe was with great inſtance preſſed by both the houſes in the ſouretenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, to do like iuſtice vpon hir, as now is deſired, and as hir reaſonable practiſes then had moſt iuſtly deſerued.

And where the penaltie of this act ſufficientlie notified vnto hir, ſhould haue terrified hir from ſo wicked attempts, ſhe hath neuertheleſſe inſiſted in hir former practiſes, as a perſon obdurat in malice againſt hir maiestie, and irreuerable; ſo as there was no probable hope of anie conuerſion, but rather great doubt and feare of relapſe and reciduation, forasmuch as ſhe ſtood obſtinatlie in the deniall of matter moſt euidentlie proued, and now moſt iuſtly ſentenced againſt hir, and was not entred into the firſt part of repentance, the recognition of hir offense, and ſo much the further off from the true fruits that ſhould accompanie the ſame.

As for a ſurer gard & more ſtreit impriſonment, it was reſolved that there was no ſecuritie therein, nor yet in the other two means propounded of bonds and hoſtages: forasmuch as the ſame meanes that ſhould be practiſed to take hir maiesties life awaie, (which God forbid) would applie ſerue for the deliuerie of hir perſon, and releaſe of the bonds & hoſtages that ſhould be giuen for cautions in that behalfe: which being unhapilie achiued, and to our irreparable loſſe, who ſhould ſue the bonds, or deteine the hoſtages: Where being deteined, what proportion was there in bonds or hoſtages whatſoeuer, to counteruaile the value of ſo pretious & ineffimable a iewel, as hir maiestie is to this realme, & to vs all? But ſhe will ſolemnlie ſwore & take an oth, that ſhe will not attempt anie thing to the hurt of hir maiesties perſon. ſhe hath already ſundrie times ſaliſhed hir word, hir writing, and hir oth; and holdeth it for an article of religión, that faith is not to be holden with heretiks, of which ſort the accounteth your maiestie and all the profeſſors of the goſpell to be: and therfore haue we little reaſon to truſt hir in that, whereof ſhe maketh ſo ſmall a conſcience.

As for baniſhment, that were a ſtep *A malo in peius*, to ſet hir at libertie, a thing ſo greatlie deſired and thruſted for by hir adherents, and by ſome priuies hir allies, who ſought hir enlargement chieflie to make hir a head to be ſet by againſt hir maiestie, in time of inuaſion. To the which were added ſome ſew reaſons collected out of hir owne letters and the confeſſion of Wabington, hir inſtrument and conſpirator: by which appeared how hir owne conſcience belated what might iuſtly fall vpon hir, in caſe anie of hir intended deſignements came to light, that ſhe might haplie be ſhut vp in ſome more cloſe and

and strit prison, as the Tower of London, if there befell him no worse thing. And in that the directed Babington, in case he failed in the action of his deliverie, that he should neuertheless proceed in the residue; which was the death of his maiestie: who also confessed, that upon assurance of his maiesties death, or the arrivall of strangers, he intended to proclaime the queene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe: and therefore his maiesties death being so earnestlie sought, for advancement of this competitor, his highnesse could not remaine in quietnesse or securitie, if the Scottish queene should longer continue his life.

THE SECOND ANSWER

made by the queens maiestie, deliuered by his owne mouth, to the second speech, vttered in the names of the lords and commons of the parlement.



All gracious is the waie, whose going on, and end, breedeth cumber for the hire of a laborious iourneie. I haue strived more this date than ever in my life, whether I should speake, or be silence. If I speake and not complaine, I shall dissemble; if I hold my peace, your labour taken were full vaine. For me to make my mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shall find few, that for their owne particular, will cumber you with such a care. Yet such I protest hath bene my greedy desire and hungrie will, that of your consolation might have fallen out some other meanes to loose my safetie joined with your assurance (than that for which you are become such earnest suitors) as I protest, I must needs be complaint, though not of you, but unto you, and of the cause; for that I do perceiue by your aduises, prayers, and desires, there falleth out this accident, that onelie my intencers bane must be my lifes suertie.

But if anie there live so wicked of nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this time onelie, *Pro forma*, to the intent to make a shew of clemencie, thereby to set my praises to the intercessors to lengthen them the more: they do me so great a wrong, as they can hardly recompense. And if anie person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vaine-glorious thought hath drawne me further herein, they do me as open iniurie as euer was done to a nie living creature, as he that is the maker of all thoughts knoweth best to be true. And if there be anie, that thinke, that the lords appointed in commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or else to be suspected to be of a contrarie opinion to my safetie, they do but heape upon me iniurious concepts. For either those put in trust by me to supplie my place, haue not performed their duties towards me; or else they haue signified unto you all, that my desire was, that euerie one should do according to his conscience, and in the course of his proceedings should intoe both freedom of voice and libertie of opinion; and what they would not openly declare, they might privately to my selfe haue reuealed. It was of a willing mind and great desire I had, that some other meanes might be found out, wherein I should haue taken more comfort, than in anie other thing vnder the sun.

And sith now it is resolved, that my suretie can not be established without a princesse end, I haue iust cause to complaine; that I, who haue in my time pardoned so manie rebels, winked at so manie treasons, and either not produced them, or altogether slipt them ouer with silence, should now be forced to this proceeding, against such a person. I haue besides, during my reigne, seene and heard manie opprobrious books and pamphlets against me,

my realme and state, accusing me to be a tyrant; I thanke them for their almes: I beleeue therein their meaning was to tell me news, and news it is to me in deed; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie! What will they not now saie, when it shall be spread, that for the safetie of his life, a maiden queene could be content to spill the blood, euen of his owne kinswoman: I maie therefore full well complaine, that anie man should thinke me giuen to crueltie, whereof I am so guiltlesse and innocent, as I should slander God, if I should saie he gaue me so vile a mind: yea, I protest, I am so far from it, that for mine owne life I would not touch him: neither hath my care bene so much bent how to prolong mine, as how to preserve both: which I am right loze is made so hard, yea so impossible.

I am not so bold of iudgement, as not to see mine owne perill; nor yet so ignorant, as not to know it were in nature a foolish course, to cherish a sword to cut mine owne throte; nor so careless, as not to weigh that my life daillie is in hazard: but this I do consider, that manie a man would put his life in danger for the safegard of a king, I do not saie that so will I: but I praise you thinke, that I haue thought upon it. But sith so manie haue both written & spoken against me, I praise you giue me leaue to saie somewhat for my selfe, & before you returne to your countries, let you know, for what a one you haue passed so carefull thoughts. Wherein, as I thinke my selfe infinitlie beholding unto you all, that seeke to preserve my life by all the meanes you maie: so I protest unto you, that there lieth no prince, that euer shall be more mindfull to requite so good deserts. And as I perceiue you haue kept your old wonts, in a generall seeking of the lengthning of my dates: so am I sure that I shall neuer requite it, but as I had as manie liues as you all: but for euer I will acknowledge it, while there is anie breath left me. Although I maie not iustifie, but maie iustlie condemne my sundrie faults and sinnes to God: yet for my care in this gouernment, let me acquaint you with my intents.

When first I toke the scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure me: how manie great princes of the contrarie opinion would attempt all they might against me: and generallie, what enimitie I should breed unto my selfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer since I haue bene so dangerously prosecuted, as I rather maruell that I am, than muse that I should not be: if it were not Gods holie hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation. Then entered I further into the schole of experience, be thinking what it fitted a king to do: and there I saw, he scant was well furnished, if either he lacked iustice, temperance, magnanimitie, or iudgement. As for the two latter, I will not boast, my sex doth not permit it: but for the two first, this dare I saie; amongst my subiects I neuer knew a difference of person, where right was one: nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for fauour, whom I thought not fit for worth: nor bent my eares to credit a tale that first was told me: nor was so rash, to corrupt my iudgement with my censure, before I heard the cause. I will not saie, but manie reports might fortune be brought me by such as might heare the case, whose partialitie might mar sometime the matter: for

the princes maie not heare all our selues. But this dare I boldlie affirme, my verda went euer with the truth of my knowledge. As full well wisshed Alcebiades his friend, that he should not giue ante answer, till he had recited the letters of the alphabet: so haue I not vsed ouer sudden resolutions, in matters that haue touched me full nere: you will saie that with me, I thinke.

And therefore, as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceiue them to be wise, honest, and conscionable: so prouident and careful for the safetie of my life (which I wish no longer than maie be for your good) that though I neuer can yeld you of recompense your due: yet shall I endeavour my selfe to giue you cause, to thinke your good will not ill bestowed, and strive to make my selfe worthis for such subjects. And now for your petition, I shall praise you for this present, to content your selues with an answer without answer. Your iudgement I condemne not, neither do I mislike your reason, but praise you to accept my thankfulness, excuse my doubtfulness, and take in good part my answer answerlesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne iudgement, but that I thinke manie particular persons maie go before me, though by my degra I go before them. Therefore if I should saie, I would not do what you request, it might peradventure be more than I thought: and to saie I would do it, might perhaps breed perill of that you labour to preserve, being more than in your owne wisdoms and discretions would seeme convenient, circumstances of place and time being duly considered.

Thus far the proceeding against the Scottish quene, as the same is reported by R. C. Now followeth the publication of the same, which was done with great port and stateliness. For upon tuesday, being the first date of December, the lord maior of London, assisted with diuers earls, and barons, the aldermen in their scarlet gowones, the principall officers of the citie, the greatest number of gentlemen of the best accompt in and about the citie, with the number of fourescore of the most graue & worshipfull citizens, in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, all on horse backe, in most solemne and statelie maner, by the sound of foure trumpets, about ten of the clocke in the forenone, made open and publike proclamation and declaration of the sentence latelye giuen by the nobilitie against the quene of Scots, vnder the great scale of England, bearing date at Richmond the fourth date of December, being openlie read by master Shewright, to wnic-clerke of London, & with loud voice solemnlie proclaimed by the sargent at armes of the said citie, in foure seuerall places, to wit, at the crosse in Cheape, at the end of Chancerie lane in Fleetstreet, ouer against the Temple, at Leaden hall corner, and at saint Agnens corner nere London bydige.

During which time, the like solemn proclamation was made with great solemnities in the countie of Middlesex, namelie in the palace at Westminster, without Temple barre, and in Holborne, by the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, assisted with sundrie noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the iustices of peace of the said countie, to the great and wonderfull reioysing of the people of all sorts, as manifestlie appeared by their eger running after the postlie traine, their thonging to heare the same published, their ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalmes in euerie street and lane of the citie. The said proclamation followeth.

A true copie of the proclamation lately published by the queenes maiestie, vnder the great scale of England, for the declaring of the sentence latelye giuen against the quene of Scots, in forme as followeth.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, quene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Whereas we were giuen to vnderstand very credible, though to our great griefe, that diuerse things were, and of late time had bene compassed, imagined, and resoluelie intended, tending direalie to the hurt and destruction of our roiall person, and to the subuersion of the state of our realme by forren inuasions and rebellions at home, as well by the quene of Scots, remaining in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie diuerse other wicked persons with hir priuie, who had frelie confessed the same, and had thereupon receiued open trial, iudgement, and execution according to the lawes for their deserts. And though in verie truth we were greatlie and deeplie greued in our mind, to thinke or imagine that anie such vnaturall and monstrous acts should be either deuised, or willinglie assented vnto against vs, by hir being a princesse bozne, and of our sex and blood, and one also whose life & honor we had manie times before saued and preserved: yet were we so directlie bounde to thinke all the maie to be true, by the sight and vnderstanding of such proofes as were manifestlie produced afore vs, vpon matters that had as well proceeded from hir selfe, as from the confestors them selues, who voluntarilie & frelie without anie coercion had confessed their conspirations, both iointlie with hir, and directed by hir, against our person and our realme: and therefore also we sawe great reason, to thinke the same ouer dangerous to be suffered to passe onward to take their full effect.

Wherefore we were by sundrie lords of our nobilitie, and others our louing subjects, earnestlie moued and counselled, to take vndelayed order for the inquisition and examination of all these dangerous enterprises & conspiracies, by sundrie waies directlie anownd to be by the said quene of Scots against vs and our realme certeinlie intended; and also to vse all present meanes with expedition to withstand or rather to preuent the same. And for that we were verie vntwilling to proceed against hir, considering hir birth and estate, by such vnsaill sort as by the common lawes of the realme we might haue lawfullie done, which was by indictment and arraignment by ordinarie iuries: therefore, in respect both of our owne honor, and of hir person, we yielded, by good aduise giuen to vs, to proceed in the most honorable sort that could be deuised within our realme, to the examination hereof, according to a late act of parlement, made the thre and twentieth date of Nouember, in the seuen and twentieth yeare of our reigne.

Whereupon by our commission vnder our great scale of England, bearing date at our castell of Windsor in our countie of Warkehire, the first date of October now last past, we did (for that purpose) according to that statute, assigne, name, and appoint all the lords and others of our priue council, and so manie other earls and barons lords of parlement, of the greatest degre and most ancient of the nobilitie of this our realme, as with the same lords and others of our priue counsell, made by the number of fortie and two, adding also thereto a further, number according to the tenor of the foresaid act of parlement, of certeine of the chiefe and other principall iudges of the courts of record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number

The sentence
giuen against
the Scottish
quene solemn-
lie proclaimed.

ver of foyle and leuen, to examine all things com-
passed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our ro-
all person, as well by the said queene of Scots; by
the name of Marie the daughter & heire of James
the fifth king of Scots, commonlie called the
queene of Scots & Dowager of France, as by anie
other by hir p'suitie, and all the circumstances there-
of, & thereupon according to the tenor of the said act
of parlement, to giue sentence or iudgment, as upon
good p'ofe the matter vnto them should appeare, as
by the same commission more fullie appeareth.

And there afterwards the more part of the said
counsellors, lords, and iudges, in our said commissi-
on named, that is to saie, the number of six and thir-
tie, did in the p'sence and hearing of the said queene
of Scots, where she remained at our castell of Fo-
deringhaie, at diuerse daies and times in publike
place, verie eradlie, byp'rightlie, and with great deli-
beration examine all the matters & offenses, where-
of she was charged and accused, tending vnto the
dangers afoze rehearsed and mentioned in our said
commission and all the circumstances thereof, and
heard also at large in all fauorable maner, what the
same queene did, or could saie for hir excuse and de-
fense in that behalfe. Whereupon afterwards on
the five and twentieth daie of October now last past,
all the said counsell, lords, and iudges, that had
heard and examined the same cause in the said
queenes p'sence, as afoze is mentioned, with one
assent and consent, after good deliberation did giue
their sentence and iudgement, in this fozt follow-
ing.

That after the first daie of June, in the seuen
and twentieth yeare of our reigne, and befoze the
date of our said commission, diuerse things were
compassed and imagined within this realme of En-
gland by Anthonie Babington, and others, with the
p'suitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the
crown of this realme of England, tending to the
hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall per-
son. And likewise, that after the same first daie of
June, and befoze the date of our said commission,
the said Marie, pretending title to the same crowne,
had compassed & imagined within the same realme,
diuers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruc-
tion of our roiall person, contrarie to the foyme of
the said statute: which sentence and iudgement the
same lords and commissioners haue with one full
consent caused to be put in writing, and duilie in-
grossed, with the whole processe of their procé-
dings therevnto belonging, and haue subscri-
bed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof
shewed to vs more fullie and largelie doth appeare.

And whereas also, sithence the same sentence and
iudgement so giuen and recorded, the lords and com-
mons in this p'sent parlement assembled, haue
also at sundrie times & in open parlement, heard and
considered the principall evidences, p'ofes, and cir-
cumstances, whereupon the same sentence and
iudgement was grounded, and haue by their pub-
like assent in parlement affirmed the same to be a
iust, lawfull, and true sentence, and so haue allowed
and approued the same in writing p'sented vnto
vs: and haue also notified to vs, how dépelie they
did foze the great and manie imminent dangers,
which otherwise might and would grow to our per-
son, and to the whole realme, if this sentence were
not fullie executed: and consequentlie therefore,
they did by their most humble and earnest petitions
in that behalfe, of one accord, hauing accesse vnto
vs (vpon their sundrie requests) most instantlie by
on their knees, p'ate, beseech, and with manie rea-
sons of great force and importance, moue and p'sse
vs, that the said sentence and iudgement so iustlie

& duilie giuen, and by them approued, as is afozesaid,
might (according to the expresse tenor of the said act
of parlement) by our proclamation vnder our great
seale be declared and published, and the same also fu-
nallie executed.

But after such most earnest request, so made to
vs from all the said lords and commons in parle-
ment, they perceiuing by our owne speeches and
answers, how dépelie we are graued to heare
of these horrible and vnnaturall attempts and acti-
ons of that queene, whose manie former offenses,
manifestlie and dangeroullie committed against
vs, our crowne and realme, we had overpassed with
our ouer great clemencie, contrarie to the manie
advises and requests of our subiects, aswell in par-
lement as otherwise: and therefore they also under-
standing from our selfe, how desirous we were to
haue some other meanes deuised by them in their
seuerall places of parlement, to withstand these
mischiefes intended both against our selfe, and the
publike quiet state of our realme, and suertie of our
good subiects, than by execution of the foresaid sen-
tence, as was required: they did after their sundrie
consultations apart, and conferences iointlie with
one accord, in the names of all the lords of parle-
ment, euen by the particular votes of them all as-
sembled, and also of the commons with one vniuer-
sall assent, representing the state of all our realme,
at their seuerall times of accesse vnto vs, alledge,
declare, and protest, that vpon their long, manie, &
aduised consultations and conferences by our com-
mandement, and for our satisfaction in that behalfe
had, they could not by anie meanes find or deuise,
how the suertie of our roiall person, and the p'ser-
uation of themselves and their posteritie, with the
good state of the realme, might be p'ouided for and
continued, without the publication and due execu-
tion of the said sentence.

Whereupon, being not onelie moued to our
græfe, but also ouercome with the earnest requests,
declarations, and important reasons of all our said
subiects, the nobles and commons of our realme,
whose iudgement, knowledge, and naturall care of
vs, and the whole realme, we know doth farre sur-
mount all others, being not so interessed therein, and
so iustlie to be esteemed: and perceiuing also the said
sentence to haue bene honourable, lawfullie, and
iustlie giuen, agreeable to iustice and to the lawes
of our realme: we did yeld, and do according to
this said statute by this our proclamation vnder our
great seale of England, declare, notifie, and publish
to all our louing subiects, and other persons whatso-
euer, that the said sentence and iudgement is giuen
in maner afoze said, to the intent, that they and ene-
rie of them, by this our proclamation may haue full
understanding and knowledge thereof. We do also
will you, that you returne this our proclamation in-
to our court of Chancerie, as speedilie as you maie
conuenientlie, with the place and time of the procla-
ming thereof thereupon indoxed, whereof saile you
not. In witness whereof, we haue caused this our
proclamation to be made patent, and sealed with
the great seale of England. At our manor of Rich-
mont the fourth daie of December, the nine and
twentieth yeare of our reigne, and in the yeare of our
Lord God, one thousand five hundred fourescore
and six.

And to conclude with a remembrance of perpe-
tuitie concerning the queens maiestie, of whose lo-
uing care and tender affection towards all hir faith-
full subiects as we haue manifold testimonies in
the hystorie of hir highnesse time, whereby their
hearts are linked vnto hir maiestie with an indis-
soluble

solable knot of deserved loue and loialtie: so we maie not omit in anie case the publike witnesse of hir highnesse naturall care and mercifull p[ro]vidence ouer hir liege people, euen those of the p[ro]uer soyt, vnto whome the comfortable streames of hir rare regard for their benefit and welfare, in a hard time of scarcitie, do most plentifully flow. But because our barren and saplesse stile is insufficient, with conuenient dignitie to describe, naie not so much as to delineate or shadow out this incomparable pittie and pietie of hir highnesse tender heart to hir commons, I will surcease to intermeddle therein, reseruing the same vnto the due consideration of euerie particular member of this bodie politike (whereof hir maiestie is the soueraigne head) by the view and perusal of the p[ro]clamation and orders here annexed.

A true copie of the said p[ro]clamation concerning corne, &c.

The quenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the generall dearth growne of corne & other vittels, partlie through the vnseasonableness of the yeare past, whereby want hath growne more in some countries than in others, but most of all generallie through the couetousnes & vcharitable graedines of such as be great cornemasters & ingrofers of corne, vsing all the subtil meanes they can, to worke their owne present vnconscionable gaine against the rules of charitie, which hir maiestie of hir princelie care and loue towards hir people, vterlie condemneth, and earnestlie desireth to remedie, for the relafe of the p[ro]uer soyt. And therefore, hir maiestie with hir princelie care towards hir people, hauing (with the aduise of hir counsell) had god consideration hereof, both by this hir p[ro]clamation, giue expresse commandement and charge vnto all such to whom it shall come apperteine, that such god orders as hir maiestie hath commanded to be deuised for that purpose, and now also are sent to all parts of hir realme, be diligentlie and effectualle put in spede execution: signifieng withall vnto all hir god and louing subiects, that if anie shall be found obstinat or negligent in the due execution, or otherwise in the obseruation thereof, that then vpon due information and p[ro]ofe thereof made vnto hir highnesse said counsell, which she requireth not to be spared by anie, hauing iust cause of complaint, for respect of anie person, she hath giuen speciall commandement and order, that they shall be speedilie called to answer; & therevpon, according to the qualitie of their offenses, shall receiue sharpe punishment, whereby others maie take example to auoid the like contempt, negligence, or other defaults.

And although this dearth hath in sundrie parts of the realme first growne by the visitation of almightie God, in the alteration of seasonable weather this last yeare, which neuertheless of his great mercie hath not bene so extreme in this realme, as in manie other countries adioining, where the dearth is by manie occasions manifestlie knowne to be far greater than is in this realme hitherto, or by his godnesse is like to be: yet it is manifestlie knowne the said dearth to haue bin twofullie increased in verie manie places of this realme, not onelie by & through the couetousnes of manie ingrofers of corne & cornemasters, but also by vnlawfull transposition of graine, & lacke also of p[re]seruation of store in time requisit. Hir highnesse acknowledging this manner of Gods mercie and fauour in a more fauorable measure towards hir countrie and hir people, than to other forren parts nere adioining, hath thought god and necessarie, for a further remedie against the vcharitable couetousnes of the corne-

masters, as cause shall require, to notifie, that if such as be the great cornemasters and owners of graine, or of other necessarie vittels for food of the p[ro]uer, shall not be willing, or do not performe these orders, whereby the p[ro]uer soyt maie be relaued in the markets at reasonable p[ri]ces; or that it shall appere that other needfull vittels shall by couetousnes of anie persons growe to excessive p[ri]ces, to the pinching of the p[ro]uer soyt: then hir highnesse doth hereby signifie, that she will not onelie seuerelie punish the offenders for their cruell couetousnes and offenses against hir orders; but will also for redress of the excessive p[ri]ces of other needfull vittels, giue order that reasonable p[ri]ces shall be set both on corne and other vittels, to be sold for the relafe of hir maiesties p[ro]uer subiects, according both to hir prerogative roiall, and to the order of iustice, as by speciall law of parlement therfore made in the five and twentieth yeare of the reigne of hir late noble and deare father king Henrie the eight, is speciallie in such cases p[ro]vided. Given at Greenwich the second date of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentieth yeare of hir highnesse reigne.

Now the said orders before specified, being a matter of coherence (denied by the speciall commandement of hir maiestie, for the relafe and staie of the present dearth of graine within the realme) and published at large, do here follow (agreeable to that which was sent from the court at Greenwich aboue into the realme, the second date of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, by hir maiesties priuie counsell) but abridged according to the annotations. And first: That the iustices shall diuide themselves into sundrie parts to execute these orders: To appoint sundrie iuries to inquire of things hereafter following: The oth of the iurors, with charge to inquire what number of persons be in the houses of them that haue store of corne: For badgers, broggers, and carriers of corne: Saltmakers, bakers, and brewers: Sellers of corne to sell againe: Sellers of corne vpon the ground: Against such as shall refuse to declare the truth of the matters inquirable: Parties offending to appeare afore the counsell: A consideration of all persons that haue corne, to determine how they shall serue the markets with such portions as they maie spare: The forme of the recognisance to be freely taken.

Orders to be obserued by such as shall be appointed to serue the markets with corne, for the relafe of the p[ro]uer people first: To whom corne shall be sold, after that the p[ro]uer are serued: No corne brought to the market vsold, to be caried out of the towne: None to bue such kind of corne as they shall bring to sell, but by warrant vpon reasonable cause: No corne to be bought & to sell againe: No corne to be bought but in open market: Inquirie to be made against ingrofers: An order for all licences from the iustices of the peace, to be kept in a record: Regard to the bakers for keeping of the sile of bread: Bread faultie in anie expresse to be sold towards the relafe of the p[ro]uer: No badger to bue corne but in open market, and with a sufficient licence in writing: The badgers to shew twokelle their books of buteng: No iustices seruant to be a badger, nor none other, but such as shall be licensed in open sessions: No badger, baker, brewer, or purueior, to bue graine, vntill an houre after the fall market begin: Some iustices to be present in the market, to see the p[ro]uer relaued vpon reasonable p[ri]ces.

Where iustices are wanting in anie hundred for

An abridgement of the orders deuised for the relafe of the p[ro]uer in this time of dearth, &c.

Search.

for to appoint some rich persons to supplye the want: That ministers and preachers exhort the rich sort to be liberal to helpe the poore with monie or vittels needfull: To make malt of oates in countries where there hath bene use thereof: No wastie of bread come superfluouslie, nor anie expence thereof but for feeding of people: None suffered to make starch of anie graine: Able poore people to be set to worke: Stocks of monie for provision of tooles for poore people: Clothiers to continue their worke: folke: Souldiers hurt, and impotent people, to be relieved in their dwelling places: That no millers be suffered to be common buyers of coine, nor to sell meale, but to attend to the true grinding of the come brought, & to use measurable tole these deare seasons: Conferences to be had betwixt the iustices of peace in the shires, and the principall officers of cities and townes corporat for provisions of graine, for the inhabitants in cities and corporat townes: Order for places exempted from the jurisdiction of the iustices of peace in the bodies of the shires: Regard to staie all transportation of graine out of the realme: Certificat to be made of the execution of these orders monethlie to the shiriffe, and he to certifie the same to the priuie counsell within euerie foire daies: To certifie what iustices be absent from the seruice, that such as without iust excuse shall not attend, maie be displaced, and their rooms, if there be need, supplied.

The conclusion of these orders is this *Ad verbum*, That if anie shall offend against the true meaning of these instructions, or of anie part thereof, or shall vse anie sinister meane to the defrauding thereof, that such be seuerelie punished according to the lawes; and for such obstinat persons as shall not conforme themselves, the iustices shall at their pleasure bind them to appeare before the queenes maiesties priuie counsell by a date certaine, there to be further delt with by seuerer punishment, for the better example of all others.

F. T.

Now as Holinshed and such as with painfull care and loue to their countrie haue thought good before me, to knit by the seuerall reigne of euerie seuerall king with a generalltie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies: So haue I bene importuned by manie of my friends, to knit by the said whole historie with a particular catalog of all such as haue purposed in seuerall histories of this realme, or by the waie in the histories of other countries written of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time & qualitie euerie one was (for he is not living I suppose that can do the same) yet hauing done my good will therein, and that moze than perhaps some others would haue done, I praie thee to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue done and could do. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the two: he without his name, as another seuerall thing: yet is it not of purpose done, or to the end that I would make a great shew, and seme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet attained to that perfection, which hereafter I hope to do in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie, & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not bene first laid, it had neuer bene after builded: and so to the matter.

A, Abbo Floriacensis liued in the time of Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, to whome he dedicated his booke: Abbas Wifeburgensis, Nicholaus

Adams liued in the daies of king Edward the first, Alfric Abbas, Alfric that gathered the lines of the saints in Saronie, which I sometimes had, it maie be that these two were all one man; Altridus Beuerlacenensis thesaurarius whom I send calleth Aluredus Fibroleganus; Alanus abbat of Tenkesterie, one of the foure that writt the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket in the time of king John, Alexander Hessebientis; he writt *Epitome Britannica historie*; Alexander Somersetenensis, Alexander Staffordientis, Aelius Spartianus, Alured or Alfred king of England in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and three, Adam Sperimuth canon of Paules in the reigne of Richard the second, Anianus Marcellinus, Richardus Angeruil surnamed De Berie, bishop of Durham died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortie and five; Antoninus, Arnold of London in the time of king Henrie the eight, Affricus Meneuentis, Aurelius or Aluredus Riualentis,

20 Robert Auerberie.

B, Sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord keeper of the great seale vnto queene Elisabeth, Benedictus Claudiocestrensis, Wolantine a Scot, William Baldwin liued in the time of king Edward the first, Stephan Batemaine died in the yere one thousand five hundred eightie and foure, Beda an English Saron died in the yere of Christ seven hundred thirtie and two, G. de Barrie archdeacon of S. Davids writt the life of Remigius bishop of Lincoln, John Bale flourished in the time of Edward the first, Barnardus Andreas writt a chronicle intituled *Liber Barnardi Andree Tolosani poeta laureati regis historiographi de vita atque gestis Henrici septimi*, in whose time he flourished; Robert Boson in the time of Edward the second, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London vnder Edward the second, Peter Wasset in the time of Henrie the first, whose life he did writte; Robert Bale recorder of London, he died in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three

score and one about the latter end of the reigne of Richard the second; Edmund Bedenham writer of the chronicles of Rochester; John Biamus, and not Bionus as saith Bale a monke of Evesford; John Blacklow a Benedictine monke, in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourtene; Iohannes Bremp-ton, *historia vetum quam contulit Iornal monasterio*, as hath Mathew Parker *In vita episcop. Cantu. Ferdinando Blake* liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, Bodinus, John Bonchet a Frenchman of Aquitaine, Nicholas Bodingham or Bodingham, John Bosue of Berie, Blondus Foroluiensis, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Chester a blacke monke there in the time of Henrie the eight, John Burgha monke in the daies of R. Edward the third, Nicholas Bongete borne in a towne of the same name in Norfolke in the daies of king Henrie the first, sir John Bourchier knight lord Barnes translated Froissard, Bullerus, Roger Bond, Thomas Buckhurst lord Buckhurst now liuing, Stephan Birchington, George Buchhanan liued in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred and foure score.

C, Thomas Castleford, sir William Cecil knight lord Burleigh lord treasurer of England now liuing, William Carton liued in the daies of king Edward the fourth, Campbell, Carion a Germane, Caradocus Lancarnauenensis liued in the daies of R. Stephan, Iulius Cesar a Romane, John Capgrau borne in Kent an Augustine frier died in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and foure, Cornelius Hibernensis, Cornelius Tacitus, Albertus Crantz, John Caius died in the reigne of our queene Elisabeth, William Camp-

D o o o o o o .j.

den

den now living, George Cauendish gentleman
other unto cardinall Wolscie, whose life he did
write, John Clinu or Linu an Irishman, he flour-
ished in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred
and fiftie, Rafe Coggeshall abbat of Coggeshall in
Essex lived in the time of king Henrie the third and
writ the appendix to Radulphus Niger, Thomas
Coper bishop of Winchester now living, Richard
Carguent flourished in the daies of king Edward
the first, Thomas Churchyard now living. D, De-
metrius a Britaine, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius,
Dion Cassius, Thomas Wando a Carmelit frer of
Marlebozow, writ the life of Alphred king of Wer-
cia or rather of west Saxons, and lived in the time
of king Henrie the first; Diouionensis, Dolensis writ
De laudibus Britonum.

E, Edmerus a monke of Canturburie lived in the
time of Henrie the second; Elwardus, Eutropius a
Romane preest, Enguerrant de Monstrellet a
Frenchman, and scholer in Paris in the time of
king Henrie the fift; Edmund Campian a Jesuit
brought vp in Oxford, & executed in the yere of our
Lord 1581; John Guerden a monke of Wurte
flourished in the time of king Edward the first, and
so continued in the time of king Edward the third;
Cernulphus bishop of Rochester lived in the time of
king Henrie the second, and compiled *Textus Roffen-
sis*, containing the grants of the lands to the same
house, & the copies of sundrie ancient lawes in the
Saxon tong, Thomas Clincham prio: of Lenton.

F, Robert Fabian alderman of London, lived in
the time of Henrie the seventh, Cesserie Fenton
now living; Samuel and Abraham Flemings both
living, brethren by one bellie, and Londoners borne,
*Quorum prior historiolum quandam de regimine Mariae nuper
Anglorum principis, edmg elegantem, Latino idiomate (nun-
quam tam excusam) cotexuit: posterior in hysce chronici deter-
gedu atque dilatandu, una cum vberimoru indicum accessi-
one, plurimum defudavit;* Iohannes Fibernis or Weuer
writ the historie of Westminster, John Froissart,
Ferculphus, Flaccus Albinus or Alcinus, Philp
Flatteverie a worthie Irish gentleman flouri-
shed in the yere 1517, John Fourdon a Scot, John
For a learned diuine, that writ the Acts and Monu-
ments, and is now living; George Ferrer living in
the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred three
score and eight, Fabius Questor, Florentius Wigor-
nius died about the yere of our Lord one thousand
one hundred and eightene, being about the eight-
tenth yere of king Henrie the first.

G, Robert Gagwin a Frenchman, John Grete
bishop of Norwich in king Johns time, Thomas
Gardiner a monke of Westminster in the time of
Henrie the eight; Robert Glouer by office named
Somerset now living a most rare antiquarie, and
worthily deseruing to be named *Scientissimus antiqui-
tatu;* Francis Guiciardine an Italian living in the
yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred three
score and eightene, Laurence Guiciardine, Gildas
Sapiens, Gildas Cambrensis, Gildas Badonicus, Gil-
das Albanus, Cesserie of Mounmouth lived in the
time of king Stephan, John Cower knight died a-
bout the second of Henrie the fourth, Giraldus
Cambrensis lived in the time of Henrie the second,
Richard the first, and king John; Nicholas Gill a
Frenchman, Gocelinus first a monke of saint Ber-
tine beyond the seas, and after a monke of Cantur-
burie; Giraldus Cornubiensis *De gestis Anglorum*,
Gulielmus Malmesberie in the daies of B. Stephan,
Gulielmus Parus alias Gulielmus Nouoburgensis
or Peterburie, Geruasius Dorobernensis. Geruasius
Tilberienis, Richard Grasson in the time of queene
Elisabeth, Robert Crane, Guido de Columna.

H, John Hales, Hugo Albus Petroburgensis, in the

time of king John; John Harding esquier lived in
the daies of Edward the fourth, Edward Hall a
counsellor of Cecies inne flourished in the time of
Henrie the eight and Edward the first, Abrahamus
Hartwellus *Academicus Cantab.* that writ in verbe
Regina literata; Henrie of Marlebozow, Gualter
Hemigford a monke of Cusbozne in the daies of
Edward the third, Hector Boetius a Scot, Hirman-
nus archdeacon in the yere of our Lord one thou-
sand three score and ten, Heribert de Wolham one of
the four that writ the life of Thomas Becket, Hoc-
let one that lived in the time of Henrie the first in
the yere of our Lord one thousand four hundred
fiftie and foure, John de Heram and Richard de
Heram lived in the daies of king Richard the first,
Wilfrid Holme vnder Henrie the eight, Rapphaell
Holinsbed in the time of queene Elisabeth, Willi-
am Harrison now living, John Harrison doctor of
arts and of physicke, Rafe Higden alias Cestrensis
flourished in the time of Edward the third, John
Higgins now living, Roger Houeden lived in the
time of king John, Hugo de sancto Victore; Hugo
Abbas Petroburgensis, it maie be that Hugo Ab-
bas before & this Hugo were one man, although for
this time I suppose the contrarie; Hugo de Genes
an Italian, John Hoker alias Colwell now living.

I, Iehan de Bauge, Iohannes Maior a Scot, Iohan-
nes Seuerianus, Iohannes Carnotenensis one of the
four that writ the *Quadrilogium* of the life of Tho-
mas Becket, Iohannes Anglicus writ *Historiam au-
rea*, Iehan Maior de Belgis, Iohannes Londoniensis,
John a monke of Ford, Iossidus Crowlandensis,
Ingulfus abbat of Crowland in the daies of Willi-
am Conqueror, Thomas Inglingham whom Le-
land calleth Thomas Vicanius, Iosephus Domnoni-
ensis, Joceline of Furneis, Peter de Iham or Ie-
tham a monke, whose booke beginneth *Non solum au-
diendus sacra scriptura verbu auctem sedulus auditor accom-
dare tenetur,* which booke Caius de antiquitate Cantab.
doth ascribe to Robert Remington, as after shall
appeare; Iulius Capitolinus *In vita Antonij Py.*

K, Albertus Krantz a Dane, Kentigernus, Henrie
Brighton lived in the time of king Richard the se-
cond, L, Lanfrancus that writ a chronicle in Welsh,
Stephan Langton bishop of Canturburie writ
the life of king Richard the first, John Leland in the
time of Henrie the eight and Edward the first, Wil-
liam Lambard esquire now living, and deseruing
well of all antiquitie; George Lillie, Hamfreie
Lhold, he died in the time of queene Elisabeth;
Piers de Longtoft, Thomas Lanquet, John
Lesse a Scot bishop of Ross in Scotland now li-
ving, John Langden bishop of Rochester.

M, Marcerius an Englishman, of whom John
Baconthorpe speaketh in the prolog of the fourth
booke of Senten. quæst. 10. John Maluerne monke
of Worcester continued Ranulphus in the yere of
Christ, one thousand three hundred three score and
firtene; Marianus Scotus lived about the yere
of Christ one thousand foure score and ten, Ma-
thelw Paris, Mathelew Westminster alias Flores
historiarum a monke of Westminster, and lived in
the king time of Edward the third; Thomas More
knight lord chancelor of England, Thomas de la
More knight lived in the daies of Edward the se-
cond, Radulphus Marham, Merlinus Ambrosius,
Merlinus Syluester, Melkinus, Nicholas Pont-
cute lived in the time of Henrie the first, Edmund
Polineur now living, Sebastian Pundster a Ger-
mane.

N, Nennius Helius brother to Cassimelane & Lud
kings of Britaine, Nennius Banchorensis, Naucle-
rus Alexander Penill now living, Laurence Pote-
rell died about the firtenth yere of queene Elisabeth,
Ninianus

Ninianus that wrote Eulogium. O. Osbert de Clare prior of Westminster, Osbernus Dorobornensis in the time of William the Conqueror, Thomas Deterborne a Franciscan; gorie frer liued in the time of Henrie the fift, Abraham Dytrelus now liuing a Fleming; Christopher Deland now liuing sometime scholemaster in Southwiche.

P. William Pakington clerke & treasurer; to the blacke prince of his household in Gascoigne, Patricius Consul, Ioannes de Prato a iurist of Aquitaine & protonotarie, Paulus Aemilius, Petrus Blesensis archdeacon of Bath, Philip de Comines alias monfieur de Argenton secretearie to Charles duke of Burgoyne, Polydore Virgili an Arbinat Italian and canon of Paulus in the daies of Henrie the eight, Paulus Iouus an Italian bishop of Auerne, John Pike, John Pyre knight died in the reigne of queene Elisabeth, William Paten now liuing, John Pooder scholemaster of Cambridge to whom I was sometime scholar, Prolomeus, David Polwell now liuing.

R. John Read in the time of Edward the first, John Rastall, Radulphus Londoniensis, Radulphus Niger liued in the daies of king Henrie the first, Radulphus de Diceto deane of Paulus in London in the time of king John, Retha king of Scots, Richard Ricus, William Rishanger a monk of saint Albons in the daies of Edward the second, Richester a monk of Westminster liued in the time of Edward the third, and wrote an excellent chronicle beginning at the coming of the Saxons in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortye and nine, & continued it untill the yeare one thousand three hundred fortye and eight, containing eight hundred fourescore and ninetene yeares; Richardus Deuiniensis, Richardus Cadneus, Richardus Elenensis whole booke beginneth *Con animaduersionem exultationem Elenensis insulae*, &c. Richardus Elenensis an other from the former that wrote an other historie of Elie, Robert abbat of saint Michaels mount florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight; Robertus Montensis, Robertus sine cognomento, Robertus Remingtonus *De rebus Anglorum, cum initium, Non solum audiendus sed et scripturae verba*, &c. Thus saith Caius *In antiquitate Cantabrigie*. But others attribute that worke to Peter Rheim, &c. before in the letter J.

Robert Record liuing in the time of queene Marie, Robert bishop of Hereford which liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three score and thirtie, Robertus de Parena that wrote the register of Orford, Robert a prior of Shipwiche, Roger of Abindon, Roger of Winton, Roger de Winton, Roger of Chesser liued in the daies of Edward the third, John Rensle borne in Wiltshireshire liued in the daies of Henrie the fourth, and being a canon of Osneie died at Wiltshire in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleven, Thomas Raddborne archdeacon of Sudberie after bishop of S. Davids in Wales liued in the time of Henrie the fourth, Henrie the fift, and Henrie the first; Thomas Raddborne an other from the former was a monk of Winchester and followed manye other authors, amongst which was the said Thomas Raddborne bishop of S. Davids.

S. Saxo Grammaticus a Dane, Samuel Britannus, Sextus Aurelius, Sentleger, Edward Segefwike now liuing, Iohannes Sulgenus or Sullenus, Solinus, Siebertus Gemblacensis, Thomas Spot who liued in the reigne of Edward the first, Antonius Sabellicus a Venetian, John Sleidan a Germane, Richard Solthwell, Reginald Scot now liuing, Simon Dunelmensis, John Stow

now liuing, John Smith a Cornish man in the daies of Henrie the eight, Richard Stanibust borne in Irelland now liuing, Barton now liuing, John Swapham, Stephanides alias Fitzstephan. T. Titus Linius Patavienis, Titus Linius Fero-liensis an Italian liued in the time of Henrie the fift, John Tartor a monk of Berte, Andrew Theurt a Frenchman, Nicholas Triuet a blacke frer borne in Northfolke sonne to sir Thomas Triuet knight one of the kings iudices liued in the daies of Edward the third, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight; John Tiberie florished in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred fourescore and ten; John Trevisa a Cornishman past and bicar of Warlike, Telefinus a Briton, Francis Foteuile alias Thin now liuing, Brian Tuke knight liued in the daies of Henrie the eight, John Twine died in the reigne of queene Elisabeth, William Thorne liued in the daies of Richard the second, Richard Turpin borne of a two-shippfull familie in England served in the garrison of Calis, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fortie and one; Tobias Rossensis, Turgotus which liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and eight in the time of William Rufus wrote a chronicle of Durham.

V. Veremund a Spaniard, Raphael Volateran, Giovanni Vilani a Florentine, Ponticus Virunnius an Italian, John Wford, John Wton. W. John Wethamsted otherwise called Frumentarius a learned man abbat of S. Albons liued in the daies of Henrie the first, Roger Wall an herald who in Latine wrote the doings of Henrie the fift, Thomas Walsingham a monk of the abbey of S. Albons liued in the reigne of Henrie the first, William of Rinal liued in the age of king Stephan, Willielmus Cantuariensis one of the foure that wrote the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket liued in the time of king John, Willielmus Gemeticensis, Willielmus filius Stephanie a clerke of the Chancerie and deane of the chapell of Thomas Becket in the daies of Henrie the second, Willielmus Summerfletensis, Willielmus Crowlandensis (for the other Williams in the letter G, in the name of Gulielmus) Thomas Wake canon of Epsie, John Walworth, Walterus Excestrensis, Walterus Couentrensis.

Annales Burtonenses, Memoriale historiarum, Chronica Dunstable, Chronicle of Linnouth, Chronicles of S. Albons, Desloraciones Galfridi, Historia obditionis Elenensis insulae, Chronica, *cum initium, Calendarium Briti*, Chronicle beginning *rex Ricardus*, Chronica Westminster, Chronicle beginning *In diebus sanctissimi regis Edwardi*, Chronicle beginning *Aeneas cum Ascanio*, Chronica chronicorum, Supplementum chronicorum, Fasciculus temporum, Historia Richardi secundi beginning *De parte Briti*, Eulogium, Historia Lornalensis, Historia Carina written in Latine compiled in the thirtenth yeare of Richard the second by whom it was caused to be written, as the title declareth, which for that it hath no name of the author, and for that maister For to polowe the same of maister Carie citizen of London, maister For in his Acts and Monuments the second edition calleth the same booke *Historia Carina*.

The epitome of chronicles from Wrote to Henrie 6. beginning *Ab origine mundi concurrunt anni secundum Hebraeos*, 6646. Chronicle beginning *Chronicorum rerum que sunt imagines historiacionum*, Chronicle of generalogues beginning *Cuiuslibet principii congruum*, The chronicles of S. Swithin, The commentaries of Hyde, The continuances of Roger Howeden beginning *Excerpta ex dictis viri religiosi*. An other chronicle of S. Albons beginning *Fecit rex Edwardus tertius comites*, *Historia*

Anonymous
or nameless
chronicles,
it being
not in part
of England.

Historia regia vel sancti Edmundi, Chronicle of Elie beginning Anno ab incarnatione dominica, 616. qui est annus 21, ex quo Augustinus cum socijs ad predicandum genti Anglorum missus est, Historia Anglorum beginning Considerans historia Britonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, Saxonum, Anglorum, Danorum, & Normannorum prolixitatem, &c. Le mere des histories, Les annales de France, Les annales d'Acquitaine, Les grand croniquez de Britane, Les petit croniquez de Britane, Les croniquez de Normandi, Le Rosarie, Les genealogies des roys, Croniques de Flandres, The chronicles of London, The chronicle called White, The Saxon chronicle of the church of Worcester, The Saxon chronicle of the abbete of Peterborough, The Saxon chronicle written in the yeare of Christ eight hundred foure score and five, The chronicles of England. Thus far this catalog. Now peradventure some will looke for a rehearfall omni gatherum of such as haue written in the reigne of our blessed soueraigne: but herein as it passeth our possibilitie to satisfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and manie of them vnknowne and vnworthie of remembrance: so it were to be wished that some fauourer of learned mens fame, would compile their names and works in a particular volume, therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Gesner, or else the commendable method of John James the Frislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand five hundred fourescore and three, either of which courses being taken would well serue the turne.

The conclusion,

* Thus far (blessed be Christ) the extent of English chronicles; a long labour, of great care and expense: holbeit at length conquered and overcome, by the benefit of his grace who enableth vs to go through with all things that be good: his name be praised therefore. Wherein if the helpe of such as are furnished with varietie of knowledge, or as by gorgeous shew of words and rich pompe of phrase pretend profound skill, had bene as forward to aduance this worke (being of vnerperced magnitude by means of the multitude of contents) as some of low saile, willing to late out their poore talent, haue afforded what furtherance they were able (some what to the satisfieng of those honest minded men and parteners, at whose great costs and charges the same is now newlie printed, though not to their full contentment who were euer desirous and diuers.

lie made assaies to haue it so absolute, as nothing might want of due perfection, if the means might haue bene obtained) the chronicles of England, both for matter & maner, had bene comparable to anie historie or annals in Christendome. Holbeit perfected as it is, though not with exquisite curiosities to please euerie sickle fantasie, yet according to the proportion of skill vouchsafed of God to the dealers therein (men of commendable diligence though not of deepest iudgement) somewhat to satisfie the well affected and indifferent mind, the same is now come abroad, yielding matter no lesse manifold than the spring both flowers, and the same marvellous fruitful, if they haue their right vse and due application: which indeed is the verie end of histories and chronicles. And so crauing a fauorable acceptation of this tedious trauell, with a toleration of all such defaults as haplie therein lie hidden, and by diligent reading maie some be spied; we wish that they which best mate, would once in their life grow resolute and at a point, in this laudable kind of studie (most necessarie, next to the word of God, for common knowledge) little or much to exercise their head and hand. Finally beseeching God to bless the realme of England, and the precious ieiwell of the same (euen good queene Elifabeth) to faue as the apple of his eye; to protect hir with the target of his powler against all the pernicious practises of satans instruments; to lengthen the lines of hir highnesse honorable countellores, by whose vigilant policie this whole land fa-
 30 reth the better; in preuenting, intercepting and making frustrat (God directing and prospering their consultations and proceedings) all the attempts of traitors, to whom God in vengeance giue the iudgement of Judas, as they haue bene partakers of his sinne; let them be intangled and taken in the traps of their trecheries, and swallowed vp in the seas of deserued confusion, that they be no more a familie. And we beseech God to increase the multitude of loiall subjects, to make them strong in faith towards him, and in loue one with another, that the gospell (which is the doctrine of pacification and obedience) maie be glorified in the commonwealth of England, a corner of the world, O Lord, which thou hast singled out for the magnifying of thy maiestie, and wherof we praye thee to giue vs a daily remembrance: so shall we make conscience of sin, & addit our selues to the exercises of righte-
 40 outnesse, Amen.

F f N f S.





The third table for the Chronicles of England from the conquest vntill this present regiment: wherein the reader is to obserue these notes for his better direction; namelie, to seeke for the surnames of persons as more commonlie knowne than the proper; and also when the name faileth to looke for the dignitie, title, office and degree of such persons; as Armenia, Cipriots, Spaine, France, Portingall, Nauarre, Denmarke, &c; if they were kings: Archbishop, Bishop, Pope, Carnall, Legat, &c; if they were Clergiemen: Chancellors, Treasurers, Lord high constables, Lord wardens of the cinque ports, &c; Duke, Earle, Marquesse, Queene, Duchesse, Countesse, &c; if they were great states: Maior, Sargents at law, officers, &c: if they were of that degree: knights and esquires excepted, who as they were of renoume, are accordingly noted by their vsuall names. Likewise for such as haue beene executed as notorious offenders against the prince and the state, to come to the knowledge of their names, looke for the qualitie of their offense; as counterfeting, coineclippers, conspiracie and conspirators, murder and murderers, rebellion and rebels, treason and traitors, preests seminarie, &c: of all which this table affordeth infinit examples. Finallie, wheresoeuer you find this word
(Note) there dooth matter of confid-
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If the reader be not satisfied with this table, let him not blame the order, but his owne conceipt. Gathered by Abraham Fleming.

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1068, b 40. Sought by
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derkin warbecche was a long
time taken for the pwynger of
the two princes whome Ric-
hard the thrid murthered,
734. b. 10. The countesse
duke of yorke, his reble soyt
to learne all that made for his
pwyement vnto honour, he
arriued in Irelande, sailleth
into France all aiant, re-
turneth vnto the lable Mar-
garet his first lordene, na-
med by hit the whyte royl of
Engeland, 776. a. 10. 60. Con-
terfesech the duke of yorke
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nage, his conspynge, his fauou-
777. b. 20. 40. b. 50. Sit wil-
lamde. Schanlie his landowre

778, b4o. He attempteth to
land in Kent, his men dis-
comfited, his captiues taken
and executed, he reculeth in-
to Flanders, 779, b4o, 6o.
Saileth into Ireland, and is
in sundrie opinions, hee mar-
rieth the carie of Huntles

daughter, faith that he is Edward the fourth his lawful soone, telleth the Scottish K. how he was preferred a hept alize, calleth the ladie Margarett his aunt, craveth aid of the Scottish K. toward the recoverye of the crowne of England from Henrie the seventh 780, a 20, 30. His counterfeit compassion, 781, a 40. He is faine to packe out of Scotland, his thre counsellors, hee assaileth & prester, 783, b 50, 50. He taketh fancie, his wife presented to Henrie the seventh, all his partakers in their shirts with halters about their necks appeere before Henrie the seventh, he is assailed in sanctuarie, submitte himselfe to the K. and striketh home unto, 784, a 60, b 10, 30. Escapeth from his keepers, his confession as he was written with his owne hand, and read openlie vpon a scaffold by the Standard in C Hepe 784, a 10, 30, 30, 787, a 10. Hee corrupted his keepers, he is executed at Cburne, 787, a 10, b 10.

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Peter Landolfe. ஷே லா-
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